

ENCYCLOPEDIA *of* Comparative Iconography

THEMES DEPICTED IN WORKS OF ART



Edited by Helene E. Roberts

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Comparative Iconography

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THEMES DEPICTED IN WORKS OF ART

VOLUME 1 & 2

A-Z

Editor

Helene E. Roberts



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EDITOR'S NOTE AND GUIDE TO USAGE

Several years ago, in the span of one weekend, I saw performances of two operas based on the Orpheus story: Claudio Monteverdi's *La favola d'Orfeo* and Philip Glass's *Orpheus*. During the same weekend, Jean Cocteau's film *Orphée*, on which the Glass opera was based, could be seen in Boston, as could *Black Orpheus*, the Brazilian film based on the same Greek myth. I also could have seen paintings based on the Orpheus narrative by Giovanni da San Giovanni, Odilon Redon, and George Frederic Watts at Harvard University's Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and by Eugène Delacroix, and probably other artists, at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

A Greek myth that was the subject of poems in the seventh century B.C. was, 27 centuries later, still intriguing audiences and inspiring artists, novelists, poets, and composers. Not only did the Orpheus myth impress in its ability to endure, but it also impressed in its ability to sustain metamorphoses into a variety of forms, genres, and interpretations. Although the core of the original story remained recognizable, the varied presentations and the meanings to be garnered from them amounted to transformations. The Orpheus story is only one of many narratives from mythology, religion, and literature that animate the world's art. Without a knowledge of these narratives, much of that art is closed to modern interpretation and understanding.

It is the purpose of this encyclopedia to show the variety of uses to which these narratives and other themes have been put in the history of art and to discuss some of the changing interpretations as the themes pass through different ages, cultures, and forms. This encyclopedia orders iconographic narratives—in particular biblical, mythological, and literary texts—according to actions performed by the characters, to situations in which they find themselves, and to concepts relating to these situations and actions. Under the letter “A,” for example, instead of relating the stories of Aaron, Aeneas, and Ariadne, as many iconographic dictionaries do, this encyclopedia treats the themes of abandonment,

abduction, and adultery. The authors discuss the major relevant iconographic narratives incorporating the theme, mention other less known narratives, and discuss the historical background of themes. The authors also pay attention to differences in the visual presentation of a theme, in particular to differences between the biblical and mythological treatments of the theme. They also suggest how a theme has evolved through time.

The essays also discuss various personifications, allegories, gestures, characteristics, and other subjects that recur in works of art. Essays on themes such as abundance, caricature, communion, fools/folly, pointing/indicating, and upside down trace the various ways these themes have been given different form and how they have been used for different purposes in art through the ages.

There are many excellent volumes available that retell the mythological, religious, and literary narratives that provide the iconographic sources for works of art and even some—although the number is fewer—that list and discuss works of art related to these themes. Furthermore, there are many monographs and articles that treat individual subjects—and the works of art that depict them—in detail. Although these excellent and irreplaceable studies exist (many of them are included in the lists of further reading in this encyclopedia), what is lacking are works that relate these various narratives and subjects to each other according to the similarities of their plots, situations, or imagery. Few existing reference books discuss how the descriptions relate to the works of art, and only a few of these existing studies discuss the differences in nuance and focus given to these subjects throughout history and in various cultures. There is, in fact, no reference volume that uses a comparative method to describe the use of iconography in art or that is organized from the point of view of actions, situations, or concepts, rather than by the personages in mythological, biblical, or literary narratives.

In many of these essays particular attention is paid to gestures, costumes, composition, and other techniques of visual expression associated with the themes. Many authors also include works of art by artists who have been neglected in the traditional histories of Western art. A list of “Selected Works of Art” that depict each theme and a “Further Reading” for each essay provide more sources of information about the themes and about the relevant works of art that depict them.

Because the telling of a narrative—or relaying a description of a theme—from a single source is like taking a snapshot in time, the collection of such narratives, themes, or snapshots from different ages, genres, and cultures forms a valuable album of photographs. From such an album one can compare, contrast, analyze, discover patterns, and make generalizations about how different artists and societies have appropriated narratives and themes. In fact, only through the comparison and analysis of many individual instances can patterns be isolated.

The contributors to this encyclopedia make several kinds of comparisons relevant to each theme. Several different narratives incorporating the theme are compared in essays. The sources of the narratives may range from ancient and classical mythology, to the great religions of the world, to literature, folktales, and popular culture. The essay on the theme of adultery, for example, compares the classical myths (including the adultery of Zeus with Danaë, Leda, and Europa and the adultery of Venus and Mars, Venus and Adonis, Paris and Helen, Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, Tarquin and Lucretia) with the Arthurian legends (Lancelot and Guinevere, Tristan and Yseult), with the Christian narratives (David and Bathsheba, Susanna and the elders, Joseph and Potiphar's wife, Christ and the woman taken in adultery), and with secular themes (including William Hogarth's *Marriage à la Mode* and Augustus Egg's Victorian *Past and Present*). The contributors may also compare the story line of a narrative to the way it is visualized in a work of art. The essay on apocalypse, for example, traces the way the biblical texts from the Book of Daniel and Revelation are depicted in different styles, from the Mozarabic style of the eighth-century Spanish monk Beatus of Liebana, through the more elegant, courtly style of English Apocalypse manuscripts and the large-scale French tapestries from Angers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The author also includes discussions of the woodcuts of Albrecht Dürer and those of Lucas Cranach, complete with Protestant propaganda, as well as the watercolors of William Blake and the lithographs of Odilon Redon and Max Beckmann. The comparative method may extend this difference to discuss the way a narrative or concept is treated in the different genres of literature and of art, with especial focus on the comic and the symbolic.

The essays also trace the various interpretations given to a theme during different periods and cultures to account for varying social and political beliefs. A people defines itself through the configurations of its literary, religious, and mythical narratives. When a society begins to see itself in a different light, that change is often announced by a recasting of favorite stories or the introduction of new ones. In the essay on abandonment, for example, the focus in the narrative of the abandonment of Ariadne by Theseus shifts from the Greeks, who, wishing to absolve their hero Theseus of any guilt, show him unwillingly being led from the sleeping Ariadne by imperious gods or goddesses, to the Victorians, who, obsessed with the victimized female, focus on the distress of the abandoned Ariadne.

Many of the authors compare the situation described in the narratives with the realities of history. This comparative analysis can reveal national aspirations and fears, changes in economic and political fortunes, as well as sources of present-day customs and conventions. The author of the essay on abduction, for example, traces the laws and mores of various cultures condoning or condemning abduction and shows how vestiges of some of the ancient practices are still retained in modern marriage rituals. The essay even alludes to twentieth-century humans who claim they have been abducted by aliens from outer space, which have been identified in one case with the Babylonian goddess Ishtar. Like the allusive reflections of historical memory in ancient mythology, even the more secular present can conflate fact and fiction into new myths, especially when it comes to powerful images.

Although every essay uses one or more of these comparative approaches (narratives, styles and periods, interpretations, historical reality), few can use all of them within the confines of the allotted space. No restrictions have been placed on the authors in terms of form, structure, or content of their essays; furthermore, the variety of the authors' backgrounds and areas of expertise ensure that a diversity of approaches are represented. Although most of the authors were trained in the methods of traditional art history, they all share an interest in the subject and context of a work of art and do not confine themselves to the older traditional concerns of attribution, style, and form.

Art historical studies have shifted from a concentration on attribution, style, and form to a concern with the context of a work of art and with the wider ramifications of its subject matter. Art historians have broken down the enclosed world of stylistic influence to study the relation of works of art to historic events and economic forces, to psychological phenomenon and sociological findings, and to linguistic analysis and philosophic theories. Because of these changes, many people are interested not only in the style and form of a work of art but also in the human dynamics of the narratives and themes and their permeations and permutations. Art historians now study the themes depicted in works of art in relation to such subjects as gender and sexuality, politics and power, ownership and possession, ceremony and ritual, legitimacy and authority. It is the hope that this encyclopedia, by incorporating these perspectives, will add new insights to old iconographic usages.

Classical mythology, religious texts, and literary works provide such a rich imbroglio of relationships, situations, and associations that they have been appropriated for a variety of uses. The narratives describe instances of rape, ruination, empowerment, victimization, and inexplicable fortune, not to mention their descriptions of inescapable guilt, hubris, greed, pride, arrogance, passion, metamorphosis, sexual and gender ambiguities, courage, cowardice, and a host of other universal human predicaments. Each narrative is open to interpretation because of the shifting perspectives of diverse agendas. This encyclopedia is not a comprehensive guide to all narratives and all themes, but it presents some of the revealing comparisons that can be found in artistic depictions of these narratives. These comparisons, along with the "Selected Works of Art" and "Further Reading" that accompany each essay, suggest subject areas and directions for further research.

Each essay opens with a "title page" that lists the title and author of the essay and an outline of iconographic narratives, motifs, or periods covered. A work of art that depicts the theme precedes the discussion.

The encyclopedia also provides seven extensive indexes. The "Index of Ancient Mythological and Historical Personages, Places, and Concepts" allows the user to find and identify all references in the essays to the ancient and classical world, including ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia as well as ancient Greece and Rome. In this index the reader can find all the ancient gods, goddesses, heroes, and heroines mentioned in the essays (Achilles, Artemis, and Aeneas, as well as Horus, Ishtar, and Inanna); places, real and imaginary (Hades, Pompeii, Sardanapulus, and Thebes, for example); and personages (Akhenaton, Hammurabi, Socrates, and Hadrian, among many others). The indexes can also reveal the web of associations that characterize each narrative and concept. This first index, for example, reveals the many aspects of the story of Orpheus that are discussed in various essays. The most extended discussion, as one might guess, is to be found in the essay on love and death, but Orpheus is also covered in the essay on music, which discusses his ability to charm animals with his music as well as his associations with Apollo, David, and Jesus Christ. The essay on shepherds and shepherdesses also notes Orpheus's frequent depiction with animals and his affinity in this regard with some depictions of David. Orpheus is also discussed in *Light I* where, through mystical cults, he becomes associated with renewal, rebirth, and the light achieved after death. The essay on beheading notes how the head of Orpheus after death became an oracle of prophecy. The essay on automata alludes to this oracle head as possibly one of the masks, in a primitive form of automation, that imitated "speaking" as the wind blew through specially positioned holes. Orpheus's journeys, especially his journey to the underworld, are discussed in *Journey/Flight*; the fatal temptation to look at his beloved wife, Eurydice, in *Gaze*; and the death of Eurydice in *Serpent's Bite*.

In a similar fashion another index, the "Index of Judeo-Christian Personages, Places, and Concepts," lists the personages from the Old and New Testaments mentioned in the essays (Aaron, Abel, Abigail, Jesus Christ, Mary, John the Baptist) as well as places (Caanan, Jerusalem), saints (Agatha, Ambrose, Augustine), theological concepts (Immaculate Conception, incarnation), historical personages (Pope Innocent III, Martin Luther), and movements (Counter-Reformation, pietism, Society of Jesus) connected with the Judeo-Christian tradition. Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary are mentioned and discussed in many essays as are many of the saints (John the Baptist in 20, Mary Magdalene in 15, Stephen in 4, Ursula in 3, and Philip and Regis in 1 each). Judas is discussed in 12 essays, the Last Judgment in 20, Martin Luther in 5, the menorah in 5, and the Antichrist in 4.

The "Index of References to the Bible and Other Sacred Books" lists specific references to texts cited in the essays. The "Index of Other Cultures, Religions, and Mythologies" includes references to the names and terms of Buddhism, Hinduism, and Islam, as well as those of the Aztec, African, Inuit, Celtic, Norse, and Native American cultures mentioned in the essays.

An "Index of Authors, Literary Texts, Composers, Filmmakers, and Folktales" includes such iconographic sources as Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, Ovid's *Fasti* and *Metamorphoses*, Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, Alfred Lord Tennyson's *Idylls of the King*, Arthur Rimbaud's *Saison en enfer*, as well as Arthurian legends, Shakespearean plays, and Wagnerian operas. One of the more extensive indexes lists the artists mentioned in the essays and the lists of "Selected Works of Art" that accompany each essay. Anonymous works of art as well as known artists are included.

The "Index of Other Names and Terms" concentrates on those names and topics that complement the themes of the essays but are not themselves mythological, religious, or literary entities included in the other indexes. The intent of this index is to concentrate on those terms and names with iconographic associations. Under "A," for example, the reader can find a list of objects, such as apple(s) or absinthe, that have been mentioned as bearing clues to the meaning of scenes, as well as concepts and activities (abyss and alchemy) that are themes with a whole panoply of iconographic import, but that could not be included in separate essays. The themes of the essays themselves are also included in this index so that a reader can find additional, related discussions. Also listed are persons (Prince Albert and Jane Avril, for example) whom the authors see as becoming icons because of the way an artist depicts them or because of the position they play in a cultural context. Genre terms (allegory) and artistic movements (abstract impressionism) are also included in this index.

A general reading list of reference books that cover the mythological, religious, or literary narratives are listed separately from the essays and can be used in connection with all the essays. In order to avoid duplication, the "Further Reading" that accompanies each essay includes only references relating to the particular theme under discussion and refers to works in the general bibliography only when particular citations are made. The user of this encyclopedia should therefore be aware that for further research, both types of bibliographies are relevant.

The compilation of this encyclopedia, at least in its present form, would have been much more difficult, if not impossible, without the existence of two reference works: Henri van de Waal's *ICON-CLASS: An Iconographic Classification System* in 17 volumes, with its extremely helpful index and bibliography, and the Getty Art History Information Program's *Union List of Artists* (ULAN), compiled by James M. Bower, which, because it could be mounted on my computer, made the consistent editing of artists' names possible.

I would like to thank the people who have helped with this encyclopedia. The greatest credit goes to the individual contributors who have accommodated their extensive research and expertise to the pattern set. Their perceptions and imaginative insights into the use of mythic, religious, and literary themes give this encyclopedia its primary value. Special thanks go to Margaret A. Sullivan and Jeanne Marie (Monie) Adams for their sage advice on crucial decisions about the organization of this encyclopedia, to Jay Hurd for his help with initial mailings, and to Jennifer Skoda for all her help in checking details in the "Selected Works of Art" and the bibliographies.

HELENE E. ROBERTS
EDITOR

ALPHABETICAL LIST OF ENTRIES

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Abundance *by Liana De Girolami Cheney*
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Annunciation *by Don Denny*
Apocalypse *by Don Denny*
Apotheosis/Deification *by Claire Lindgren*
Arms Raised *by Dimitri Hazzikostas*
Artists/Art *by Julie F. Codell*
Ascent/Descent *by Paul Grimley Kuntz and
Lee Braver*
Automata *by Karen Pinkus*
Avarice *by Priscilla Baumann*

Bacchanalia/Orgy *by Sarah S. Gibson*
Baptism *by Don Denny*
Bath/Bathing *by Alicia Craig Faxon*
Beheading/Decapitation *by Diane Apostolos-
Cappadona*
Betrayal *by Gina Strumwasser*
Birth/Childbirth *by Beth S. Gersh-Nešić*

Calumny *by Claire Lindgren*
Caricature/Cartoon *by Margaret A. Sullivan*
Choice/Choosing *by Elizabeth Powers*
Comic *by Barry Wind*
Communion *by Valerie (Hutchinson) Penmanen*
Crucifixion *by Alicia Craig Faxon*

Damned Souls *by Alicia Craig Faxon and Nancy
Frazier*
Dance/Dancers/Dancing *by Alicia Craig Faxon*
Dawn/Dawning *by Rudolf M. Bisanz*
Death *by Elaine Shefer*
Destruction of City *by Eugene Dwyer*
Devotion/Piety *by Rudolf M. Bisanz*
Dreams/Visions *by Elaine Shefer*
Drunkenness/Intoxication *by Beth S. Gersh-Nešić*

Ecstasy *by Valerie (Hutchinson) Penmanen*
Envy *by Eugene Dwyer*
Evil Eye *by Eugene Dwyer*
Excess *by Eugene Dwyer*
Expulsion *by Sarah S. Gibson and Paul Grimley Kuntz*

Fame *by Liana De Girolami Cheney*
 Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale *by Alicia Craig Faxon*
 Female Beauty and Adornment *by Elise Goodman*
 Fools/Folly *by Margaret A. Sullivan*
 Fortune *by Liana De Girolami Cheney, Paul Grimley
 Kuntz, and Lee Braver*
 Funeral/Burial *by Stephen Lamia*

Gaze *by Eugene Dwyer*
 Grieving/Lamentation *by Dimitri Hazzikostas*

Hair/Haircutting *by Alicia Craig Faxon*
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 Harvesting *by Brucia Witthoft*
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Months *by Shane Adler*
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 Night *by Stephen Lamia*
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Path/Road/Crossroads *by Christine M. Boeckl*
 Patronage *by Claire Lindgren*
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Sacrifice *by Alicia Craig Faxon*
 Sanctuary *by Claudia Hill*
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 Self-Portraits I: Men *by Christine M. Boeckl*
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 Serpent's Bite *by Sarah S. Gibson*
 Shepherds/Shepherdesses *by Sarah S. Gibson*
 Shipwreck *by Alicia Craig Faxon*
 Sin/Sinning *by Christine M. Boeckl*
 Sleep/Sleeping *by Petra ten-Doesschate Chu*
 Sport *by Karen Pinkus*
 Sublime *by David D. Nolta*

Temptation *by Alicia Craig Faxon*
 Toilet Scenes *by Diane Apostolos-Cappadona*

Upside Down *by Janice McCullogh*

Vanity/Vanitas *by Liana De Girolami Cheney*
 Vices/Deadly Sins *by Liana De Girolami Cheney*
 Virgin/Virginity *by Diane Apostolos-Cappadona*
 Virtue/Virtues *by Liana De Girolami Cheney*
 Visiting/Visitation *by Alicia Craig Faxon*
 Voyeurism *by Eugene Dwyer*

Whiteness *by Shane Adler*
 Widowhood *by Karen Pinkus*
 Witchcraft/Sorcery *by Yona Pinson*

Zodiac *by Paul Grimley Kuntz*

GENERAL READING LIST

General iconographic references that relate to many themes are listed here. In order to avoid duplication they are not repeated in the bibliographies accompanying each essay unless specifically cited. References to individual themes are listed with each essay but are not included here. Please note that many of these books are also available in other editions than the ones cited here.

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ABANDONMENT

Helene E. Roberts

The following iconographic narratives are included in the discussion of the theme Abandonment:

OEDIPUS

PSYCHE

FOUNDLING HOSPITALS

MOSES

JESUS CHRIST

GENRE PAINTINGS OF

ROMULUS AND REMUS

BACCHANALIA

ABANDONED CHILDREN

ARIADNE



Angelica Kauffmann, *Ariadne*, 1782, oil on canvas, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie. (Courtesy of the Gemäldegalerie, Dresden, Germany)

The theme of abandonment usually concerns the weak and dependent, especially women and children, deserted by the strong and ruthless or the irresponsible and improvident. Children, like Oedipus left to die on a mountain top on the order of his father, and women, like Ariadne abandoned on an island by her lover Theseus, are examples from classical mythology. The reasons for abandonment may differ. Oedipus was abandoned because his father, hearing a prophecy that the child will someday kill him, ordered him to be exposed on a mountain top. Moses in the Old Testament, on the other hand, was abandoned in order to save him from the decree of the pharaoh to kill all Jewish male children. The indigent mother of Victorian genre paintings, who left her baby on the steps of a rich person's house or at a foundling hospital, may have done so to give the child the chance of a better life. The responses to abandonment also differ. Sometimes the mature victim, like Dido abandoned by Aeneas, was so distraught she killed herself, but in the stories of Cupid and Psyche the victim, Psyche, pursued the abandoner and effected a reconciliation. In many narratives, as in the stories of Ariadne or Olimpia, the abandoned woman was rescued by another man who pitied her plight and fell in love with her. While both literary and visual renditions of these stories usually focus sympathy on the victim, the main thrust of the story is often the heroic exploits of the abandoner. "The epic hero," writes literary historian Lawrence Lipking, "tends to define himself by leaving a woman behind" (p. xvi), and usually without dire consequences to himself. Modern sympathies may not be so different. In the case of the modern bride left at the altar, the situation is often given a comic twist.

Historian John Boswell describes how the circumstances of abandonment in myth and literature were based on the realities of existence throughout most of human history. Until the nineteenth century, children were regularly abandoned as a method of family limitation. In some ages as many as a third of the children born were abandoned, sometimes to die, but often they were left in the not unrealistic hope that they would be taken in, perhaps adopted, by other families. Before the medieval period, children were also regularly sold into slavery or prostitution, later into servitude. Abandonment of women by husbands and lovers was, and still is, a fact of life. Women less commonly abandon their families.

Moses and Oedipus are the abandoned children most often depicted in works of art. Moses set adrift in the bulrushes, for example, was painted several times by Nicolas Poussin, as well as by many other artists. In Poussin's painting of 1654 in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford University, Moses is tenderly set afloat in a small boatlike basket and serenely waves farewell to his distressed family on the shore. The scene of his finding, however, was the part of the narrative most frequently painted by artists. Other famous abandoned children are also usually depicted when they are saved, in the case of Romulus and Remus by a she-wolf, as in the famous Etruscan bronze in the Capitoline

Museum in Rome. Although it is a well-known image and a model that influenced many other versions of the theme, it is debated whether the she-wolf is the original bronze dedicated on the Capitoline Hill in 296 B.C.; the suckling infants were made in the Renaissance. The slew-footed Oedipus, wounded on the orders of his father to prevent his escape, was more often depicted in the medieval period than in the classical. In a classical red-figured vase painting, the young Oedipus clings to the shepherd who bears him away. In two medieval manuscripts the naked child is hung upside down by his feet, a recourse that, while it looks extremely painful, apparently was meant to protect the child from animals. The scene was repeated in a nineteenth-century depiction of the theme by Jean-François Millet. Abandonment figured in the lives of many children who grew up to be leaders and heroes, including Ion, Cyrus, Paris, Telephus, Poseidon, Sargon, Zoroaster, Zeus, and Sir Gawain.

During the Renaissance, demography, economic stability, and humanism converged in the organization of civic and secular institutions for the care of abandoned children. One of the most enduring was the Ospedale degli Innocenti founded in Florence, Italy, in 1419. Designed by Filippo Brunelleschi, the building is still regarded as a model of functional and aesthetic design. Not only did it follow mathematically derived principles of design and allow adequate room and communicating passages for the functions of the building, it integrated the activities of the hospital and its children into the community around the building. The hospital's care for the deserted children was expressed in a charming series of roundels on the facade, designed by Andrea della Robbia and installed in 1487, that show infants emerging from their swaddling clothes.

A foundling hospital established in 1739 in London also united artistic endeavors with the care of abandoned children. Thomas Coram, a successful sea captain, was moved by the number of abandoned children left to die in the streets and roads of England and by the high death rate of children in poor-houses. He enlisted the help of artist William Hogarth and others to found a home for the children. Hogarth's drawing *The Foundlings*, used as a headpiece for an appeal for the foundling hospital, was only a part of his contributions. Hogarth also served as a governor, donated money to the hospital, and took some of the foundlings into his home. He also created a number of paintings for the foundling hospital, including a portrait of Captain Coram. Other artists also contributed paintings, some of them portraits of supporters of the hospital, others on themes related to the abandonment and rescue of children. The Court room, for example, contained James Wills's *Little Children Brought to Christ*, Joseph Highmore's painting of the outcast *Hagar and Ishmael*, Francis Hayman's *The Finding of the Infant Moses in the Bulrushes*, Hogarth's *Moses Brought Before Pharaoh's Daughter*, and John Michael Rysbrack's relief *Charity*. The hospital soon owned one of the few art collections open to the public, a circumstance that led to its becoming a

fashionable meeting place, well endowed with funds for its charitable work. In the mid-nineteenth century Emma Brownlow, whose father had been a foundling at the hospital and rose to become one of its officials, added a series of paintings depicting activities at the foundling hospital (Wood, pp. 69–71).

The adult most often depicted in art as a victim of abandonment is Ariadne, who was abandoned on the island of Naxos by her lover Theseus, whom she had helped to defeat the Minotaur and to escape from the labyrinth at Crete. The circumstances of the abandonment differ in various versions of the myth, but Greek vase paintings devoted to the scene concentrate on exonerating Theseus for deserting the woman who saved his life. The Athenians, who had adopted Theseus as their national hero, seemed eager to explain this potential moral failing as caused by the intervention of the gods. On a cup, perhaps by the artist known as the Foundry Painter, Hermes leads the reluctant Theseus away. On a lekythos Athena arouses Theseus lying at the side of the sleeping Ariadne. A small figure of sleep sits on the head of the blissfully smiling Ariadne to ensure she will not awaken. On a skyphos by the Lewis Painter, Athena is the culprit who drives the alarmed Theseus to his ship while a small winged figure drops a sleeping potion on Ariadne. On a hydria by the Syleus Painter, Athena pushes Theseus in one direction while Dionysus leads Ariadne in the other. The gazes of the two lovers meet as they defer to the gods who so cruelly separate them.

The intervention of the gods in the destinies of heroes at the expense of women is a theme repeated in the desertion of Dido by Aeneas in Virgil's *Aeneid*. Olimpia in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* suffers a very similar abandonment by Bireno, but here the story is used as a cautionary tale about falling in love with unscrupulous and undeserving men. Although from another age and genre, the men in these narratives may be another form of the young ambitious men who use women for financial or social gain then abandon them—a theme that can be found in modern novels, movies, operas, soap operas, and real life.

Ariadne abandoned by Theseus was also a theme painted by Renaissance, Baroque, and nineteenth-century painters. In most of these periods, however, it is the suffering of the abandoned Ariadne as she realizes that her lover has deserted her that provides the major focus of the paintings. In Carlo Saraceni's painting of the theme, a nearly naked Ariadne throws out her arms in distress as she sees Theseus's ship sailing into the distance. The rocky landscape looms over her despairing figure. Angelica Kauffmann painted several versions of this scene. Ariadne, in dishabille and partially silhouetted against a stormy sky, gestures with raised arms toward the departing ship. In one version a putto hides his tear-streaked face. Artists from the Renaissance to the modern period, and especially in the eighteenth century, were charged with creating something beautiful and removing all that was ugly and distasteful from their paintings. This mission made it difficult to create heroines expressing emotions that would disfigure the beauty of their faces. Angelica Kauffmann solved this problem by displacing the emotion onto the putto, yet his face, contorted with crying, is largely hidden by his bowed head, his curly locks, and his pudgy little hands.

The theme of the abandoned Ariadne was extremely popular in the nineteenth century and was painted by George Frederic Watts, John Vanderlyn, Henrietta Rae, Evelyn De Morgan, Herbert James Draper, Philip Hermogenes Calderon, William Blake Richmond, Gustave Moreau, and Frederick

Leighton, among others (Kestner, pp. 100, 202). In an interesting variation Calderon shows Ariadne wading into the sea after the ship. The main variation, however—used by Watts, De Morgan, and Vanderlyn—shows a sleeping Ariadne. Vanderlyn's painting of the recumbent Ariadne remains the premier example of a nude in the nineteenth-century United States. Paintings of Ariadne in the nineteenth century shared exhibition space with paintings of a number of other abandoned women, including Psyche, Clytie, and Calypso. It was a particularly important theme for this period and one related to many paintings depicting the rescue of women in distress.

The Old Testament provides the abandoned child Moses, but the New Testament provides an example that disproves the rule that victims of abandonment were mainly women and children. Jesus Christ is abandoned by his disciples when he is arrested. There is a poignant interpretation of the scene in a panel by Sassetta in which Judas kisses Christ as a soldier places a rope around Jesus' neck. On one side of the painting a group of soldiers with raised spears prepare to arrest Christ, while on the other side the disciples, identified by their halos, rush away from the scene. A more poignant scene is that of the crucified Christ asking "Father, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Matthew 27:46; Mark 15:34).

Another kind of abandonment occurs in the giving up of the usual restraints to abandon oneself to grief or religious ecstasy. The many scenes of Bacchanalia in ancient and modern works of art may be the best examples of this definition of the word. Bacchantes (maenads), female followers of the cult of Bacchus (Dionysus), were given to abandoned frenzy characterized by the drinking of wine, wild dancing, and the killing of wild animals. Euripides, in his play *Bacchae*, describes the nightmarish and grotesque abandonment of normal restraint when events provide an outlet for women's hostility and an escape from their frustrated lives. Devotion to Dionysus and the resulting release of repressed emotions gave the women great strength and destructive impulses. Empowered by the magic wand of Dionysus, they ravished the countryside, rending herds of cattle limb from limb, destroying crops, and scattering all resistance. Scandalized at a report about the women, intoxicated with wine, dancing on mountaintops, and practicing strange Bacchic rites, King Pentheus promised he would sell them as slaves or set them to work spinning for him. By preying on Pentheus's curiosity and perhaps on his unrecognized voyeuristic or transvestite longings, Dionysus lures Pentheus to dress in women's clothing in order to spy on the women's secret rites. But it is a trap, and when Dionysus reveals the spy to his maenads, they tear him limb from limb. In her wild abandonment to blood lust even Agave, Pentheus's mother, fails to recognize her son. A messenger describes how Dionysus placed Pentheus high in a pine tree and then reveals the intruder to his maenads. The women pull down the tree and Pentheus falls to the ground at his mother's feet. He cries for mercy from his mother, begging her not to kill him, her own son.

But she, with lips a-foam and eyes that run like
Leaping fire, with thoughts that ne'er should be
On earth, possessed by Bacchus utterly,
Stays not nor hears.
(Euripides, pp. 65–66)

The fate of Pentheus is sealed as the maddened women take their revenge for their years of seclusion and repression.

Yea, all the air was loud
 With groans that faded into sobbing breath,
 Dim shrieks, and joy, and the triumph-cries of death.
 And here was borne a severed arm, and there
 A hunter's booted foot; white bones lay bare
 With rending; and swift hands ensanguined
 Tossed as in sport the flesh of Pentheus dead.
 (Euripides, p. 66)

Agave retrieves his head to pierce it with a wand and carries it in triumph back to the city. In her hysteria she thinks she has killed a lion with her bare hands. She brags to her father that she has forsaken the shuttle and the loom for the higher task of slaying wild beasts. With pride she waves aloft her trophy—the head of her son.

A Pompeian fresco from the House of Vettei depicts the death of Pentheus, but it hardly does justice to the grotesque frenzy of Euripides' play. The faces of the maenads are intense, although calm, and the swirling rhythms and the concentration with which they begin their ghastly dismemberment capture some of the diabolic fury of their act. In the nineteenth century, the Swiss painter Charles Gleyre took up the same theme in his *Pentheus Pursued by the Maenads*. In the foreground the fleeing Pentheus (a classical nude with a cape) makes an agonized gesture of despair as he looks for a place to hide in the rocky landscape. The possessed maenads, silhouetted against the sky, abandoned to unreasoning fury, have spotted their prey. Ciconian women also killed Orpheus in a similar frenzy.

The theme of abandonment has one meaning of being left or forsaken and another of giving oneself over to unusual and all-encompassing emotion that often drives the victim to antisocial behavior. As Lawrence Lipking points out, the two senses are related. Abandonment leads to excessive grief and feelings of hate and revenge that offend society and turn it against the victim. The outsider position in turn frees the abandoned one from social rules and renders her more free and powerful (Lipking, p. xvii). As a popular song describes the situation, "Freedom's just another word for nothing left to lose."

The theme of abandonment permeates Asian, ancient, classical, medieval, and modern art. Depictions of the theme help to delineate areas of human morality and responsibility toward others. The psychic trauma or the material deprivations usually accompanying abandonment make it a powerful and threatening experience, one that is, in some way, felt by everyone.

See also Adultery; Bacchanalia/Orgy;
 Drunkenness/Intoxication; Ecstasy; Widowhood

Selected Works of Art

Oedipus

Achilles Painter, *Euphorbus with the Infant Oedipus*, neck amphora from Vulci, 425–420 B.C., Paris, Cabinet des Médailles

Oedipus, manuscript illumination, thirteenth century, Pommersfelden, Germany, Schlossbibliothek (Cod. 295, fol. 52v)

Oedipus, manuscript illumination, fourteenth century, Munich, Germany, Staatsbibliothek (Cod. gall. 6, fol. 21)

Rosa, Salvator, *The Rescue of the Infant Oedipus*, etching, 1663, private collection

Daumier, Honoré, *Oedipus and the Shepherd*, painting, 1846–1847, New York, Thannhauser Collection
 Millet, Jean-François, *Oedipus Taken Down From the Tree*, painting, 1847, Ottawa, Ontario, National Gallery of Canada

Moses

Poussin, Nicolas, *Moses Abandoned on the Nile*, painting, 1654, Oxford, Oxford University, Ashmolean Museum

Poussin, Nicolas, copy after: *Moses Placed on the Banks of the Nile*, painting, mid-seventeenth century, Budapest, Hungary, Museum of Fine Arts

Poussin, Nicolas, *Moses Set Adrift in the Bulrushes*, painting, mid-seventeenth century, Dresden, Germany, Staatsammlungen

Bourdon, Sébastien, *The Hiding of Moses*, painting, mid-seventeenth century, Greenville, South Carolina, Bob Jones University Collection

Patel, Pierre, *Landscape: Moses in the Bulrushes*, painting, 1660, Paris, Louvre

Loth, Johann Carl, *The Exposure of Moses*, painting, late seventeenth century, Munich, Germany, New State Gallery

Moreau, Gustave, *Young Moses*, painting, 1878, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum

Romulus and Remus

River God Tiber, Greco-Roman sculpture, Paris, Louvre

She-Wolf (Lupa), Etruscan bronze, third century B.C., twins

added during the Renaissance, Rome, Capitoline Museum

Torlonio Harbor Relief, Roman marble relief, Torlonio, Italy

Ariadne

Lekythos, Greek vase painting, Taranto, Italy, Museo Nazionale
 Foundry Painter, *Cup*, 500–475 B.C., Tarquinia, Italy, Museo Nazionale Tarquinense

Lewis Painter, *Skyphos*, 475–450 B.C., Vienna

Syleus Painter, *Hydria*, 500–475 B.C., Berlin

Saraceni, Carlo, *Ariadne Abandoned*, painting, early seventeenth century, Naples, Italy, Museo Nazionale

Kauffman, Angelica, *Ariadne Abandoned*, painting, 1782, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Watts, George Frederick, *Ariadne on Naxos*, painting, 1867–75, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum

Vanderlyn, John, *Ariadne*, painting, 1874, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

De Morgan, Evelyn, *Ariadne in Naxos*, painting, 1877, London, De Morgan Foundation

Chassériau, Théodore, *Ariadne*, painting, mid-nineteenth century, Paris, Louvre

Psyche

Spranger, Bartholomaeus, *Cupid Leaving Psyche*, painting, 1587, Oldenburg, Germany

Heintz, Joseph the Elder, *Cupid Leaving Psyche*, painting, circa 1603, Nuremberg, Germany, Germanisches Nationalmuseum

David, Jacques-Louis, *Psyche Abandoned*, painting, 1788, private collection

Pajou, Augustin, *Psyche Abandoned*, marble sculpture, 1791, Paris, Louvre

Tenerani, Pietro, *Psyche Abandoned*, sculpture, 1817, Leipzig, Germany, Museum of Fine Arts

Jesus Christ

Duccio di Buoninsegna, *The Betrayal*, fresco, late thirteenth to early fourteenth century, Siena, Italy, St. Maria Assunta Opera Museum

Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Betrayal of Christ*, detail of back of *Maestà Altarpiece*, panel, 1308–1311, Siena, Italy, Cathedral Museum

Giovanni, Stefano di, *Betrayal of Christ*, painting, circa 1444, Detroit, Michigan, Museum of Art

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Christ on the Cross*, painting, 1631, Le Mas d'Agenais, France

Bacchanalia

Frenziad Maenad, Greek lekythos, circa 470 B.C., Syracuse, Italy, P. Orsi Museum

Death of Pentheus, Roman wall painting, circa A.D. 70, Pompeii, House of Vettii

De Volterra, Daniele, *Pentheus and the Maenads*, fresco, circa 1548–1550, Rome, Palazzo Farnese

Gleyre, Charles, *Pentheus Pursued by the Maenads*, painting, 1864, Basel, Switzerland, Kunstmuseum

Levy, Emile, *Death of Orpheus*, painting, 1866, Paris, Musée d'Orsay

Vallotton, Félix-Édouard, *Orpheus Dismembered by the Maenads*, painting, 1914, Paris, private collection

Foundling Hospitals

Brunelleschi, Filippo, *Ospedale degli Innocenti*, 1419–1424, Florence, Italy, Piazza della S.S. Annunziata

Della Robbia, Andrea, *Infants in Swaddling Clothes*, terra-cotta roundels, 1487, Florence, Italy, Ospedale degli Innocenti

Hogarth, William, *The Foundlings*, drawing, engraved by Peter La Cave, 1739, London, Thomas Coram foundation for Children

Hogarth, William, *Captain Coram*, painting, 1740, London, Thomas Coram Foundation for Children

Hogarth, William, *Moses Brought Before Pharaoh's Daughter*, painting, 1746, London, Thomas Coram Foundation for Children

Hayman, Francis, *The Finding of the Infant Moses in the Bulrushes*, painting, 1746, London, Thomas Coram Foundation for Children

Highmore, Joseph, *Hagar and Ishmael*, painting, 1746, London, Thomas Coram Foundation for Children

Rysbrack, John Michael, *Charity*, marble relief, 1746, London, Thomas Coram Foundation for Children

Wills, James, *Little Children Brought to Christ*, painting, 1746, London, Thomas Coram Foundation for Children

Wilson, Richard, *Foundling Hospital*, 1746, London, Thomas Coram Foundation for Children

West, Benjamin, *Christ Presenting a Little Child*, painting, before 1801, London, Thomas Coram Foundation for Children

Brownlow, Emma, *The Foundling Restored To Its Mother*, painting, 1858, London, Thomas Coram Foundation for Children

Brownlow, Emma, *The Christening*, painting, 1863, London, Thomas Coram Foundation for Children

Brownlow, Emma, *The Sick Room*, painting, 1864, London, Thomas Coram Foundation for Children

Anderson, Sophie, *Foundling Girls in the Chapel*, painting, circa 1855–1871, London, Thomas Coram Foundation for Children

Genre Paintings of Abandoned Children

De Bray, Jan, *Clothing the Children at the Holy Ghost Orphanage, Haarlem*, 1663, Haarlem, The Netherlands, Frans Halsmuseum

Hicks, George Elgar, *The Infant Orphan Election at the London Tavern*, painting, 1865, private collection

Holl, Frank, *Deserted—A Foundling*, study, 1847, private collection

Dixon, Alfred, *Forsaken*, painting, 1879, Sunderland

Storey, George Adolphus, *The Orphans*, painting, 1879, New York, Forbes Magazine Collection

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ABDUCTION/RAPE

Stephen Arbury

The following iconographic narratives and related subjects are included in the discussion of the theme Abduction/Rape:

GENERAL	EUROPA (ABDUCTED BY ZEUS [JUPITER])	PSYCHE (ABDUCTED BY ZEPHYR FOR CUPID [EROS])
AMYMONE (ABDUCTED BY NEPTUNE [POSEIDON])	GANYMEDE (ABDUCTED BY ZEUS [JUPITER])	REBECCA (ABDUCTED BY BOIS-GUILBERT)
ANTIOPE, THE AMAZON (ABDUCTED BY THESEUS)	HELEN, AS A 12-YEAR-OLD GIRL (ABDUCTED BY THESEUS AND PIRITHOUS)	RINALDO (ABDUCTED BY ARMIDA)
BRISEIS (ABDUCTED BY AGAMEMNON)	HELEN (ABDUCTED BY PARIS)	PINABELLO'S LADY
CEPHALUS	HIPPODAMIA (OR DEIDAMIA) (ABDUCTED BY THE CENTAUR EURYTION)	SABINE WOMEN (ABDUCTED BY ROMULUS'S SOLDIERS)
CERBERUS	HYLAS (ABDUCTED BY WATER NYMPHS)	SITA (ABDUCTED BY RAVANA)
CYBELE (ABDUCTED BY SATURN)	ORITHYIA (ABDUCTED BY BOREAS)	THEOPHANE (ABDUCTED BY NEPTUNE [POSEIDON])
DAUGHTERS OF LEUCIPPUS, PHOEBE AND HILAERA (ABDUCTED BY THE DIOSCURI, CASTOR AND POLLUX)	PROSERPINE (PERSEPHONE) (ABDUCTED BY PLUTO [HADES])	ILLUSTRATIONS OF ABDUCTIONS IN FOLK AND FAIRY TALES
DEIANEIRA (ABDUCTED BY THE CENTAUR NESSUS)		ABDUCTIONS IN THE BIBLE
DEIRDRE (ABDUCTED BY TRISTAN)		LITERATURE/OPERA/ THEATER/BALLET



Correggio, *Abduction of Ganymede*, circa 1530, painting, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum. (Courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria)

Abduction has been a part of most human cultures throughout history, and the theme is prevalent in the visual arts from the mythic abductions illustrated on ancient Greek vases to the terrorist kidnappings and alleged UFO (unidentified flying object) abductions of the late twentieth century portrayed in motion pictures. Many abductions in art are called rapes because the original meaning of the word was “to be carried off by force.” Sexual rape without abduction occurred in such narratives as the rape of Lucretia or the rape of Tamar. Most abductions involve women, although men and objects are sometimes abducted as well.

Abductions occur for various reasons. One rationale for abduction was to ensure the survival of the abductors’ clan. Since prehistoric times, women have been abducted by men from other tribes or groups without enough women. The infusion of females as a result of the abduction provided for the clan’s future generations. The abductors’ group would also benefit genetically by the infusion of new genes from the abducted women. The most famous example of this kind is the abduction of the Sabine women by the Romans, a popular subject in Renaissance and Baroque painting. Abduction was practiced by ancient Teutons and Scandinavians, and among certain southern Slavic groups marriage by abduction occurred into the nineteenth century.

Abduction has not always been considered a crime. Not only has abduction been justified as necessary for the survival of the abductor’s people, but it has also been used to express manhood, to demonstrate that women were property, and to maintain social control of women. In modern Western society, remnants of abduction survive in the practices of carrying the bride across the threshold, picking a best man, and having the bride stand to the left of the groom. All three customs date back to the abduction practices of the Germanic tribes. The future bride would have to be carried away, and the abductor would enlist the help of another male, the best man. The groom would place his abducted bride on his left so that his sword hand would be free to protect her.

In ancient Roman times the virgin was the future of the family bloodline; therefore, acts such as rape or abduction made marriage impossible. Raped women were considered corrupted and were of no value to the family. Abducted women were often treated the same way. The early medieval Europeans sometimes abducted women in order to extort consent from unwilling parents. Abduction was often the only way for a man to “acquire” a woman and thereby power as well. If the girl was deflowered after her abduction, then a marriage had been effected. The only consolation the parents would get at that point was a payment from the abductor. Often the woman consented to the abduction, but this was usually not admitted, for then she might become a slave. The code of Emperor Justinian

I nullified all marriages by abduction, although the Christian Church did not conform to this until the ninth century. In the twelfth century, Pope Innocent III determined that mutual consent made a marriage by abduction valid. If the parents accepted such a marriage, then the family honor and bloodline could be preserved. In the sixteenth century the Council of Trent adopted a similar principle. If the abducted woman could not exercise her free will, then the abduction was an *impedimentum*. If she consented of her own free will, however, then the marriage was valid. The abductor, however, was excommunicated. Current Roman Catholic canon law considers abduction a diriment impediment (a circumstance that disallows a valid marriage). Such an impediment, however, is not divine law and may be dispensed by ecclesiastical authorities.

In medieval romances of courtly love, such as *Tancred and Iseult* and *The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Gráinne*, young men were urged to show their valor by seducing and abducting the lady of the house. In reality there were proscriptions to prevent a young man from such a deed, yet it did occur. The numerous incidents of rape in romance literature attest to its occurrence in real life. And in fact abduction remained common until the twelfth century. Medieval society was obsessed with adultery, and aristocratic women were closely chaperoned or even secluded for fear of dishonor. Sometimes these women rebelled against being cloistered and instigated their own abductions. In such cases, women saw their abductors as liberators. In Tours, Corba of Amboise let her cousin abduct her as she left Mass. Thus, rather than being oppressive and enslaving, for some women abduction could be a powerful weapon for gaining their freedom.

Abduction and enslavement have been a part of many conquering cultures since ancient times. In more recent times abduction has been primarily for monetary or political profit. One of the great immoral acts of modern times was the abduction of men and women from Africa for sale into slavery. The profitable slave trade flourished from the late fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. Kidnapping and holding a victim for ransom is an all too common phenomenon in the twentieth century. The ransom could be money or some political demand, such as the release of prisoners. In this kind of abduction the abductor usually has little regard for the abductee; if the ransom is not met, the abductee is often killed. In such cases, abduction becomes terrorism.

Although it is usually men who abduct women, this is not always the case. According to the fourth-century writer Ephoros, ritualized homosexual abduction occurred in ancient Crete. A man would notify the family of the boy he intended to take. If the man was considered honorable, the family would only pretend to resist, and the lover would carry off the boy and remain secluded with him for two months. After that they

would return to the city, and the lover would shower the boy with expensive presents.

The Bible has strong strictures against abduction. The laws of the covenant state that anyone who abducts someone shall be put to death (Exodus 21:16 and Deuteronomy 24:7). Yet there are several cases of abduction in the Old Testament. Lot was kidnapped from Sodom by four kings from the north. This is a case of abduction due to war and is illustrated in the Morgan Picture Bible from the thirteenth century. Lot was later rescued by his uncle Abraham (Genesis 14:12–16). Joseph was abducted by his 10 older brothers in revenge for being favored by their father, Jacob, for tattling on them to Jacob, and for bragging about his prophetic dreams. When Joseph came out to the field where his brothers were working, they carried him away and first put him down a well and then later sold him into slavery. Since both kidnapping and selling someone into slavery were punishable offenses, the brothers made up a story that Joseph had been eaten by a wild beast (Genesis 37:23–28). A medieval illumination in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris shows Joseph going out to his brothers in the field, being cast into the well, and then being sold into slavery.

As in many ancient cultures, biblical abductions were necessary for the survival of the tribe or occurred as a result of war. The Benjaminites abducted the virgin dancers of Shiloh to be their wives so they could repopulate the tribe after it had been decimated by battles with Israel (Judges 21:20–23). After attacking and destroying Ziklag, the Amalekites abducted David's wives, Ahinoam and Abigail. David later rescued them (1 Samuel 30:5–20). Another abduction was carried out as part of the personal political agenda of the abductor. Joash, the son of King Ahaziah of Judah, was abducted by his aunt, Jehosheba, for safekeeping from his grandmother, Athaliah. Athaliah had ordered a massacre of the rest of the royal family in an attempt to eradicate the house of David so that she could rule over Judah (2 Kings 11:1–12). Joash was kept hidden for six years and then crowned king of Judah, thus reestablishing the dynasty. Such an abduction would have been sanctioned by the Lord because after the coronation a new covenant was made between God, the king, and the people. In another case, however, Baruch and the prophet Jeremiah were abducted by Johanan and all the commanders from Judah and were taken to Egypt against the will of the Lord (Jeremiah 43:1–8).

The abductions that are most familiar and most often portrayed in art are those of classical mythology. These abductions usually result from sexual attraction and can lead to dire consequences. Most involve the abduction of a beautiful mortal by one of the gods. It was a completely mortal abduction, however, that had the most profound consequences. After the Judgment of Paris, Paris accepted Aphrodite's bribe of the most beautiful woman in the world and carried Helen off to Troy, thus beginning the Trojan War. This was Helen's second abduction, for she had been abducted at the age of 12 by Theseus and Pirithous. She was later rescued by the Dioscuri, who were responsible for an abduction of their own, that of the daughters of Leucippus, Phoebe and Hilaera. In Peter Paul Rubens's famous portrayal of this scene, the Leucippidae do not seem to protest their abduction. Briseis was another abductee in the Trojan War. She was carried off by Achilles after he had killed her husband, Mynes, and she became his favorite slave.

Agamemnon, in turn, seized Briseis from Achilles when Apollo ordered Agamemnon to return Chryseis to her father.

One of the best known mythical abductions is that of Persephone (Proserpina), the daughter of Demeter, the Greek goddess of agriculture. Zeus, the king of the gods, assisted in this abduction, and the myth explained the seasons. Persephone was abducted by Hades, god of the underworld, as she picked flowers on the plain around Mount Etna. In her despair Demeter let the Earth become barren, but when Persephone returned to her mother (as she did for half of each year), Demeter was happy and caused the Earth to be abundant with vegetation again. This story of death and resurrection provided appropriate decoration for Roman sarcophagi, such as the *Persephone Sarcophagus* in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy. One of the more dramatic representations of Persephone's abduction is the Baroque sculpture by Gian Lorenzo Bernini in the Borghese Gallery in Rome. Even more popular in art is the rape of Europa, one of Zeus's many loves. After transforming himself into a beautiful bull and luring Europa onto his back, he immediately swam across the sea to Crete, carrying Europa with him. The scene is probably best known from Titian's Renaissance painting in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston.

Lesser known abductions are those of Amymone, Antiope, Dionysus, Orithyia, Psyche, Theophane, and Cephalus. Amymone was abducted by the sea god Poseidon after he saved her from being raped by a satyr. The Amazon Antiope was abducted by Theseus, the king of Athens, after she brought gifts to him aboard his ship, thus causing the war with the Amazons. The infant Dionysus, disguised as a kid goat, was taken by the Titans at the behest of the jealous queen of the gods, Hera. They tore him apart and devoured him except for his heart, which the goddess Athena rescued. Zeus gave the heart to Semele to eat so that Dionysus could be conceived anew. Orithyia, a daughter of Erechtheus, the king of Athens, was abducted by the north wind, Boreas, while she played by the river Ilissus. Princess Psyche was also abducted by one of the winds. Zephyr, the west wind, carried Psyche to Cupid's palace after the latter had fallen in love with her. Theophane was taken by Poseidon to the island of Crumissa. Poseidon then transformed Theophane into a ewe and himself into a ram to prevent her other suitors from finding them. The product of their union was the ram with the Golden Fleece. In a rare case of a man being abducted by a woman, Aurora, goddess of the dawn, carried off Cephalus, a handsome youth.

Sometimes beasts are the abductors or abductees. Eurystheus ordered Hercules to bring him Cerberus, the three-headed hound of the underworld, as one of his 12 labors. Hades consented, but only if Hercules could master the dog without using his weapons. This Hercules did, but Eurystheus was so frightened of the creature that Hercules took it back to Hades. Deianeira, the wife of Hercules, was abducted by the centaur Nessus. Hercules killed Nessus, but before the centaur died he gave Deianeira a poison, telling her it was a love potion. This poison later caused Hercules' death. Hippodamia was another woman abducted by a centaur. This occurred at her wedding when the battle of the Lapiths and the centaurs ensued. The dreaded harpies (whose name means "snatchers") abducted children and souls. They seized the daughters of

Pandareos and delivered them as slaves to the Erinyes (Furies) in the underworld. Their exploits were sometimes depicted on tombs.

Homosexual abductions also occur in mythology. One such abduction was that of Hylas, a beautiful young prince who was taken away by Hercules after he killed the boy's father, King Theiodamus. Hercules took Hylas with him on the Argonauts' expedition, but Hylas was abducted again, this time by the nymphs of the river Ascanius after they saw his great beauty. The most famous homosexual abduction is the rape of Ganymede by Zeus. Taken by the boy's beauty, Zeus took the form of an eagle and transported the boy to Mount Olympus to be cupbearer to the gods. The abduction was portrayed by Renaissance and Baroque artists such as Michelangelo, Correggio, Rubens, and Rembrandt van Rijn. Michelangelo's drawing of Ganymede embodied the elements of Neoplatonic humanism. Based on Xenophon's explanation of the Ganymede story as a moral allegory of intellectual love, Renaissance humanists equated it with divine or spiritual love (the Christian soul enraptured by God) as opposed to carnal love. This concept was propagated in emblem books of the time, beginning with Alciati's *Emblemata*, first published in 1531. Alciati makes the spiritual meaning clear by titling the illustration of the rape of Ganymede *Deo laetandum*, or "rejoicing in God."

Abductions abound in non-Greco-Roman cultures as well. In Sumerian mythology, Dumuzi is abducted by demons to take the place of his wife Inanna in the underworld. Later it was decided he would have to remain there only half the year. In Hinduism, the demon Ravana, king of Ceylon, abducted Sita, wife of Rama, in his flying chariot and brought her to his capital city of Lanka. Rama rescued her after destroying Lanka. Another Hindu god, Skanda, son of Shiva, was a child abductor. In Celtic mythology Oisín (Ossian) was abducted by the fairy Niav (Niamh). She carried him off on her horse to Tir nan Og (the Land of Youth), where he remained for three centuries. There are also abductions in the Arthurian legends. The infant Arthur was taken by Merlin to Hector to be raised, Lancelot was abducted by the Lady of the Lake, Guinevere was carried off by Meleagance, and King Arthur was taken to the isle of Avalon after being mortally wounded in battle. In Norse mythology Loki was abducted by the giant Thiazi disguised as an eagle. When the eagle took too much of the meat Loki was cooking, he hit the bird with a staff. The eagle took off with the staff stuck to him and with Loki stuck to the staff. The eagle agreed to free Loki if he would help him abduct Idunn and her apples of youth from Asgard, the home of the gods. Loki lured Idunn out of Asgard into a forest where Thiazi, still in the form of an eagle, carried her off to Thrymheim. The other gods, however, forced Loki to bring her back. Disguised as a falcon, Loki abducted Idunn while Thiazi was away fishing and returned her to Asgard.

The Middle Ages and Renaissance also abound with tales of abduction, both religious and secular. The story of a nobleman's son taken captive is an example of a postbiblical abduction. A noble youth was abducted by a cruel heathen king and made to serve as his cupbearer. The youth spoke of St. Nicholas, the fourth-century bishop of Myra, before the king, causing the king to take the saint's name in vain. St. Nicholas suddenly appeared in all his glory and spirited the boy back to

his family. The popular Renaissance tale of Rinaldo and Armida (recounted in the epic poem *Gerusalemme liberata* [Jerusalem Delivered] by Torquato Tasso) includes Rinaldo's abduction by the clever sorceress Armida. She bound the hero using a magic chain and bore him away in her chariot to her magic kingdom. He eventually abandoned her. Another epic poem of the period, Lodovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, tells of the abduction of Count Pinabel's lady by the sorcerer Atlante, who carries her off on a hippogriff. This scene, as portrayed by Nicolas Poussin, is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Not surprisingly, abductions are also common in folk and fairy tales. Fairy-tale abductions are based on traditional stories of mortals carried away into fairyland. An early example is *Malekin*, a story related by Ralph of Coggeshall, a thirteenth-century monastic chronicler. Malekin was a child who was stolen from her mother's side while she worked in the fields. Often these abducted babies would be used as the fairies' tribute to hell. Sometimes fairies were taken captive by mortals, but they usually escaped, as did the fairy bride of *Wild Edric*, or pined away and died, as did the little fairy in *Brother Mike*. There are many tales of giants, ogres, dwarfs, and other creatures abducting beautiful women and carrying them back to their supernatural abodes. Many of these are enchanted abductors who turn into handsome princes, as in the story of Beauty and the Beast, or that of the Apache water monster who turns out to be a handsome husband for the young woman he catches by the water. Other abductions are caused by simple mortal love, as when Virgilius carries off the princess of Babylon. His intentions are honorable, however, and he brings her back to Babylon. Other abductions deal with evil, as when the devil carries off wicked people to hell. Perhaps the most famous mass abduction was that performed by the Pied Piper of Hamelin, who lured all the children of the town into a mountain cave with his music.

Finally, inanimate things may be the objects of abductions, often for the purposes of satire. In Alessandro Tassoni's story *The Rape of the Bucket* (1622), a bucket belonging to the city well of Bologna is stolen by the people of Modena as a trophy. The Bolognese offer entire towns and groups of people in an attempt to get the bucket back. Every scene begins seriously, but ends in a comical absurdity. Alexander Pope's *The Rape of the Lock* (1712–1714) is a mock heroic poem that satirizes the superficial concerns of society. Based on a true incident, a lock of hair is stolen, leading to a feud between two aristocratic families. In art, bizarre dreamlike imagery is evoked in Max Klinger's *A Glove: Abduction* (1881), in which a mysterious glove is abducted by a pterodactyl-like creature as two arms crash through a window in a vain attempt to retrieve it. In this work an ordinary glove has become anthropomorphized and sexualized into a fetishistic love object.

A new kind of abduction surfaced in the twentieth century—the abduction of humans by entities from UFOs. Stories abound of people who claim, often under hypnosis, to have been abducted by aliens from outer space. The idea of alien entities is found in most folklore. In his 1987 book *Communion*, Whitley Streiber associated one of his alien abductors with the Babylonian goddess Ishtar and felt that the entities he encountered were both physically real and rooted in

the human unconscious. If not real, perhaps such UFO abductions are a modern outlet for a society that no longer believes in the spirits and demons of past ages.

See also Adultery; Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale; Marriage/Betrothal

Selected Works of Art

General

Primaticcio, Francesco, *Woman Being Carried to a Libidinous Satyr*, etching by L. D., 1547, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Primaticcio, Francesco, *Satyr Being Carried to a Woman*, etching by L. D., 1547, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Maulbertsch, Franz Anton, *The Abduction*, eighteenth century, Brno, Moravian Gallery

Monticelli, Adophe Joseph, *The Abduction*, nineteenth century, San Diego, California, Fine Arts Gallery

Scheffer, Ary, *The Abduction*, nineteenth century, Guéret, France

Delacroix, Eugène, *Abduction of an Arab Woman by African Pirates*, 1852, Paris, Louvre

Klinger, Max, *The Abduction* (from *A Glove*), etching, 1881, New York, Museum of Modern Art

Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri de, *An Abduction*, sketch, circa 1884, Albi, France, Musée Toulouse-Lautrec

Beardsley, Aubrey, *The Rape of the Lock*, drawings, 1896, for *Satire* by Alexander Pope

Cézanne, Paul, *Abduction*, 1867, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

Kollwitz, Käthe, *Raped*, etching and soft ground, from *Peasants' War Series*, 1907

Stuck, Franz von, *Abduction of the Nymph*, circa 1920, private collection

Chagall, Marc, *The Abduction*, 1920, private collection

Smith, David, *The Rape*, bronze sculpture, 1945, Boston, Massachusetts, Collection of Stephen D. Paine

Amymone (Abducted by Neptune [Poseidon])

Rape of Amymone, red-figure krater, circa 420 B.C., Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Coytel, Noël Nicolas, *Abduction of Amymone*, 1720, Valenciennes, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Antiope, the Amazon (Abducted by Theseus)

Oltos, *Abduction of Antiope*, red-figure cup, circa 510 B.C., Oxford, Oxford University, Ashmolean Museum

Briseis (Abducted by Agamemnon)

Ricci, Sebastiano, *The Rape of Briseis*, circa 1700, present location unknown

Tischbein, Johann Heinrich the Elder, *Briseis Taken from the Tent of Achilles*, 1773, Hamburg, Germany, Kunsthalle

Cephalus

School of Francesco Albani, *Aurora Raping Cephalus*, Modena, Italy, Galleria Estense

Jean-Antoine-Julien de Parme, *Aurora's Rape of Cephalus*, 1779, Madrid, Prado

Cerberus

Hercules and Cerberus, hydria, sixth century B.C. Paris, Louvre

Sabatini, Lorenzo, *Hercules Carries Cerberus from the Underworld*, ceiling painting, sixteenth century, Rome, Vatican, Sala Ducale

Schiavone, Andrea, *Hercules Carries Cerberus from the Underworld*, sixteenth century, Venice, Italy, Brass Collection

Campan, Jacob van, *Hercules Hauling Cerberus out of the Underworld*, circa 1645, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Puget, Pierre, *Hercules Abducting Cerberus*, bronze sculpture, circa 1660, Karlsruhe, Germany, Landesmuseum

Cybele (Abducted by Saturn)

Le Brun, Charles, *Saturn Abducting Cybele*, drawing, before 1674, Paris, Louvre

Regnaudin, Thomas, *Abduction of Cybele by Saturn*, sculpture, late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, present location unknown

Daughters of Leucippus, Phoebe and Hilaera

(*Abducted by the Dioscuri, Castor and Pollux*)

Meidias Painter, *Rape of the Leukippidae*, hydria, circa 410 B.C., London, British Museum

Porta, Giuseppe, *Castor and Pollux Carrying Off the Daughters of Leucippus*, sixteenth century, Barnard Castle, Durham County, United Kingdom, Bowes Museum

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus*, circa 1617, Munich, Alte Pinakothek

Boeckhorst, Jan, *Rape of the Daughters of Leucippus*, 1637–1639, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Roussel, Ker-xavier, *Abduction of the Daughters of Leucippus*, 1922, Paris, Musée d'Orsay

Deianeira (Abducted by the Centaur Nessus)

Abduction of Deianeira, black-figure amphora, circa 530 B.C., formerly in Basle

Appollonio di Giovanni di Tommaso, *The Rape of Deianeira*, fifteenth century, Cincinnati, Ohio, Art Museum

Pollaiuolo, Antonio del, *Abduction of Deianeira*, before 1467, New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Art Gallery

Giambologna, Jean Boulogne, *Nessus and Deianeira*, 1575–1580, Paris, Louvre

Reni, Guido, *Deianeira Abducted by the Centaur Nessus*, 1620–1621, Paris, Louvre

Rubens, Peter Paul, and Jordaens, Jacob, *Nessus Abducting Deianeira*, circa 1635, Hannover, Germany, Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum

Giordano, Luca, *Rape of Deianeira*, circa 1682, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Vanloo, Carle, *The Centaur Nessus Assaulting Deianeira*, 1740, St. Petersburg, Russia, State Hermitage Museum
 Diziani, Gaspare, *Rape of Deianeira*, eighteenth century, Geneva, Switzerland, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire
 Lagrenée, Louis-Jean-François, *The Rape of Deianeira by the Centaur Nessus*, 1755, Paris, Louvre
 Masson, André, *The Centaur Nessus Abducts Deianeira*, drawing, before 1950

Deirdre (Abducted by Tristan)

Abducted, fifteenth century manuscript *Roman de Tristan*, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé

Europa (Abducted by Zeus [Jupiter])

Rape of Europa, hydria, sixth century B.C., Villa Giulia
 Paolo, Giovanni di, *Rape of Europa*, circa 1460, Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André
 Titian, *Rape of Europa*, circa 1559–1562, Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum
 Veronese, Paolo, *Rape of Europa*, circa 1578–1580, Venice, Italy, Palazzo Ducale
 Bercham, Nicolaes, *Rape of Europa*, seventeenth century, St. Petersburg, Russia, State Hermitage Museum
 Reni, Guido, *Rape of Europa*, 1636–1637, Switzerland, private collection
 Albani, Francesco, *Rape of Europa*, 1630–1640, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Vouet, Simon, *Rape of Europa*, circa 1640, Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Abduction of Europa*, 1632, New York, private collection
 Ricci, Sebastiano, *Rape of Europa*, early 1720s, Rome, Palazzo Taverna
 Lemoyne, François, *Rape of Europa*, early 1725, Moscow, Russia, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts
 Boucher, François, *Rape of Europa*, 1734, London, Wallace Collection, Paris, Louvre
 Vallotton, Félix-Édouard, *Rape of Europa*, before 1925, Bern, Germany, Kunstmuseum
 Beckmann, Max, *Rape of Europa*, watercolor, 1933, Murnau, Germany, Von Schnitzler-Mallinckrodt Collection
 Lipchitz, Jacques, *Rape of Europa*, bronze sculpture, 1938–1941, Paris, Musée National d'Art Niderbe; New York, Museum of Modern Art; Washington, D.C., Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden
 Pollock, Jackson, *Rape of Europa*, circa 1949–1950, Ilena Sonnabend Collection
 Nakian, Reuben, *Europa and the Bull*, bronze sculpture, 1945–1965, Washington D.C., Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden

Ganymede (Abducted by Zeus [Jupiter])

Rape of Ganymede, terra-cotta acroterial group, circa 470 B.C., Olympia, Greece, Archaeological Museum
Ganymede, Hellenistic marble sculpture, Madrid, Prado
Ganymede and the Eagle, Roman marble sculpture, Florence, Museo Nazionale del Bargello

Rape of Ganymede, nave capital, twelfth century sculpture, Vézelay, Ste Madeleine
 Filarete, Antonio di Pietro Averlino, *Rape of Ganymede*, bronze relief on doors, circa 1433–1435, Rome, St. Peter's Basilica
 Correggio, *Abduction of Ganymede*, circa 1530, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum
Rape of Ganymede, anonymous woodcut for emblem "in Deo laetandum," in various editions of Andrea Alciati's *Emblemata*
 Michelangelo, *Rape of Ganymede*, drawing, 1532, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum, copy in Windsor Royal Library
 Tribolo, Niccolò, *Ganymede Riding the Eagle*, bronze sculpture, before 1550, Florence, Italy, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
 Bonasone, Giulio, *Rape of Ganymede*, engravings for emblems LXXVIII and LXXIX of Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicarum quaestionum de universo genere*, 1551, Bologna, Italy
 Lorenzi, Battista, *Ganymede Riding the Eagle*, marble sculpture, before 1594, Florence, Palazzo Pitti
Rape of Ganymede, woodcut for title page of Andreas Libavius's *Alchymia...recognita, emendata et aucta*, 1606, Frankfurt
 Passe, Crispin van de, *Ganymede*, engraved illustration for *A Collection of Emblemes* by George Withers, 1635, London
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Rape of Ganymede*, 1636–1638, Madrid, Prado
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Abduction of Ganymede*, 1635, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie
 Natoire, Charles-Joseph, *Jupiter Abducting Ganymede*, circa 1731, Troyes, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Marées, Hans von, *Abduction of Ganymede*, 1887, Munich, Germany, Neue Pinakothek
 Mariani, Carlo Maria, *Abduction of Ganymede*, 1981, Rome, Galleria Monti

Helen, as a 12-year-old girl (Abducted by Theseus and Pirithous)

Euthymides, *Abduction of Helen*, red-figure amphora, circa 510 B.C., Munich, Germany, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek
 Romanelli, Giovanni Francesco, *Helen Carried off by Theseus*, seventeenth century, Plymouth, City Museum and Art Gallery

Helen (Abducted by Paris)

Abduction of Helen, red-figure skyphos, circa 480 B.C., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
 Fra Angelico, follower of, formerly attributed to Benozzo Gozzoli, *Rape of Helen by Paris*, panel, presumably from decoration of a chest, circa 1450, London, National Gallery
 Heemskerck, Maarten van, *Panoramic Landscape with the Abduction of Helen*, 1535, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery
 Tintoretto, *Rape of Helen*, 1580–1585, Madrid, Prado

Courteys, Pierrs, *Abduction of Helen*, enamel on copper, before 1581, Vaduz, Liechtenstein, Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein
 Reni, Guido, *Abduction of Helen*, 1630–1631, Paris, Louvre
 Puget, Pierre, and Veyrier, Christophe, *Paris Abducting Helen*, marble sculpture, 1684–1688, Genoa, Italy, Galleria de Palazzo Rosso
 Giordano, Luca, *Rape of Helen*, 1686, Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum
 Ricci, Sebastiano, *Rape of Helen*, early eighteenth century, Parma, Italy, Galleria Nazionale
 Platzer, Johann Georg, *Abduction of Helen*, eighteenth century, London, Wallace Collection
 Daumier, Honoré, *Abduction of Helen*, lithograph, 1842
 Moreau, Gustave, *Rape of Helen*, circa 1852, Angers, Bessonneau Collection

Hippodamia (or Deidamia) (Abducted by the Centaur Eurytion)

Hippodamia and the Centaur, from west pediment of Temple of Zeus at Olympia, circa 460 B.C., Olympia, Greece, Archaeological Museum
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Abduction of Hippodamia*, 1636–1638, Madrid, Prado

Hylas (Abducted by Water Nymphs)

Hylas and the Nymphs, opus sectile panel, mid-fourth century, Rome, Basilica of Junius Bassus
 Primaticcio, Francesco, *Hylas Held by the Nymphs*, ceiling fresco, 1541–1547, Château de Fontainebleau, Galerie d'Ulysse
 Furini, Francesco, *Hylas and the Nymphs*, seventeenth century, Florence, Appartamenti Reali
 Thorwaldsen, Bertel, *Hylas Stolen by the Walter Nymphs*, marble relief, circa 1831, Copenhagen, Denmark, Thorvaldsens Museum
 Millet, Jean-François, *Hylas and the Nymphs*, nineteenth century, Otterlo, The Netherlands, Kröller-Müller Museum
 Davies, Arthur B., *Hylas and the Water-Nymphs*, 1910, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Milles, Carl, *Hylas and the Nymphs*, marble sculpture, before 1940, Västerås, Sweden

Orithyia (Abducted by Boreas)

Romanelli, Giovanni Francesco, *Boreas Abducting Orithyia*, seventeenth century, Rome, Galleria Spada
 Pellegrini, Giovanni Antonio, *Boreas Abducting Orithyia*, early eighteenth century, Paris, Louvre
 Solimena, Francesco, *Rape of Orithyia*, 1701, Rome, Galleria Spada
 Boucher, François, *Boreas Abducts Orithyia in the Presence of Her Sisters*, 1769, Fort Worth, Texas, Kimball Art Museum
 Regnault, Jean-Baptiste, *Boreas Abducting Orithyia*, late eighteenth century or early nineteenth century, Tours, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Girodet-Trioson, *Rape of Orithyia*, 1825–1826, lithograph

Proserpine (Persephone) (Abducted by Pluto [Hades])

Abduction of Persephone, scene on *Persephone Sarcophagus*, sculpture, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
Abduction of Persephone, scene on the *Velletri Sarcophagus*, sculpture, second century, Velletri, Italy, Museo Civico
 Filarete, Antonio Averlino, *Rape of Proserpine*, bronze reliefs on doors, 1433–1435, Rome, St. Peter's Basilica
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Abduction of Proserpine on a Unicorn*, etching, 1516
 Abbate, Niccolò dell', *Rape of Proserpine*, circa 1570, Paris, Louvre
 Heintz, Joseph the Elder, *Rape of Proserpine*, circa 1595–1600, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie
 Master I. D. C., *Rape of Proserpine*, scene of enameled plaque or mirror back from Limoges, before 1600, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Rape of Proserpine*, 1636–1638, Madrid, Prado
 Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, *Pluto and Proserpine*, marble sculpture, 1621–1622, Rome, Borghese Gallery
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Abduction of Proserpine*, circa 1628–1639, Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie
 Elhafen, Ignaz, *Rape of Proserpie*, carved ivory, circa 1690, Vaduz, Liechtenstein, Collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein
 Ricci, Sebastiano, *Rape of Proserpine*, circa 1700–1701, Milan, Italy, Zecchini Collection
 Troy, Jean-François de, *Abduction of Proserpine*, 1735, St. Petersburg, Russia, State Hermitage Museum
 Turner, Joseph Mallord William, *Rape of Proserpine*, circa 1839, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Chapu, Henri, *Rape of Proserpine*, marble sculpture, before 1891, Chantilly, France
 Gottlieb, Adolph, *The Rape of Persephone*, oil on canvas, 1942, New York, Collection Annalee G. Newman

Psyche (Abducted by Zephyr for Cupid [Eros])

Prud'hon, Pierre-Paul, *Abduction of Psyche*, circa 1808, Paris, Louvre; Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Museum
 Gibson, John, *Psyche Carried by Zephyrs*, marble sculpture, 1821–1822, Rome, Palazzo Corsini
 Burne-Jones, Sir Edward, *Zephyr and Psyche*, 1865, Paris, Robert Walker Collection
 Bouguereau, Adolphe William, *Abduction of Psyche*, 1895, private collection
 Godet, Henri, *Rape of Psyche*, bronze sculpture, 1896, Paris, Musée d'Orsay

Rebecca (Abducted by Bois-Guilbert)

Delacroix, Eugène, *Abduction of Rebecca*, 1846, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art; 1858, Paris, Louvre

Rinaldo (Abducted by Armida)

Vouet, Simon, *Abduction of Rinaldo*, circa 1630–1631, Paris, private collection
 Poussin, Nicolas, *Armida Carrying Off Rinaldo*, circa 1637, Berlin, Bode Museum

Teniers, David the Younger, *Rinaldo Sleeping in Armida's Chariot*, before 1690, Madrid, Prado

Pinabello's Lady

Poussin, Nicolas, *The Sorcerer Atlante Abducting Pinabello's Lady*, pen and brown ink drawing, mid-1630s, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Sabine Women (Abducted by Romulus's soldiers)

Rape of the Sabines, manuscript illumination from *City of God* by St. Augustine, fifteenth century, The Hague, The Netherlands, Koninklijke Bibliotheek

Bassano, Francesco, *Rape of the Sabine Women*, sixteenth century, Turin, Italy, Galleria Sabauda

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Illustrations of Abductions in Folk and Fairy Tales

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Ahinoam and Abigail Abducted by the Amalekites (I Samuel 30:5–15)

Literature/Opera/Theater/Ballet

The Infant Arthur Taken by Merlin and Given to Hector [Ector] for Safekeeping (Arthurian legend)

King Arthur, Mortally Wounded, Carried Off in a Barge by Three Mysterious Queens to the Isle of Avalon (Arthurian legend)

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Guinevere Abducted by Meleagance, Son of King Badgemagus of Gore (Arthurian legend)

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ABUNDANCE

Liana De Girolami Cheney

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Abundance:

ANCIENT WORLD

RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

ABBONDANZA.



Cesare Ripa, *Abundance*, 1603, woodcut emblem from *Iconologia*. (Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts)

Abundance, a common figure in allegory, is often depicted as a divine personification of a beautiful young woman crowned with flowers, fruits, and grains. In one hand she usually holds a cornucopia filled with flowers, fruits, and grains, and in the other hand a basket of the same. Next to her stands a barrel or urn containing the water that assists in cultivation, fertilization, and growth.

According to Greek mythology, the concept of abundance was associated with the god of time, Cronus, who devoured his children for fear of being overruled by one of them. His wife-sister Rhea, or Earth, pregnant with another infant, fled to Crete to save this child. At this island she gave birth to Zeus. Because of this noble act, Zeus showed gratitude toward his mother by admitting her to the firmament as a constellation and turning one of her horns into a wonderful cornucopia, or horn of plenty.

The cornucopia, according to J. E. Cirlot's *A Dictionary of Symbols*, in Greek and Roman mythology refers to the goat Amalthea who fed the infant Zeus (Jupiter) in a cave on Crete. One of the goat's horns was called cornucopia, the horn of plenty, because having been broken off, it was filled with a continuous supply of milk to feed the young god. Legend also relates that the daughter of King Melisseus of Crete fed the infant Zeus with goat's milk from this magical horn. Given this general symbolism, the horn becomes a sign of strength, the goat of nurturing motherhood, and the horn of plenty of abundance, endless bounty, fertility, fruitfulness, the gathered fruits of the Earth, the horn of Amalthea, "giver of wealth." Furthermore, the horn, phallus-shaped and hollow, combines masculine and feminine attributes, endowing the symbol with complex meanings (including that of the *lingam*, or symbol of generation, fertility, and fecundity). The cornucopia thus becomes an attribute of the deities of vegetation, vintage, and fate and of the mother goddess in representations of Demeter/Ceres and Tyche/Fortune as Fate, Fortuna, and Althea; it is also carried by Priapus as an attribute of fecundity in his capacity of god of gardens. The 1620 sculpture by Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *Almathea Feeding Jupiter*, in the Borghese Gallery in Rome, and the 1640 paintings of the same subject by Jacob Jordaens and Nicolas Poussin in the Dulwich College and Berlin galleries, respectively, are examples of the appropriation of these ancient myths and styles in seventeenth-century art.

The flow of richness in the cornucopia was compared to the continuous flow of the river that brings fertility, prosperity, and commerce. In particular the association involved the river Achelous, or Akeloos, in southwestern Greece, and its god of the same name. Hercules fought with the river god, who took the form of a bull, and broke off one of Achelous's horns. Upon his victory Hercules returned the broken horn to the river god,

who, moved by Hercules' generous gift, awarded him a horn of plenty.

In art, horns as vessels, such as that held by the Venus of Laussel of 15,000 B.C., were associated with libations or liquid offerings (Biedermann, p. 77). The cornucopia also became an attribute of other rivers, such as the Nile, the Tiber, and the Arno. In ancient art representations of these great rivers appear in the Hellenistic sculpture of the Nile discovered in 1512 in Rome and presently housed in the Chiaramonti Museum of the Vatican. The Tigris and Tiber rivers were also personified in Hellenistic sculptures, some of which were discovered during the Renaissance and installed as fountains in the courtyard of the Belvedere Palace, a summer papal residence (Haskell and Penny, pp. 272–273, 310–311). During the Renaissance these two marble statues personified the richness of cities through commerce, industry, and agriculture. Now these marble works are in the Museum of Pio Clemente in the Vatican.

The blessing of goodness and plenty, such as Rome enjoyed with the Tiber, was painted by Giorgio Vasari in the fresco decoration of the Sala dei Cento Giorni in 1548, in the Palazzo della Cancelleria of Rome. The same theme was also depicted in Vincenzo Cartari's 1647 woodcut showing the Tiber River and in Giorgio Vasari's 1550 frontispiece for Leon Battista Alberti's book *On Architecture*.

In *Clef universelle des sciences secrètes*, P. V. Piobb points out that the cornucopia also represents prosperity, hence its association with the zodiacal sign of Capricorn. An ample supply of food, the basis of a nation's or an individual's well-being, flows from peace, justice, and good government. Therefore, abundance is often associated with these virtues, as in the celebration of the end of a war. Abundance is sometimes depicted on public buildings or on a tomb in allusion to the benefits enjoyed during the deceased's lifetime. Abundance may, like charity, be accompanied by several children. She may hold a sheaf of corn in her hand like her classical prototype Ceres, the goddess of agriculture. A ship's rudder, a symbol of guidance, control, and safety, which came to be associated with the idea of government, is another attribute of abundance dating from ancient Rome. It derives from the annual celebration of the grain harvest that was transported to the city primarily by boat. The rudder with terrestrial globe and cornucopia suggest that the worldwide rule of Rome brought about plenty.

In Greco-Roman tradition Tyche/Fortune/Fate stands on a globe, as in Andrea Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar* at Hampton Court in England. Like the globe upon which she stands, Fortune may be unstable and Abundance only temporary. Herodotus and Plutarch relate the story of King Croesus of Lydia in Asia Minor who has just shown the wise Athenian Solon his great treasure. Solon, unimpressed, warns the king

that no worldly treasure can save him from an ignominious end and—should it come to that—“count no man happy until he dies.” He points to a funeral pyre in the background, where, indeed, condemned by the Persian conqueror Cyrus, Croesus does meet his end. The patrimony of great Croesus cannot save him, and what Solon forewarns becomes true. This parable also alludes to the Christian iconography of the land of milk and honey (Exodus 3:8, 33:3).

The concept of abundance as personification of richness can also be applied to political success, as illustrated in the frieze of the Ara Pacis Augustate (Altar of Peace, 9–10 B.C.). The imperial procession shows Augustus as a high priest preceded by lictors and flamines and followed by members of the imperial family. The procession is an apotheosis to honor Jupiter, the chief god, and to thank him for the economic and political wealth granted to the Romans. On one of the reliefs on the Ara Pacis a female figure of matronly aspect is seated in the center with two infants on her lap—probably Rhea Silvia with Romulus and Remus—as well as a Mother Earth (Tellus Mater), the personification of Rome itself. She is surrounded by various emblems of prosperity and abundance that flow from peace. The group became a well-established motif much later in Western art as a personification of charity.

The symbolism of grains (wheat, maize, ear of corn) derives from the Latin word *frumentum*, from the word *fruire* or *fructus*, meaning created or produced by the Earth. It alludes to cultivation or agriculture, fertilization, growth, and the regeneration of the Earth. According to Egyptian mythology, from where it transmigrated to Greek and Roman mythologies, the representation of the goddess in the zodiacal constellation Virgo holds a branch of wheat alluding to richness and abundance because wheat plants originated in the Jordan River valley. In Christian iconography, grains symbolize potentiality or the seed of life; the *malamute in parvo* allude to Earth and the human nature of Christ as well as to the Resurrection.

The symbolism of the word *fruit* derives from the Latin word *fructus*, meaning created or produced by the Earth. Representations of fruits, similarly to grains, allude to immortality, the essence and the seed representing the origin, culmination, and result of one state and the seat of the next. First fruits represent the best of that which is sacrificed; for example, in Christian symbolism, Christ is the First Fruit of the Virgin. Contrary examples can be found in the fruit of the Tree of Passion representing worldly attachment, the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge representing the fall or self-consciousness as separate from God, and the fruit of the Tree of Life representing immortality. In pagan ritual, similarly, fruits and flowers are often used as offerings in cults of the dead as well as in celebrations in the cult of Priapus.

The image of Abundance is very common in Italian art. Her principal attribute is a cornucopia full of grains and fruits. In the sixteenth century, Giorgio Vasari, one of the greatest masters of personification, used this image several times as a symbol of spiritual and earthly riches in his decorative cycles, such as in the Refectory of Monteoliveto in S. Anna dei Lombardi in Naples, the Sala dei Cento Giorni in Rome, and the Chamber of Fortune in his house in Arezzo. In the latter cycle, the Vasarian personification of abundance standing in front of a

niche symbolizes the goodness of Earth, with her respective attributes of a cornucopia, fruits, flowers, and a barrel. The cornucopia she holds and the wooden barrel next to her are filled with fruits and flowers. Abundance carries on her head a basket filled with various grains. Vasari described this figure as *Copia*: “A cornucopia filled with fruits.” According to Vincenzo Cartari’s *Imagini delli dei degli’ Antichi* and Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*, Abundance personifies the copiousness and richness of Earth, and her attributes—cornucopia, fruits, and grains—allude to agricultural pastures and the cultivation of the Earth. In his depiction of abundance, Vasari appears to have combined two of his earlier images, *Opulentia* (Opulence or Plenty) from the Sala dei Cento Giorni and *Abondanza* (Abundance) from the Refectory of Monteoliveto. Vasari’s *Abondanza* anticipates Cesare Ripa’s description of this image in *Iconologia* as a fair young woman dressed in a green gown embroidered with gold, the color of the fields and of ripening grain, and with a wreath of flowers, the harbingers of abundance and delight, in her hair. She holds a horn of plenty—the cornucopia filled with fruit—at her right side, and in her left arm she bears a sheaf of various grains. Many fallen ears of grain lie at her feet, and in the foreground are bags of money and containers of gold and jewels.

The Neapolitan version differs dramatically in style from the one in Vasari’s Chamber of Fortune because it represents one of the 12 fruits of the Holy Spirit in conformance with the overall iconography of the refectory’s ceiling. Abundance delicately stands in a *figura serpentinata* posture with a large basket of grains and fruits in her arm and a cornucopia of the same at her feet. The British Museum owns a splendid drawing on this subject, with abundance depicted as a voluptuous female body barely covered by a veil. This design duplicates the personification of abundance in the Refectory of Monteoliveto (S. Anna dei Lombardi in Naples), where Vasari portrayed a sensual image of female beauty crowned with wheat and fruits and holding the same in baskets and cornucopia. These attributes allude to two types of richness and fecundity: one of the spirit, infused by the grace of God as represented in the beauty of the human body, and the other of the Earth, as seen in the overflowing contents of the basket and cornucopia. This Vasarian representation of abundance precedes Ripa’s emblem and sets the stage for the evolution of abundance’s iconography.

The horn of plenty alluding to abundance became a universal symbol of the wealth of nations and glorification of governmental achievements. Settlers in the New World used it to symbolize the land of richness on the state seals of Idaho and Wisconsin and on the national arms of Honduras, Panama, Columbia, Venezuela, and Peru (Aachen, p. 190).

Abundance is also associated with material happiness, as is felicity. This personification alludes to the Greek term *eudaimonia*, meaning “good luck” or “to be prosperous, well off, or happy.” Aristotle’s view of happiness is associated with his evaluation of individual fulfillment and the sum of pleasures needed. Thomas Aquinas elaborates on this theory by defining happiness in terms of pleasure with prudence, thus adding a theological dimension. In the Renaissance the personification of felicity fuses the ancient and medieval views of happiness and joy and is seen as part of the Holy Spirit’s gift of virtues.

Although the personification of abundance is a popular theme in Italian art, depictions of abundance are found in many cultures. The seventeenth century was the golden age of Dutch art as well as of civic prosperity in Holland. The abundance of this life was illustrated, not in personifications, but in still life paintings, in particular breakfast pieces such as Pieter Claesz Van Haarlem's *Still Life with Lemon* (1640), in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, and Clara Peeters's *Still Life with a Candle* (1650), in a private collection. These paintings, however, represent another level of meaning, one not only associated with temporal well-being and a rich life but also with the moral implication of the brevity of life and warnings about riotous living. For example, the poet and writer Jacob Cats, in his emblem book *Zinne-en Minne-beelden*, uses fruit, such as the pomegranate, to symbolize fertility; however, the red seeds of this fruit also allude to the blood of martyrs (Segal, p. 33). Cats's moralizing poems and emblems encourage a life of sobriety and virtue. Artists such as Peeters and Claesz van Haarlem, following Cats's moral allusions, illustrate how illusory is the perception of the abundance of richness depicted in their still lifes, thus stressing a moral implication and a human limitation.

Abundance has submitted to many interpretations over time. In antiquity it referred mostly to economical and political wealth. In the Renaissance it focused on the personification and the individual moral and intellectual quality of richness. In the Baroque period it focused on the middle-class material richness and wealth accumulated through exploration and conquest.

See also Harvesting; Virtue/Virtues

Selected Works of Art

Ancient World

Venus of Laussel, prehistoric relief, 15,000 B.C., Laussel, France

Goddess of Plenty, Roman sculpture, late third century, Vienne, France

River Tigris, Hellenistic sculpture, third century B.C., Rome, Vatican, Pio Clemente Museum

River Nile, Hellenistic sculpture, third century B.C., Rome, Vatican, Chiaramonti Museum

River Tiber, Hellenistic sculpture, third century B.C., Rome, Vatican, Pio Clemente Museum

Renaissance

Vasari, Giorgio, *Abundance*, fresco, 1548, Arezzo, Italy, Casa Vasari

Vasari, Giorgio, *Abundance (Joy)*, fresco, 1545, Naples, Italy, Refectory of Sant' Anna dei Lombardi

Vasari, Giorgio, *Abundance*, drawing, 1545, London, British Museum

Janssens, Abraham, *The Origin of the Cornucopis*, oil on canvas, circa 1615–1620, Seattle, Washington, Seattle Art Museum

Seventeenth Century

Ripa, Cesare, *Abundance*, woodcut emblem, from *Iconologia*, 1603, Rome

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Jordaens, Jacob, *Almathea Feeding Jupiter*, painting, 1645, private collection

Poussin, Nicolas, *The Nurture of Jupiter*, oil on canvas, 1639, Dulwich Picture Gallery

Poussin, Nicolas, *The Nurture of Bacchus*, oil on canvas, circa 1630, London, National Gallery

Poussin, Nicolas, *The Nurture of Bacchus*, oil on canvas, 1639, Paris, Louvre

Claesz, Pieter, *Still Life With Lemon*, 1640, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Peeters, Clara, *Still Life with a Candle*, oil on canvas, 1650, private collection

Heem, Jan Davidsz De, *Still Life with Lobster*, oil on canvas, before 1684, Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art

Kalf, Willem, *Still Life with Nautilus Cup*, oil on canvas, before 1693, Madrid, Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza

Kalf, Willem, *Still Life with Metalware*, oil on canvas, before 1693, Le Mans, France, Musée de Tessé

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ADULTERY

Sarah S. Gibson

The following iconographic narratives are included in the discussion of the theme Adultery:

THE LOVES OF THE
OLYMPIAN DEITIES

DANAË

LEDA

RAPE OF EUROPA

VENUS AND MARS

VENUS AND ADONIS

PARIS AND HELEN

AGAMEMNON AND
CLYTEMNESTRA

LUCRETIA

THE ARTHURIAN LEGENDS

DAVID AND BATHSHEBA

SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS

JOSEPH AND POTIPHAR'S
WIFE

CHRIST AND THE WOMAN
TAKEN IN ADULTERY

SECULAR THEMES



Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, 1565, oil on panel, London, Courtauld Institute of Art, Princes Gate Collection. (Courtesy of the Courtauld Institute of Art)

Adultery is defined as voluntary sexual intercourse between a married person and a partner other than the lawful husband or wife. Attitudes toward adultery and visual representations of it have fluctuated radically over time.

In the Bible, the seventh commandment (Exodus 20:14; Deuteronomy 5:18) forbids adultery, but some Israelites ignored the law, albeit not always with impunity. Mosaic law condemned to death by stoning anyone found guilty of committing adultery (Leviticus 20:10; Deuteronomy 22:22).

In ancient Greece and Rome there was no adultery unless a married woman was involved. If a man caught another in the act of illicit intercourse with his wife, he could kill the offender with impunity. Furthermore, the husband of a proven adulteress lost his citizenship if he continued to cohabit with her, and the adulteress herself was barred from all temples and religious rites. This harsh attitude was somewhat at variance with the indulgence allowed the gods in their adulterous affairs, but the deities, of course, possessed a different ethos. Furthermore, the frequently depicted amorous exploits of Zeus with unmarried maidens—adulterous to later centuries because of his marriage to Hera—would not have been so regarded by the Greeks themselves. It often seemed that the fruits of Zeus's infidelities populated half the Earth and the sky.

In ancient Rome the offended husband was allowed to kill the adulterer only under certain circumstances. A special court tried cases of adultery, and the usual punishment was banishment of the wife and her paramour to separate islands. The first Christian emperor, Constantine, however, introduced more severe penalties, making the adulterer's offense a capital crime. The Christian Church, along with secular authorities, continued to punish adulterous relationships rigorously.

Fidelity in marriage was always more binding for the woman, and even in the late twentieth century, with much wider tolerance of sexual freedom, a lingering social stigma, if not a legal punishment, was applied far more frequently to women than to men. Clearly, in societies where legitimacy of offspring is of paramount importance, adultery threatens to disrupt the orderly transmission of name and property.

Representations of adulterers in the visual arts of the Western world may be usefully divided into five major categories: those scenes relating to the classical Greek and Roman deities, those of legendary Greek and Roman mortals, those made famous in the Arthurian legends, those based on Christian religious themes, and those that are primarily secular. It should be noted that these categories are not always mutually exclusive; for instance, mythological themes sometimes take on Christian meaning.

The Loves of the Olympian Deities

The amorous exploits of Zeus (Jupiter), the king of the gods, who was married to his sister Hera (Juno), afforded a seeming-

ly inexhaustible source of motifs for the visual arts. Many of the legends surrounding Zeus have subplots revolving around his jealous wife's revenge for his infidelities. In order to outwit her and also to conceal his lechery from his intended prey, Zeus often disguised himself. Thus, for example, he seduced Europa in the guise of a white bull, Leda as a swan, Danaë as a shower of gold, and Callisto in the form of the goddess Artemis (Diana). The sensual and erotic possibilities of these tales were fully exploited by artists and seemed to have had a special appeal for royal patrons.

Many of the representations of Zeus's philandering are based on stories told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and remain more or less faithful to the original sources, although the ancients themselves tended to allegorize the old fables in order to seek deeper meanings in what might otherwise be considered fairy tales. The moralizing habits of the Middle Ages led to a search for Christian meanings in the literature of fable, as when Danaë came to be seen as a symbol of the Immaculate Conception (Heckscher, p. 218) or as an allegorical figure of modesty (Seznec, p. 94). Christian doctrine is discerned in what would appear to be the least promising material. Thus, in a tour de force of allegorization, the Latin grammarian and writer on mythology Fulgentius could equate Leda with injustice and the swan with power. Their mating gave birth to scandal and dishonor in the person of Helen. A certain secular emphasis, however, dominated actual visual representations of the pagan gods and heroes in the Middle Ages. The deities conform to the medieval social canons of courtly life and manners and are dressed as fashionable knights and ladies.

With the advent of the Renaissance most artists seemed to distance themselves from such convoluted reasoning, in which Zeus disguised as the bull is equated to Jesus Christ and Europa to the human soul. Titian's paintings for Philip II, based on subjects taken from classical mythology, were not necessarily meant to be understood as elaborate allegories, masking philosophical or religious truths, although some art historians have argued otherwise. As a respectable genre, mythology often gave artists an opportunity to display their skills and patrons the chance to indulge in sensual delight, bordering occasionally on lasciviousness.

At the same time, the moralizing vogue died hard, particularly in the Netherlands. In 1604 Carel van Mander stated in *Het Schilderboek*:

Nothing on earth can protect an evil, godless man from the vengeful hand of God, so that in the end, no matter how long it takes, he will be paid for his misdeeds. . . . So this story of Mars who left Jupiter's service and the company of all the gods to be with Venus, illustrates to us how those who abandon God to follow lustful ways come to shame. (Lowenthal, p. 98)

By the eighteenth century, moralizing and allegorical messages were totally put aside. François Boucher's hedonistic paintings of the loves of the gods dealt with themes that had not been as popular since the early Renaissance. Mythology was once again a pretext for the creation of scenes of erotic liaisons.

One of the most popular stories from the Middle Ages to the French Revolution was that of Danaë, the beautiful daughter of Acrisius, king of Argos. Acrisius imprisoned his daughter in a tower of bronze to protect her from intercourse with men. Zeus (Jupiter), undaunted, visited her in the guise of a shower of gold, and she thus conceived Perseus. In the later Middle Ages she was represented most often as a contemporary princess surrounded by her ladies-in-waiting, while Zeus comes to her bearing golden jewelry. Jan Gossaert, called Mabuse, departed radically from this tradition in 1527 in presenting a childlike Danaë, gazing trustfully upward. In Rembrandt van Rijn's painting of 1636 in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, Russia, Danaë resembles a reclining Venus, in whom the primary emotion is expectation, while the entire picture is suffused with a magical, golden light. Titian's Danaë in the Prado in Madrid, Spain, painted for Philip II in 1553–1554, is unabashedly erotic. Correggio's Danaë is one of four scenes depicting the loves of Zeus; the others are Leda, Io, and Ganymede. These paintings, too, are unequivocally erotic. In the Leda and Io paintings the actual act of coition is represented; the other two show moments just before and just after. That they do not descend into pornography is partly due to the fact that none includes the form of a man, only Zeus's various disguises. They are beautifully evocative rather than titillating, although much modern opinion will see in them only the exploitation of women by the act of rape, albeit consensual.

Visual renditions of the story of Leda were widespread in the decorative arts of the ancient world. Her story also offered ample opportunities for Renaissance and Baroque artists. The wife of Tyndareus, king of Sparta, Leda was the mother of Zeus's children Castor, Polydeuces, Clytemnestra, and Helen of Troy. Highly erotic versions of Zeus's approach to her in the guise of a swan were painted by Michelangelo (known only in a sixteenth-century copy) and Correggio. In the eighteenth century François Boucher and Charles-Joseph Natoire, among others, returned to the theme.

Europa was the daughter of King Agenor of Tyre. Zeus seduced her in the guise of a handsome white bull who by his gentleness enticed the girl to climb on his back. He then swam away with her to Crete, where she bore him Minos and possibly several other children. This tale also found many interpreters. Titian's painting of 1559–1562, in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston, exhibits a certain ambiguity, in that the position of Europa's body suggests surrender as well as fear, and the arms suggest an embrace as well as a desire for self-preservation. There is also a certain humorous aspect to the picture afforded by the putto riding a dolphin and trailing behind; we are perhaps not meant to take this too seriously as a rape scene.

Zeus, of course, was not the only god given to extramarital affairs. The *Odyssey* and *Metamorphoses* both relate the tale of Aphrodite (Venus) caught in bed with her lover Ares (Mars) by her husband Hephaestus (Vulcan), the divine artificer. Hephaestus entangled them in a golden net so that all the gods

might see and laugh. Among the many versions of this incident is Maerten van Heemskerck's painting of circa 1536 in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria. The art historian Ilja Veldman points out that although at first sight Heemskerck appears to have portrayed a purely pagan theme, he is, in fact, reconciling pagan mythology with Christian moral philosophy, a practice that began in late antiquity. By this means the old gods were given new interpretations and significance. Veldman believes that Heemskerck, in portraying the union of Mars and Venus, is using this subject as a symbol for physical love, or *luxuria*. He is exhorting men to honor justice, rectitude, and integrity, because the gods easily find a way of punishing wrongdoers, no matter how mighty. This interpretation is reinforced by the allegorical figures of Prudence and Justice on the verso of the panel.

In 1585 Hendrick Goltzius took up the same tale in an engraving that bears the following inscription:

Just as the sun god, with his dazzling light,
reveals dissolute Mars and the shameful secret
deeds of Venus, so God sees the misdeeds of an
evildoer's life and does not permit things to
take place in secret that are sinful. (Veldman, p. 40)

Both artists, therefore, used a tale from classical antiquity to mask a highly moral content that evidently struck a responsive chord in the sixteenth-century Netherlands (Veldman, pp. 39–43).

In later years renditions of this scene lose their moralizing tone, although its popularity continued. Typical examples are the versions by Joachim Wtewael painted in 1610, now in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, California; by Louis Chéron, painted in 1695, in the Tate Gallery in London; and by François Boucher, painted in 1754, in the Wallace Collection in London.

Both Botticelli and Piero di Cosimo used the love of Mars and Venus as allegories of the triumph of love over war. Possibly commissioned in connection with marriages, each of these panels suggests the theme of mutual love and both show Mars succumbing to the power of Venus. Both also convey a rich sensuality and contain overt sexual references—the rabbit and turtle doves in the Piero di Cosimo, the lance and conch-shell lance in the Botticelli.

Venus's love for Adonis also found many interpreters, again notably Titian. There are more than 30 painted or engraved copies of his painting of 1554, now in the Prado in Madrid. Unable to prevent her lover Adonis from going on the hunt in which he would be killed, Venus made him immortal by changing him into an anemone, a scene painted by Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié in 1769, now in the Châteaux de Versailles in France.

Adulteries in Greek and Roman Legend

The most famous of Greek adulterous relations was surely that of Paris and Helen, a liaison that precipitated the Trojan War. Almost as familiar was the adultery of Clytemnestra and Aegisthus, the resolution of which came at the end of the war.

Paris, who had married the nymph Oenone, was the youngest son of the Trojan king Priam and his queen, Hecuba. Selected to judge the dispute between Aphrodite, Athena, and Hera over the golden apple of Eris (Discord), Paris chose

Aphrodite, who had promised him the most beautiful woman in the world. All were in agreement that this was Helen, daughter of Zeus and Leda, who unfortunately was already married to Menelaus, King of Sparta. When Paris either kidnapped or persuaded her to elope with him, Menelaus rallied the nobles of Greece for an armed expedition to Troy, which they besieged for 10 years. In Homer's *Iliad* Helen is portrayed as an unfortunate creature either pitied or hated by Trojans and Greeks alike. But in the *Iliad* her father-in-law Priam says to her, "I hold thee not to blame; nay I hold the gods to blame." This may have been what Menelaus thought too, because, although the classical sources are mixed about her ultimate fate, she appears to have returned to Sparta and reunited with Menelaus. Paris was wounded by a poisoned arrow and died when seeking a cure from Oenone, the wife he had abandoned, who refused to help him. Few representations remain to show the Greek artists' conception of Helen, but Paris was widely depicted judging the goddesses. There are also some paintings illustrating the abduction of Helen, such as a scene on an Attic red-figure skyphos of circa 480 B.C., in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. A related scene is *Aphrodite Persuading Helen (to follow Paris)*, a relief sculpture of the first century B.C. or first century A.D., now in the National Museum in Naples, Italy.

By the Middle Ages the Trojans had become the heroes of romance, and it was unthinkable for a Trojan prince to so flout the chivalric laws of hospitality as to steal his host's wife. Paris was therefore often shown abducting Helen from Venus's island of Cythera, as in two fifteenth-century cassone panels in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. In manuscript illuminations, such as those in *Le Livre des Estoires dou Commencement dou Monde* (1350–1360), in the British Museum in London, Helen wears the fashions of the French and Flemish courts and Troy is shown as a late Gothic European city with turreted buildings and crocketed arches. Succeeding generations of artists reinterpreted the story in many ways. In the sixteenth century, Heemskerck, in *Panoramic Landscape with the Abduction of Helen* (1535–1536), in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Maryland, chose to show the abduction of Helen in a wide panoramic landscape punctuated by temples and monuments of antiquity. In 1788 Jacques-Louis David painted a *Paris and Helen*, now in the Louvre in Paris, while he was clearly under the influence of the classical revival and stimulated by the excavations in Italy at Herculaneum and Pompeii.

Clytemnestra was the wife of Agamemnon, who was king of Mycenae, brother of Menelaus, and commander of the Greek forces at Troy. He returned from the Trojan War with a captive concubine, Cassandra, daughter of King Priam, to find that his wife had taken his cousin Aegisthus as a lover. Clytemnestra planned her husband's murder, details of which vary, as do her motives. Aeschylus indicates it was because of Agamemnon's sacrifice of their daughter Iphigenia at the outset of the war as well as his infidelities. Clytemnestra and Aegisthus also murdered Cassandra. The murders were later avenged by Agamemnon's son Orestes. Images of these murders appear in classical art, including a Greek bronze shield band showing the murder of Agamemnon (sixth century B.C.), in the Olympia Museum in Greece, and a bronze relief showing Clytemnestra killing Cassandra (seventh century B.C.), in the National Museum in Athens, Greece. Illustrations are also found in

medieval narratives of the Trojan sagas, as in a fifteenth-century German manuscript from Guido delle Colonnés's *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, in the Bavarian State Library in Munich, Germany, that shows Clytemnestra and Aegisthus killing Agamemnon.

A frequently represented episode from Roman history recounted by Livy is more truly a rape, as it certainly did not involve consent. Lucretia, wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, was seduced by Sextus, son of Tarquinius Superbus. After confessing her dishonor to her father and her husband and begging them to avenge her, she stabbed herself. The suicide of Lucretia was a common theme; seventeenth-century artists positively reveled in this tale. Rembrandt, for example, in a 1664 painting in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., shows her quiet, desperate grief. Artemesia Gentileschi exploits the drama and anguish leading to Lucretia's suicide in a painting from about 1621, in the Palazzo Cattaneo-Adorno in Genoa, Italy.

The Arthurian Legends

The Arthurian prose and verse romances provided two outstanding tales of adultery for the delectation of the Middle Ages. Later falling into obscurity, the Arthurian saga was resurrected in the nineteenth century. Lancelot's affair with King Arthur's wife, Guinevere, was a focal point of the Arthurian saga, and the love of Tristan and Yseult was one of the most popular stories recounted in the tales.

In chivalric terms Lancelot was a knight without peer, but his adulterous relationship led not only to his own downfall but also to the ultimate destruction of Arthur's kingdom. Chrétien de Troyes's romance *Chevalier de la Charette* (circa 1170) seems to be the first to feature the romance of Lancelot and Guinevere, but there are many other versions of their affair.

Tristan and Yseult are often presented as tragic figures trapped by an inexorable fate through no fault of their own. Their deception of Yseult's husband, Mark of Cornwall, resulted not from willfulness, but because they accidentally drank a magic love potion. Scenes from their love story were endlessly depicted in medieval decorative arts—on enamels, embroideries, wall-paintings, manuscript illuminations, mirror backs, and jewel coffers. A particularly delightful conceit is a little ship built around a nautilus shell, with tiny figures of Tristan and Yseult playing chess on their voyage from Ireland to Cornwall, the trip on which they imbibed the magic potion. With mountings in silver parcel-gilt, the object was used as a saltcellar marking the place of the host at the dinner table. The piece, called the *Burley House Nef*, bears the mark of Pierre Le Flamand, Paris. Made in 1482–1483, it is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London.

The story of Tristan and Yseult's tryst beneath the tree with King Mark spying on the lovers seems to have been particularly popular. Depictions range from a misericord in Lincoln Cathedral (circa 1280), to a northern French ivory casket (1325–1340), in the British Museum in London. In 1443–1450 the motif appears again on a corbel from the house of Jacques Coeur in Bourges, France. The enormous popularity of these particular Arthurian tales is no doubt due to the appeal of the romances of love and chivalry and to the incorporation of the notion of Christian retribution and redemption reflected in the ultimate fate of the star-crossed lovers.

In the nineteenth century the romantic, sentimental, and narrative aspects of the tragedies were emphasized. Visual artists could refer to the text of Sir Thomas Malory's fifteenth-century romance, *Le Morte D'Arthur*, and Alfred Lord Tennyson, sometimes regarded as the fountainhead of the Arthurian renaissance in England, recreated many of the legends in his *Idylls of the King* and other poems. In 1874–1875 Julia Margaret Cameron prepared a series of photographic *tableaux vivants* to illustrate the *Idylls*, a few sets of which are still extant. Other illustrators of Tennyson include many of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and Aubrey Beardsley.

Pre-Raphaelite artists, particularly William Morris, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, and Edward Burne-Jones, all painted characters and tales from the Arthurian sagas, including Morris's *La Belle Iseult* (also called Queen Guinevere) of 1858, now in the Tate Gallery in London. Morris's company executed a series of stained glass panels for Harden Grange, near Bingley in Yorkshire. Cartoons for the panels were designed by Morris, Rossetti, Burne-Jones, and several other artists. These works, in which the narrative element predominates, illustrate the craze for Camelot that swept Victorian England. If the adulteries seem to be somewhat glossed over and the protagonists viewed rather sympathetically, there is occasionally a suggestion that Camelot decays and disappears partly because of sensuality and spiritual blindness.

Christian Themes

Three major Old Testament narratives concern adultery, although in two of them the adultery is avoided. These are the stories of David and Bathsheba, Susanna and the elders, and Joseph and Potiphar's wife. All were depicted by numerous artists and retained their popularity over time.

The story of David and Bathsheba is related in II Samuel, chapter II. Bathsheba was the wife of Uriah, one of David's soldiers. David, who already had several wives, saw her from his palace and had her brought to him for the purpose of sexual intercourse. Ultimately David arranged for Uriah's death by sending him into battle. David then married Bathsheba, but their first-born son, conceived in the adulterous liaison, died. Although the prophet Nathan assured David that God would forgive him, the dire events of his later life apparently stemmed from his adultery. Depictions of the story usually center on David's first view of Bathsheba from his palace terrace or window, as in Jan Swart van Groningen's *Bathsheba* (1530–1540), in the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum in Cologne, Germany. She is shown innocently combing her hair in her garden, unaware of the king's lust. Artemesia Gentileschi painted her at least four times, as a graceful, seminude figure attended by her servants, including an early 1640s version in the Gallery of Fine Arts in Columbus, Ohio. Rembrandt was also fascinated with Bathsheba, culminating in a great work painted in 1654, in the Louvre, in which her pose and face reveal powerful conflicting emotions, caught between her duty to, and perhaps desire for, the king and fidelity to her husband. A certain sadness pervades the scene as she contemplates an ultimately unhappy fate.

The story of Susanna is recounted in an apocryphal addition to the book of Daniel. Susanna was the beautiful and faithful wife of Joachim, a Jewish exile in Babylon. Two lustful elders thrust themselves upon her as she bathes in her garden, threat-

ening her with false accusations if she refuses their desires. Resisting their advances, she is indeed falsely accused of adultery with a young man, judged, and condemned to death. Daniel, inspired by God to cross-examine the elders, leads them to contradict one another, thereby demonstrating their false witness. Susanna is subsequently acquitted, a potent manifestation of the triumph of good over evil.

Pictorial renditions of this story stress the popular motif of the plight of an innocent person wrongfully accused. Susanna is the archetypal figure of innocence, first threatened and then miraculously saved. From early Christian times, the Susanna story was a popular theme. In a Roman catacomb painting of circa 350, she is shown as a lamb between two wolves. Her name is derived from the Hebrew word for lily, a flower associated with purity, and her story was easily assimilated with the themes of salvation and deliverance (Garrard, p. 185). Scattered representations appear in the fifteenth century, and by the sixteenth two traditional views, corresponding to different moments in the narrative, were firmly established. One shows Susanna unaware of the elders' lasciviousness, as in Tintoretto's painting of 1555–1556, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria, where she regards herself idly in a mirror while the men regarding her lurk behind a wall. The more common tradition shows the dramatic moment of confrontation between Susanna and her tormentors, focusing the viewer's attention on the complex problem of virtue maintained in the face of evil and falsehood. Rembrandt painted such a scene in 1647, now in the Staatliche Museen Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie in Berlin-Dahlem, Germany. Also typical of this inherently more dramatic scene are the paintings by Anthony Van Dyck of 1620–1621 and Peter Paul Rubens of 1610–1614, both in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, Germany. In these and other portrayals the moralizing aspects of the tale are perhaps somewhat subordinated to the celebration of the nude figure. Both Gerrit van Honthorst, in his 1655 painting of the scene in the Borghese Gallery in Rome, and Artemesia Gentileschi, in her painting of 1610 in the Schloss Weissenstein in Pommersfelden, Germany, stress Susanna's horror and anguish.

Another example of adultery thwarted, but without immediately happy consequences, was related in the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife (Genesis 39:7–20). Joseph, son of Jacob and Rachel, was sold into slavery in Egypt by his brothers, where he entered the household of Potiphar, a captain of the pharaoh's guard. Unfortunately Potiphar's wife attempted to seduce him; as he fled from her embraces, she retained a piece of his garment that she then used as proof that he had molested her. Sent to prison as a result of this false accusation, Joseph nevertheless overcame his tribulations and eventually achieved royal favor and power. The episode with Potiphar's wife was cited as an example of the patriarch's chastity and as a prefiguration of Jesus Christ. Saint Ambrose interpreted the tale as an allegory of the death of Christ. The woman could steal Joseph's coat (or a piece of it) but could not steal his virtue; the state could deprive Christ of his mortal body but could not tempt his soul. Not as frequently portrayed in the visual arts as the stories of Susanna or Bathsheba, the tale of Joseph and Potiphar's wife nonetheless had a number of manifestations. Among these is a sixteenth-century tapestry designed mainly by Agnolo Bronzino, with contributions from Cecchino Salviati and Jacopo da Pontormo, now in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence,

Italy. The dramatic and erotic possibilities of the scene were realized in the second quarter of the sixteenth century in a painting by Pieter Coecke van Aelst in which the woman's nudity is covered only by a veil. With a singularly determined expression on her face, she clutches Joseph's cloak with both hands as she falls from the bed. An example from the seventeenth century is Antonio del Castillo y Saavedra's *Life of Joseph* (circa 1655), where a view of his precipitous flight from his tormentor is combined with the next episode of his life when he is delivered from prison. Artemesia Gentileschi created a more appealing image in about 1622–1633 of the wife and a Joseph who seems rather reluctant to leave, now in Harvard University's Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

In the New Testament, the episode of Jesus Christ and the woman taken in adultery (John 8:3–11) concerns an adulteress brought before Christ by the Pharisees, who then asked for his judgment. Christ did not immediately reply but stooped to write something on the ground. When the Pharisees insisted, he responded, "He who is without sin, let him cast the first stone." At that the Pharisees began to turn away until finally only the woman was left. Jesus forgave her, telling her to go and sin no more.

Representations of this scene enjoyed widespread popularity, especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One of the most moving examples is Pieter Bruegel's small grisaille oil panel of 1565, now in the Courtauld Institute Galleries in London. In it the woman stands alone between the Pharisees and Christ and the apostles, her isolation reinforced by the void of the pavement in front of her upon which Christ writes. It is an image of austere monumentality and classic gravity.

Guercino took up the story in the early seventeenth century, giving it a similar calm, friezelike treatment. The narrative is summarized by the exchange of glances between the participants. The painting, from about 1621, is now in the Dulwich Picture Gallery in London. In 1917 Max Beckmann returned to the theme in a grotesque, almost caricatural image now in the Los Angeles County Museum. Discordant in color, with elongated figures and more than a hint of violence, his expressionistic treatment makes a strong impact upon the viewer, reinforcing the timelessness of the moral and the Christian notion of forgiveness of sin.

Secular Scenes

Images of secular adulteries have perhaps been less prevalent than those that are disguised as myth, legend, or allegory. They do, however, tend to reflect moralizing attitudes or emphasize certain comical aspects of a situation.

Dirk Bouts's two panels, *The Justice of the Emperor Otto* (1470–1482)—only one of which was completed by him, the other probably followed his design—in the Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, Belgium, tell a tale of justice and retribution, reminiscent of the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife. Derived from a tale found in the *Pantheon* of the twelfth-century historian Godfrey of Viterbo, the panels were designed for the town hall of Louvain, Belgium. The first panel shows the empress's false accusation of an honorable count. The second shows the attempt by his widowed countess to clear his name, whereby she endures the ordeal by fire unscathed. The guilty empress is therefore condemned to death by burning at the stake. Such moralizing histories were considered appropriate

exempla for judges in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Bouts's treatment is undramatic, almost frozen, as if to underline the need for judicious consideration of crimes.

Augustus Egg's trilogy *Past and Present* (1858), in the Tate Gallery in London, was a contemporary depiction of adultery. The central panel shows the husband's discovery of his wife's infidelity while their children build a (collapsing) house of cards, at the base of which is a Balzac novel (French society was regarded by the English middle classes as unstable and dangerously immoral). The two children are seen again in the left of the side panel mourning the death of their father, with the suggestion that they are stigmatized by their mother's act. The right panel shows the ultimate fate of the woman, apparently abandoned by her lover, clutching her illegitimate child, and contemplating suicide in the river. The condemnatory attitude underlying this series is at variance with the Christian lesson of mercy toward the guilty and compassion for the fallen woman (unless we assume that it is subtly ironic, for which there is no evidence). It does, however, reveal a strong undercurrent of anxiety about the moral and social order running through Victorian England. Art historian Lynda Nead points out that there are few painted representations of the adulteress in mid-nineteenth-century England, although there are many of the ideal wife and even the prostitute and there were prints and illustrations of adulterous relations in the popular press. The Matrimonial Causes Act of 1857 allowed a man to divorce his wife for adultery, but a woman had to prove additional aggravating circumstances, such as bigamy or incest. It was essential that the family be protected from the taint of illegitimacy (Nead, pp. 50–51).

Men whose wives became involved in adulterous affairs that became public knowledge were often ridiculed. The ridicule could take various forms. In the Netherlands it was said that a cuckold's wife placed a blue cloak over his shoulders, as is shown in Pieter Bruegel the Elder's painting *Netherlandish Proverbs* or *The Blue Cloak* (1559), in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin-Dahlem, Germany.

In England and elsewhere the expression "to put on horns" is most often used to refer to a cuckold. An amusing reference to this process appears on William Hogarth's painted (and engraved) tale of adultery in *Marriage à la Mode*, narrated in six paintings between 1743 and 1745, and now in the National Gallery in London. In this series Hogarth chronicles the disasters of an arranged marriage gone wrong. In the fifth picture of the six, in a scene in the countess's boudoir, we see a little child playing with a statue of Actaeon sprouting a very fine set of horns, in a clear reference to the earl.

The history of adultery is the history of a double standard whereby the extramarital affairs of men were tolerated but those of women were not. This is not always so evident in the visual arts. According to Georges Duby, the men of the Middle Ages were "obsessed" with a fear that their wives might commit adultery (Ariès and Duby, vol. 2, p. 82). Yet the romantic stories from the Arthurian legends were often concerned with adulterous affairs and were ubiquitous in the visual arts. The often depicted amorous exploits of the Olympian gods were unquestionably used as an excuse to create erotic images designed primarily for a male audience. And images based on biblical stories certainly carried moralizing messages to both sexes for a very long period of time.

See also Abduction/Rape; Marriage/Betrothal; Sin/Sinning; Temptation; Vices/Deadly Sins

Selected Works of Art

The Loves of the Olympian Deities

Coxie, Michiel the Elder, *The Loves of Jupiter*, cycle of ten drawings, circa 1530–1540, London, British Museum
 Corinth, Lovis, *The Loves of Zeus*, lithographs, 1920

Danaë

Gossaert, Jan, *Danaë*, painting, 1527, Munich, Germany, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen
 Correggio, *Danaë*, painting, circa 1530–1534, Rome, Borghese Gallery
 Primaticcio, Francesco, *Danaë*, tapestry, after 1540, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Titian, *Danaë with Nursemaid*, painting, 1553–1554, Madrid, Prado
 Titian, *Danaë with Cupid*, painting, 1545–1546, Naples, Italy, Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Danaë*, painting, 1636, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage

Leda

After Michelangelo, *Leda and the Swan*, painting, sixteenth century, London, National Gallery
 Correggio, *Leda and the Swan*, painting, circa 1531–1532, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz
 Natoire, Charles-Joseph, *Leda and the Swan*, painting, 1731–1734, Troyes, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Boucher, François, *Leda and the Swan*, painting, 1742, Stockholm, Sweden, Nationalmuseum
 Moreau, Gustave, *Leda and the Swan*, painting, 1846, Paris, Musée Gustave Moreau
 Cézanne, Paul, *Leda*, painting, 1886–1890, Merion Station, Pennsylvania, Barnes Foundation Collection

Rape of Europa

Rape of Europa, manuscript illumination, fourteenth century, Lyons, France, Bibliothèque de la Ville (Ms 742, fol.40)
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Abduction of Europa*, drawing, 1495, Vienna, Austria, Graphische Sammlung Albertina
 Salomon, Bernard, *Abduction of Europa*, woodcut from *La Métamorphose d'Ovide Figurée*, 1557, Lyons, France, Jean de Tournes
 Titian, *Rape of Europa*, painting, 1559–1562, Boston, Massachusetts, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Rape of Europa*, painting, 1628, Madrid, Prado
 Vallotton, Félix, *The Rape of Europa*, painting, 1908, Bern, Switzerland, Kunstmuseum

Venus and Mars

Botticelli, *Mars and Venus*, painting, circa 1438, London, National Gallery

Piero di Cosimo, *Mars and Venus*, painting, circa 1500–1505, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Gemäldegalerie
 Giordano, Luca, *Mars and Venus Trapped by Vulcan*, painting, Vienna, Austria, Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Wien
 Wtewael, Joachim, *Mars and Venus Surprised by Vulcan*, painting, circa 1606–1610, Los Angeles, California, J. Paul Getty Museum
 Chéron, Louis, *Vulcan Catching Mars and Venus in His Net*, painting, 1695, London, Tate Gallery
 Boucher, François, *Venus and Mars Surprised by Vulcan*, painting, 1754, London, Wallace Collection

Venus and Adonis

Titian, *Venus and Adonis*, painting, 1554, Madrid, Prado
 Poussin, Nicolas, *Venus and Adonis*, painting, late 1620s, Fort Worth, Texas, Kimball Art Museum
 Poussin, Nicolas, *Venus and Adonis*, painting, circa 1625–1626, Providence, Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art
 Poussin, Nicolas, *Venus and Adonis*, painting, 1627, Montpellier, France, Musée Fabre
 Lépicié, Nicolas-Bernard, *Adonis Transformed by Venus Into an Anemone*, painting, 1769, Versailles, France, Musée National du Château de Versailles et de Trianon

Paris and Helen

The Meeting of Menelaus and Helen, Attic black-figured amphora, circa 550 B.C., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Hieron, *The Meeting of Menelaus and Helen at the Fall of Troy*, Attic red-figured skyphos, circa 480 B.C., Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts
The Abduction of Helen, Attic red-figured skyphos, circa 480 B.C., Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts
Aphrodite Persuading Helen, relief sculpture, first century B.C. or first century A.D., Naples, Italy, National Museum
The Return and Reconciliation of Menelaus and Helen, manuscript illustration from *Le Livre des Estoires dou Commencement dou Monde*, 1350–1360, London, British Museum (MS 20, D.I., fol. 181r)
The Arrival of Paris and Helen at Troy, Flemish manuscript illumination, *Chronique Universelle dite de la Bouquechardière*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (M214, fol.84)
The Judgment of Paris and the Abduction of Helen, Cassone Panel, third quarter of fifteenth century, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery
Paris and Helen with Their Retinue in the Temple of Venus, Cassone Panel, third quarter of fifteenth century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Vivarini, Antonio, School of, *The Abduction of Helen and Her Companions*, painting, late fifteenth century, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery
The Rape of Helen, Italian Majolica dish, 1540–1550, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Heemskerck, Maerten van, *Panoramic Landscape with the Abduction of Helen*, painting, 1535–1536, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery
 David, Jacques-Louis, *Paris and Helen*, painting, 1788, Paris, Louvre

Agamemnon and Clytemnestra

Clytemnestra Kills Cassandra, bronze relief from the Argive Heraeum near Mycenae, seventh century B.C., Athens, Greece, National Archaeological Museum
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Susanna, catacomb painting, circa 350, Rome, Cemetery of Pretestato
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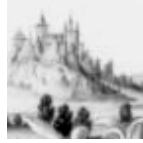
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ANNUNCIATION

Don Denny

The following iconographic narratives are included in the discussion of the theme Annunciation:

ANNUNCIATION TO THE
VIRGIN MARY

ANNUNCIATION OF THE
DEATH OF THE VIRGIN

THE ANNUNCIATION TO
THE SHEPHERDS

THE ANNUNCIATION TO
ZACHARIAS

THE ANNUNCIATION TO
ANNA AND JOACHIM

THE ANNUNCIATION OF
SAMSON'S BIRTH

THE ANNUNCIATION OF
ISAAC'S BIRTH

THE ANNUNCIATION OF
BUDDHA'S BIRTH

OTHER ANNUNCIATIONS



Sandro Botticelli, *The Annunciation*, circa 1490, painting on panel, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery.
(Courtesy of Alinari/Art Resource, New York)

The word *annunciation* can be considered approximately synonymous with announcement, but it is much more commonly used to refer specifically to the Annunciation to the Virgin Mary—the event described in Luke 1:26–38, when the angel Gabriel appeared to Mary and informed her that she was to be the mother of Jesus Christ. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, this precise Christian meaning of the word was part of the English language before the more general meaning came into use. By association with the Annunciation to the Virgin, other comparable but less famous or momentous biblical occurrences are also regularly called Annunciations, and the term might be extended further to include various divine pronouncements even if they are not canonically designated as Annunciations. Such religious usages will form the limits of this article; it would be inappropriate in normal parlance to apply the term *Annunciation* to images of announcements in merely historical or genre settings.

The Annunciation to the Virgin is one of the most frequently repeated motifs in Christian art. The scene inevitably includes the angel Gabriel and Mary, sometimes these two alone. Often present, appearing above the two, is a white dove symbolizing the Holy Ghost mentioned by Gabriel: “The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the Most High shall overshadow thee . . .” (Luke 1:35). In many late medieval and Renaissance examples God the Father appears at the top of the composition, usually with some indication that the Holy Ghost is descending from Him to the Virgin. The descent of the Holy Ghost, with or without the visible presence of God, may be understood as a reference to the impregnation of Mary. (In the liturgy the Feast of the Annunciation is on March 25, exactly nine months before the Feast of the Nativity.)

The physical relationship between Gabriel and the Virgin may take many forms, which have much to do with the expressive content of the images. In early medieval art the two usually confront each other with approximately equal force. Late medieval and Renaissance art offers a much greater variety. In many cases the angel bows with extreme respect before the Virgin, who draws back with a mannered refinement, as in Botticelli’s painting in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy. In an opposite mood, the angel may rush aggressively toward the Virgin, who manifests a complete submissiveness, as in the Annunciation on Matthias Grünewald’s *Isenheim Altarpiece*. Sometimes, especially in Northern European art, Mary is shown seated on the floor as an indication of her humility, in keeping with her words, “Behold the handmaid of the Lord” (Luke 1:38).

The enriched iconography of later periods also provides architectural settings of far greater variety and interest than those of early medieval Annunciations. Dutch painting of the

fifteenth century places the action in the Virgin’s house, frequently, with rather obvious implications, in the bed chamber. These interiors are imagined as bourgeois residences of a contemporary style. In Italian art of the same period the settings, in keeping with Renaissance taste, are of a more elegant, formal, and generalized character. French and German Annunciations of the time are often located, with even greater disregard for the biblical narrative, in ecclesiastical interiors.

A wealth of symbolic details came to be involved in the representations, some of them common attributes of the Virgin, others specific to the meanings of the Annunciation. The white lilies that appear in innumerable examples are a familiar sign of Mary’s virginity. A less common sort of reference to a similar idea is seen in the wash basin and white towel—cleanliness connoting sexual purity—that appear in Robert Campin’s *Merode Altarpiece*, now in the Cloisters in New York. Many Annunciations include a glimpse of a small garden surrounded by a strong crenellated wall, like a fortification; this is the motif of the *hortus conclusus*, the enclosed garden, a symbol of Mary as fertile yet perpetually virginal. The device may be taken, in fact, as an allusion to the Virgin’s womb. There are many forms in Annunciation imagery that, by defining enclosed spaces or by illustrating the penetration of enclosed spaces, carry references to the Virgin’s unnatural impregnation and have further reverberations of a psychosexual content. A simple instance in the *Merode Altarpiece* is the beam of heaven-sent light passing through a circular window. A number of fifteenth-century Italian Annunciations show a birdcage, containing a single bird, hanging near the Virgin—as in Carlo Crivelli’s painting in the National Gallery in London. This might suggest Christ incarnate in the Virgin’s womb or, perhaps more plausibly, the soul temporarily imprisoned in the body.

Since the announcement of Christ’s advent marks the beginning of the Christian era, Annunciation iconography may contain allusions to a transition from the Old to the New Dispensation. In many of the images this is suggested within the architectural setting by a contrast between an older, heavier kind of architecture and a more modern, more distinctly Christian type of architecture in the Gothic style. Or the idea may be conveyed by including among the Virgin’s books the juxtaposition of a scroll, an ancient form of book, and a codex, associated with the Christian era. Mary is often interrupted in her reading of a devotional book in Renaissance paintings, as in Annunciation scenes by Robert Campin, Andrea del Sarto, Lorenzo Lotto, and Juan de Flandes.

One of the rare modern instances of Annunciation iconography is Dante Gabriel Rossetti’s *Ecce Ancilla Domini!* (Behold the Handmaid of the Lord), an unconventional version of the subject in which a handsome, wingless Gabriel extends a stalk

of lilies toward a pale Virgin Mary sitting rather apprehensively on a narrow couch.

An Annunciation narrative different from that recounted in Luke occurs in the apocryphal Protoevangelium of James. Here the Annunciation to Mary occurs while she is drawing water. This is illustrated in early Christian and Byzantine images, such as the fourteenth-century mosaic in the Church of the Kariye Djami in Istanbul, Turkey, in which Mary, pitcher in hand, bends over a well while looking up in response to the angel's greeting. The same source describes how the young Mary was assigned, along with other maidens, to weave cloth for the veil of the temple. Consequently early Christian Annunciations often show her holding a distaff wrapped with wool. A peculiar late medieval variant of the Annunciation combined the theme with the story of the Hunt of the Unicorn, for legend taught that the unicorn could be captured only by a virgin. A number of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century tapestries show Gabriel as a huntsman sounding his horn while the unicorn leaps into the lap of Mary, who is seated in a *hortus conclusus* (Schiller, figs. 127–129).

Toward the end of the Middle Ages the apocryphal Annunciation of the death of the Virgin appeared. A noteworthy example is that on Duccio di Buoninsegna's *Maestà Altarpiece*, where the image is similar to the canonical Annunciation, except that Mary is elderly and the kneeling angel extends to her a palm branch, traditional symbol of victory over death.

Other than for the announcement of the Virgin's death, the term *Annunciation* has only been used to indicate a divine announcement of the birth of an especially holy person. The Annunciation to the shepherds, described in Luke 2:8–14, occurred in the fields at night after Christ's birth. In art the motif is usually shown in conjunction with the Nativity of Christ, sometimes in a distant background space and often in broad daylight. A dramatic nighttime image is depicted in Gentile da Fabriano's *Nativity*, a panel at the base of his *Strozzi Altarpiece* in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. The Annunciation to the shepherds may contain an implied contrast between those who accept and those who reject or ignore the Christian message. This is symbolized in some instances by a distinction between a small flock of white sheep and one black goat, or, simply, by the difference between a shepherd who looks up in awe at the angel and another who turns away. Separate representations of the Annunciation to the shepherds are rare. Outstanding examples are a full-page miniature in the *Pericope Book of Henry II*, an eleventh-century German manuscript, and a large, tumultuous etching by Rembrandt van Rijn.

Luke also recounts, in his first chapter, the Annunciation made by an angel to the priest Zacharias, informing him that he and his wife Elizabeth were to be the parents of a son, "who shall be great in the sight of the Lord"—John the Baptist (Luke 1:15). At the beginning of Luke's Gospel in several early medieval Gospel books the Annunciation to Zacharias is represented simply, with Zacharias in priestly costume standing before an altar. Like Zacharias and Elizabeth, Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin Mary, were childless and of advanced age when the birth of an offspring was announced to

them, so that the event is somewhat marvelous. The apocryphal Protoevangelium of James describes the appearance of an angel to Anna, at home in Jerusalem, to inform her that she is to bear a child of great destiny. A concurrent angelic announcement to Joachim in the fields with his herdsmen told him of the child and instructed him to return to his wife in Jerusalem. The Annunciations to Anna and to Joachim are beautifully depicted by Giotto in the frescoes of the Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy. Anna is shown kneeling in her house while the angel speaks to her through a small window. Joachim is visited by an angel as he burns an offering on an altar set out in the wilderness and then, in the following composition, is seen sleeping on the ground as the angel returns to hover over him in his dream.

Annunciations of important births also occur in the Old Testament. An angel appeared to the wife of Manoah and later to Manoah to inform them of the birth of Samson (Judges 13). The Annunciation of Samson's birth is shown on one of the engraved plaques of Nicholas of Verdun's *Klosterneuburg Altarpiece*. Its form is similar to that of the Annunciation to the Virgin, and it is presented as an earlier type of the New Testament event. An etching by Hendrik Goltzius in his series *Promises of the Bible* portrays a strangely indolent angel speaking to both Manoah and his wife. In the background the elderly couple appear again, making a burnt offering to the Lord. The subject is treated similarly in an etching by Cornelis Massys as plate 1 of his series *The History of Samson*.

The birth of Isaac to Abraham and Sarah was likewise preceded by divine prophecy, when three "men" visited the couple at their tent, as told in Genesis 18. In art the three are always represented as angels. After being served food, the angels announced that Sarah would bear a son, at which she laughed, for she was past the time of childbearing. In Christian interpretation the narrative came to have several meanings—for example, as a reference to the offering of the Mass in devotion to the Trinity. The Annunciation aspect of the narrative is emphasized in the *Klosterneuburg Altarpiece*, where, like the Annunciation of Samson's birth, it is seen as an early type of the Annunciation to the Virgin.

A Far Eastern parallel to the angelic Annunciation of Christ's advent is the Buddhist account of the appearance to Queen Maya, while she was asleep, of a white elephant descended from on high bearing in his trunk a white lotus flower (which might be compared to the white lily often proffered by Gabriel to the Virgin Mary). The elephant touched the queen's right side with his tusk then entered her womb, a moment marking the incarnation of the Buddha. In some versions of the narrative the event is merely a dream of the queen, in others it has a greater reality. The subject is repeatedly illustrated in early Indian art, as on a stone-carved relief of the second or first century B.C. from the Barhut Stupa, now in the Calcutta Museum in India. Here Queen Maya lies sleeping on a small bed, surrounded by kneeling attendant women, while the elephant floats above her.

See also Reading; Virgin/Virginity; Visiting/Visitation

Selected Works of Art

Annunciation to the Virgin Mary

Annunciation, Byzantine mosaic, circa 435, Rome, Basilica of Sta Maria Maggiore

Saint Albans Psalter, manuscript illumination, twelfth century, Hildesheim, Germany, Treasury of St. Godehard's (fol. 3)

Nicholas of Verdun, *Klosterneuburg Altarpiece*, metalwork, 1181, Klosterneuburg, Austria, Stiftsmuseum

Mosaic, circa 1315, Istanbul, Church of the Kariye Djami

Pucelle, Jean, *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*, manuscript illumination, before 1413, New York, The Cloisters (fol. 16)

Campin, Robert, *Merode Altarpiece*, circa 1425–1430, New York, The Cloisters

Fra Angelico, *Annunciation*, panel, circa 1440, Florence, Italy, St. Lorenzo

Leonardo da Vinci, *Annunciation*, oil on panel, late 1470s, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Crivelli, Carlo, *The Annunciation*, panel, transferred to canvas, 1486, London, National Gallery

Botticelli, *The Annunciation*, 1489–1490, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Flandes, Juan de, *Annunciation*, from *San Lázaro Altarpiece*, oil on panel, circa 1508, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Grünewald, Mathias, *Isenheim Altarpiece*, 1509–1513, Colmar, France, Musée d'Unterlinden

Sarto, Andrea del, *Annunciation*, oil on panel, 1512, Florence, Italy, Galleria Palatina

Lotto, Lorenzo, *Annunciation*, oil on canvas, 1520s, Recanati, Italy, Santa Maria Sopra Mercanti

Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Ecce Ancilla Domini!*, 1850, London, Tate Gallery

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Tanner, Henry Ossawa, *The Annunciation*, oil, 1898, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Museum of Art

Annunciation of the Death of the Virgin

Duccio, *Majestas Pediment: Annunciation of the Virgin's Death*, panel, 1307–1311, London, National Gallery

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The Annunciation to the Shepherds

Pericope Book of Henry II, manuscript illumination, circa 1010, Munich, Germany, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (MS. lat. 4452, fol. 8r)

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Fabrizio, Gentile da, *Strozzi Altarpiece*, 1425, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

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Pintoricchio, *Adoration to the Shepherds*, before 1513, Rome, Sta Maria del Popolo

The Annunciation to Zacharias

Harley Gospels (Golden Gospels), manuscript illumination, early ninth century, London, British Library (MS Harley 2788, fol. 109)

Giotto, *Annunciation of the Birth of Saint John the Baptist*, circa 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Ghirlandaio, Domenico, *Vision of Zacharias*, 1485–1490, Florence, Italy, Sta Maria Novella

Severino, Lorenzo da San I, *Scenes from the New Testament: Angel Appearing to Zacharias*, before 1503, Urbino, Italy, St. Giovanni

Veronese, Bonafacio, *Zachariah and the Angel*, sixteenth century, Venice, Italy, Academy

Sacchi, Andre, *Annunciation to Zacharais*, circa 1635?, Rome, Lateran

The Annunciation to Anna and Joachim

Giotto, *Joachim's Dream*, fresco, circa 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Bartolo, Andrea di, *Apparition of the Angel to Saint Joachim*, before 1428, Rome, Vatican, Pinacoteca

d'Alba, Macrino, *Scenes from the Life of Saint Joachim: Annunciation to Joachim*, before 1528, Frankfurt, Staedel Institute

Ferrari, Gaudenzio, *Annunciation to Saint Anne*, before 1546, Milan, Italy, Brera

Sicilante, Girolamo, *The Angel Appearing to Joachim*, ceiling, sixteenth century, Rome, St. Tommaso in Formis

The Annunciation of Samson's Birth

Nicholas of Verdun, *Klosterneuburg Altarpiece*, metalwork, 1181, Klosterneuburg, Austria, Stiftsmuseum

Saraceni, Carlo, *Angel Appears to the Wife of Manoah*, circa 1610, Basel, Switzerland, Historisches Museum

Lastman, Pieter, *Angel Appears to Manoah and His Wife*, circa 1625, London, E. Shapiro Collection

Tintoretto, *The Annunciation by the Angel to the Wife of Manoah*, before 1635, Lugano, Switzerland, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection

The Annunciation of Isaac's Birth

Hospitality of Abraham to the Three Angels, Byzantine mosaic, 526–547, Ravenna, Italy, San Vitale

Nicholas of Verdun, *Klosterneuburg Altarpiece*, metalwork, 1181, Klosterneuburg, Austria, Stiftsmuseum

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Apparition of the Angels to Abraham*, seventeenth century, Seville, Cathedral

Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista, *Sarah Told of Her Maternity*, circa 1726, Udine, Palazzo Arcivescovile, Galleria

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The Annunciation of Buddha's Birth

Relief, from Barhut Stupa, Sunga dynasty, second century
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APOCALYPSE

Don Denny

The following iconographic narratives and subjects are included in the discussion of the theme Apocalypse:

TOTAL PROGRAMS

CHRIST IN MAJESTY

THE WOMAN CLOTHED WITH
THE SUN

DEATH ON A PALE HORSE

THE WHORE OF BABYLON

MODERN APOCALYPTIC
IMAGES



Albrecht Dürer, *The Four Horsemen*, circa 1496–1498, woodcut from *The Apocalypse*, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Lessing J. Rosenwald Collection. (Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

The word *apocalypse* in its original Greek sense refers to a “revealing” or “unveiling.” But the word is much more commonly and specifically applied to a type of visionary religious literature prophesying the end of the physical world. Such writings flourished between the second century B.C. and the second century A.D. In the canonical Bible the chief examples are in certain portions of the Book of Daniel (7–12) and in the last book of the New Testament, the Apocalypse, or the Revelation of St. John the Divine. Of all apocalyptic literature, the latter is of by far the greatest importance for iconographic tradition.

The Revelation of St. John the Divine, a work of extended, obscure, and very complex imagery and symbolism, has inspired correspondingly complex programs of illustration throughout the history of Christian art. Each major period has produced stylistic and iconographic interpretations of such apocalyptic phenomena as the Opening of the Seven Seals (Revelation 5–8), the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (Revelation 6:1–8), the Two Witnesses (Revelation 11), the Woman Clothed with the Sun (Revelation 12:1–2), the Seven-Headed Beast (Revelation 12–13), the Adoration of the Lamb (Revelation 7:9–17), the Whore of Babylon (Revelation 17), the Heavenly Jerusalem (Revelation 21), and many more. It is impossible in a short article to describe all these visual riches; rather, a brief survey of a few of the more outstanding pictorial cycles can be offered.

Many heavily illustrated manuscripts of commentary on Revelation and Daniel were produced in early medieval Spain by the eighth-century monk Beatus of Liebana. These sets of images, repeated often in tenth- and eleventh-century books (with Daniel illustrations forming only a small part of the program), refer not to the commentary but to the original biblical text. The paintings are executed in the so-called Mozarabic style, an art of intense color and bold, semiabstract design.

A later and quite different body of medieval illustration is found in numerous English apocalypse manuscripts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; here the material is cast in an elegant, courtly style that might seem at odds with the violence and cosmic extravagance of the written source. The distinctive set of late-fourteenth-century French tapestries preserved in Angers provides another example of a late medieval apocalypse cycle, but in a very different scale and medium.

With the development of printing techniques in the fifteenth century, many apocalypse illustrations were produced in popular woodcut block-books. At a far higher aesthetic level is the group of 14 woodcuts made by Albrecht Dürer in the 1490s, a technical and expressive tour de force and one of the most widely known of all apocalypse programs. Among other graph-

ic series of note are the 21 woodcuts by Lucas Cranach the Elder and his workshop appearing in a Bible published at Wittenberg in 1522—illustrations strongly influenced by Dürer’s prints but with the insertion of numerous bits of explicit Protestant propaganda—and a set of 24 engravings, extraordinary for their Mannerist elaboration, produced in 1561 by the French goldsmith Jean Duvet.

As Christian themes gradually declined in importance over the following periods, major apocalypse illustrative cycles were seldom undertaken. But during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries a revived feeling for mystical, fantastic, and emotionally charged imagery led to several brilliantly personal interpretations of Revelation. Around 1810 William Blake brought his fervent imagination to a set of 12 watercolors on apocalyptic motifs. In 1899 Odilon Redon, illustrator of many bizarre texts, published a 12-piece portfolio of lithographs in which figures from the apocalypse are treated in concentrated black-and-white visions comparable to the mood of symbolist poetry. German Expressionist Max Beckmann provided 27 hand-colored lithographs for an edition of the Apocalypse issued in 1943; a set of 15 apocalypse illustrations, also color lithographs, was produced by the Mexican painter Rufino Tamayo in 1959.

Among the vast array of apocalypse imagery a few subjects gained significant currency as separate motifs. During the Middle Ages the most widespread of these autonomous motifs was taken from the fourth chapter of Revelation. An august figure, to be understood as Christ the Lord, is seen seated on a throne and surrounded by four “living creatures”—a lion, an ox, a man (or angel), and an eagle, all with wings—and 24 “elders” wearing crowns. This vision was generally taken as a prophesy of the Second Coming of Christ. The assorted attendant figures are quite enigmatic, but exegetical thought came to invest them with much symbolic content. The four “living creatures,” which had appeared earlier in the prophesy of Ezekiel (1:5–14), were understood in early Christian times as signifying the four Evangelists: the lion, Mark; the ox, Luke; the angel, Matthew; the eagle, John. The representation of the enthroned Christ surrounded by the four winged creatures is a familiar subject in early medieval art through the twelfth century and is found in manuscript painting, ivory carving, frescoes, and other media. This iconographic device, commonly called Christ in Majesty, departs from the biblical text in some respects: the four creatures carry books or scrolls as references to the writings of the four Evangelists, and Christ usually makes a gesture of blessing with his right hand and holds a book in his left.

As monumental architectural sculpture rapidly developed in the twelfth century, the Christ in Majesty motif was repeatedly

used to fill the tympana of church doorways. The Second Coming was thus one of the great eschatological themes of Romanesque sculpture, providing an alternative to the Last Judgment seen on other portals. The large spaces of the portal designs there often included the 24 elders, crowned and holding musical instruments. Especially fine examples of such ensembles are at the church of St.-Pierre in Moissac and on the western facade of Chartres Cathedral, both in France. The Moissac tympanum, dating from around 1125–1135, surrounds an immense Christ with a crowded assemblage: directly beside him are the four winged creatures; closely bracketing the central gathering are two extravagantly tall angels; and the remainder of the space is filled by the elders, small actively posed figures disposed in several horizontal rows. The Chartres portal, of a slightly later date, is markedly more formal and stately in character: the tympanum is of relatively modest size and contains only Christ and the four winged creatures, all simply arranged so that there is a generous interval between the figures; the elders, as well as a series of angels, are relegated to the archivolts, forming concentric arches that create a strong neutral frame around the tympanum; the 12 apostles are aligned on the lintel below the tympanum.

Another apocalyptic vision that formed an important independent tradition is the Woman Clothed with the Sun (*mulier amicta sole*) of the twelfth chapter of Revelation—a woman with the moon under her feet and her head crowned by 12 stars, who “brought forth a man child, who was to rule the nations . . .” (Revelation 12:5). The woman was readily seen as an image of the Virgin Mary in cosmic glory. By the end of the Middle Ages impressive works of art centered around this theme. Such is the late-fifteenth-century altarpiece in Moulins Cathedral in France, where the Virgin, holding the Christ Child, is enthroned above a thin crescent moon, a large yellow sun expanding behind her and angels holding over her head a golden crown decorated with stars; additional angels gather around the space, with two, at the bottom, displaying a scroll bearing the relevant quotation from the apocalypse. The altarpiece is completed by shutters, showing, at left, the donor Pierre II, Duke of Bourbon, accompanied by Saint Peter, and, at right, the Duchess of Bourbon, Anne of France, with her daughter Suzanne and accompanied by St. Anne; the closed shutters represent the Annunciation to the Virgin. During the Counter-Reformation the motif was often taken up as a symbol of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin, a significant issue in Catholic dogma. Especially in seventeenth-century Spain, where Counter-Reformation feeling was strong, the Virgin Immaculate was often represented in this way. In numerous paintings Bartolomé Esteban Murillo depicted a very youthful Virgin, without the Christ Child, standing on a sickle moon, surrounded by bright sunshine, light clouds, and a host of tiny angels.

The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (Revelation 6:1–8) have had a significant place in popular parlance and imagery. They are revealed at the opening of the first four seals: the Conqueror, holding a bow and riding a white horse; a figure signifying War, with a sword, riding a red horse; a figure perhaps suggesting Famine, holding a pair of scales, riding a black

horse; and Death, riding a pale horse and followed by Hell. The four have sometimes been represented together as an autonomous image—for example, in a painting by Arnold Böcklin of about 1895, in the Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister in Dresden, Germany, in which the riders soar over a modern city. The riders also have been shown individually—as in Henri Rousseau’s remarkable painting *War*, at the Louvre in Paris, a free variation on the Apocalypse text, in which the rider is a fierce young woman waving a sword and torch while riding a black horse across a desolate field covered with naked corpses upon which feed a flock of dark birds. But the most frequently and famously repeated motif from this apocalyptic passage has been that of Death on a Pale Horse.

In a 1506 drawing at the British Museum in London Dürer shows Death as a skeleton holding a scythe (conventional symbol of the grim reaper) and sitting on a weak, bony horse. Salvador Dalí perhaps had that model in mind when making his dramatic drawing of a similarly mounted skeleton, holding a lance rather than a scythe, now at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Benjamin West produced several variations of his epic composition *Death on the Pale Horse*. Here Death, followed by many dark grotesque monsters of hell, surges forward, brandishing in both hands piercing rays of light while his steed tramples a mass of defenseless figures, prominent among whom is a family of youthful parents and two small children; in a subordinate role at the right of the very wide work are the three other riders, on red, white, and black horses. In West’s culminating version of the theme (at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia) the group of white-clad souls that appears upon the opening of the fifth seal is seen at the extreme right in the distant sky. In the first years of the twentieth century another American painter, Albert Pinkham Ryder, created an utterly different imagining of the motif: a lonely Death, scythe in hand, drives his horse around a racetrack set on an empty, featureless terrain (at the Cleveland Museum of Art in Ohio).

An important Christian subject thematically related to apocalyptic imagery is the Last Judgment, which has a very rich iconographic history. This subject, however, is not appropriate for inclusion here because the Last Judgment is not explicitly described in Revelation and, indeed, almost all of its traditional iconographic elements are derived from other sources.

Beyond any particular religious doctrine, the adjective *apocalyptic* is often applied to concepts and images concerned with vast general decline or destruction. An extensive, ill-defined body of representations, especially some of the expressionist art of modern times, may be considered apocalyptic in this sense. For example, Pablo Picasso’s mural *Guernica* has been called apocalyptic, referring to the bombing of the town of that name during the Spanish Civil War. The painting exceeds the limits of that one event to suggest in symbolic forms the enveloping horror of total mechanical military destruction. Many works of the contemporary German painter Anselm Kiefer show immense, unoccupied, decaying architectural interiors or blasted, lifeless, flat landscapes—dark visions subject to various subjective interpretations but strongly suggestive of a twilight universe

with little or no hope. In the *Firestorm* series—large drawings in ink and charcoal filled by amorphous surges of blackness—American Robert Morris has devoted much of his time to the distinctly apocalyptic theme of nuclear holocaust.

See also Damned Souls; Death; Destruction of Cities; Order/Chaos

Selected Works of Art

Total Programs

Beatus of Liebana, *Commentary on the Book of Revelation and the Book of Daniel*, copy of eighth century manuscript, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (MS 664)

The Trinity Apocalypse, circa 1230–1250, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Trinity College Library (MS. R.16.2)

The Angers Apocalypse, tapestries, late fourteenth century, Angers, France, Castle, New Gallery

Dürer, Albrecht, *The Apocalypse*, woodcuts, 1497–1498

Blake, William, suite of 12 watercolors on Apocalypse motifs, circa 1799–1810, various collections

Redon, Odilon, *Apocalypse de Saint-Jean*, lithographs, 1899

Beckmann, Max, *Die Apokalypse*, before 1950

Tamayo, Rufino, *Apocalypse of Saint John*, fifteen lithographs, 1959

Christ in Majesty

Ivory Plaque, tenth century, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Portal Sculpture, west facade, circa 1145–1155, Chartres, France, Chartres Cathedral

Portal Sculpture, circa 1110–1120, Moissac, Sainte-Pierre

The Woman Clothed with the Sun

Master of Moulins, *Virgin and Child Surrounded by Angels*, late fifteenth century, France, Moulins Cathedral

Murillo, Estebán Bartolomé, *The Immaculate Conception*, Madrid, Prado

Rubens, Peter Paul, *The Virgin as the Woman of the Apocalypse*, oil on canvas, 1623–1624, Los Angeles, California, J. Paul Getty Museum

Blake, William, *The Great Red Dragon and the Woman Clothed with the Sun: "The Devil Is Come Down,"* pen and watercolor, circa 1805, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Death on a Pale Horse

Dürer, Albrecht, *King Death on a Horse*, drawing, 1505, London, British Museum

Blake, William, *Death on a Pale Horse*, pen and watercolor over pencil, circa 1800, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

West, Benjamin, *Death on a Pale Horse*, 1802, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts

Ryder, Albert Pinkham, *The Race Track*, circa 1910, Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art

The Whore of Babylon

Blake, William, *The Whore of Babylon*, pen and watercolor, 1809, London, British Museum

Modern Apocalyptic Images

Groux, Henry de, *Cataclysm*, oil on canvas, circa 1893, Paris, Flamand-Charbonnier Collection

Meidner, Ludwig, *Apocalyptic Landscape*, 1913, Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Picasso, Pablo, *Guernica*, 1937, Madrid, Reina Sofia

Echaurren, Robert Matta, *The Taste of Apocalypse*, 1957–1958, private collection

Kiefer, Anselm, *To the Unknown Painter*, 1983, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Carnegie Museum of Art

Morris, Robert, from *Firestorm* series, Frankfurt, Germany, Museum für Moderne Kunst

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APOTHEOSIS/ DEIFICATION

Claire Lindgren

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Apotheosis/Deification:

ANCIENT

RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH AND
EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

NINETEENTH CENTURY



Apotheosis of Faustina, Wife of Marcus Aurelius (or of Sabina), Roman relief, Rome, Capitoline Museum. (Courtesy of Alinari/Art Resource, New York)

Apotheosis constitutes the act of deifying a person, or placing him or her among the gods. It was an honor frequently bestowed on illustrious citizens of the Greco-Roman world, particularly on a deceased emperor or members of his family. This classical apotheosis or deification should not be confused with the ancient Egyptian concept of the pharaoh as a living god, nor should it be confused with the Christian belief in the resurrection and ascension of Jesus Christ. For the act of apotheosis to occur, the individual had to have lived solely as a mortal, without any previous suggestion or acknowledgment of divinity. Simply put, apotheosis or deification took place after death. In the literature of Roman antiquity this was indicated by writing the name of the person followed by the two words *afterwards deified*, as Suetonius does in *The Twelve Caesars*.

In the visual arts, apotheosis is indicated in several ways: by a depiction of the individual ascending to another realm, by a depiction of the individual as a god, or by a depiction of the individual seated among the gods.

To the modern viewer the elevation of a human to divine status may seem quite strange, but it was more familiar in the ancient world. Two well-known relief sculptures from the second century A.D. share a similar format: *The Apotheosis of Sabina* (A.D. 136–138) and *The Apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina* (A.D. 161). In each instance a winged creature, in the former a female form, possibly Nike, and in the latter, a male, often identified as Aion, carries the deceased individual to the heavens. Depictions of the Campus Martius, site of the funeral pyres and consecration ceremonies, occupy the lower left corner of each relief. In the first relief, Sabina's husband, Emperor Hadrian, occupies the lower right corner and appears to be giving some sort of blessing to his departing wife. In the second relief, the tutelary goddess Roma occupies the lower right corner and seems to be waving farewell to the deceased Emperor Antoninus Pius and his wife, Faustina.

Portraits of an individual in the guise of a god indicate a belief that he or she has been deified. As previously stated, the Egyptian pharaohs were considered divine and did not have to achieve divinity, consequently the concept of apotheosis does not apply to them. However, after Alexander the Great's invasion of Egypt, he was proclaimed pharaoh at Memphis, and after visiting the oracular shrine of the god Ammon, he announced that he was the son of the god. Thus, as Alexander assimilated ancient Egyptian beliefs he achieved deification before his death. In 324 B.C. Alexander requested that he be treated as a god everywhere, including the Greek cities. Whether this was a true belief or a political move cannot be determined, but it did establish the idea of the ruler cult, which continued under the Ptolemaic rulers, Hellenistic kings, and certain Roman emperors. A depiction of the deified Alexander

the Great is found on a coin struck by Lysimachos of Magnesia in about 286 B.C., years after Alexander's death. The portrait shows Alexander with the horns of Ammon sprouting from his temples. Another example of the conflation of Greek and Egyptian styles is found in a statue of Arsinoe II, wife and sister to Ptolemy II, made after her death. The inscription on the back refers to her as a goddess. These works illustrate the blending of ideas that mark the cosmopolitan nature of the Hellenistic world, in so far as their beliefs and art were concerned.

In the Roman world, statues of the deceased in the guise of a god also attested to deification, wherein the individual assumed the characteristics of a particular deity. The first occurred with Emperor Hadrian's beloved companion Antinous, who has been represented variously as Silvanus, god of uncultivated land, in a marble relief from about A.D. 130, as Bacchus in a statue of the same date, and as himself in another statue presumably commissioned after the cult of Antinous and the city of Antinoopolis were founded by Hadrian. Assumption of the attributes of a deity is not always an indication of apotheosis, especially in the case of a Roman emperor, for many emperors who were never deified had themselves depicted during their lifetime in the guise of a favorite god. One such emperor was Commodus, portrayed as Hercules in a bust of A.D. 190. He was murdered in A.D. 192 and never deified.

By far the most recognizable depiction of apotheosis presents it as a completed act. An early example is the *Apotheosis of Homer*, a votive relief dated to the second century B.C. and signed by Archelaos of Priene. It is a complicated composition full of symbolism and abstraction with figures arranged in registers and set in theatrical space. The artist has placed Homer at the bottom, crowned by personifications of the World and Time and with representations of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* kneeling next to him. Personifications of Myth and History offer a sacrifice, while Comedy, Poetry, Tragedy, the Virtues, and Nature salute Homer. The register above this contains depictions of the Muses and Apollo, and at the top, Zeus, king of the gods.

An example from Roman times follows a similar pattern. The *Gemma Augustea*, a large (almost 10 inches wide) cameo of onyx with one white and one bluish black layer, probably dates to the reign of Tiberius, successor to the first emperor, Augustus. The work is divided into two registers. In the upper register, Augustus is seated next to Roma, the personification of the city who was also revered as a goddess. A personification of the World holds a crown over his head in a position similar to that depicted in the *Apotheosis of Homer*. Ocean and Earth, holding a horn of plenty, are close to World, while on the other side of Augustus and Roma, Tiberius steps from a chariot

accompanied by Victory and a youth in battle dress. In the lower register, a triumph on the battlefield is depicted. It can be interpreted as preceding and supporting the apotheosis of Augustus in the upper zone.

After the fall of Rome, the theme of apotheosis was seldom, if ever, used. Once Christianity became the dominant religion in what had been the Roman Empire, an idea similar to apotheosis, that of achieving sainthood, was incorporated into religious practices. As previously stated, the chief difference between the two rests in the fact that the saint had to have exhibited qualities during his or her lifetime marking him or her as worthy of sainthood. Proof of the ability of this person to qualify for sainthood is only achieved after the long procedures of beatification and canonization. Thus, apotheosis in the Christian world differs from the pre-Christian meaning. Consequently, although depictions of Christian apotheosis may share some similarities with classical apotheosis, they are totally different concepts. In the ancient world statues of persons in the guise of a god attested to deification. In the Christian world statues and paintings of saints abound, with the saint easily recognized by the presence of a halo, which is derived from the ancient aureole or nimbus. In antiquity the aureole or nimbus was a visual expression of supernatural force or intellectual energy, and in the Christian era it became the symbol or indication of a sanctified or holy person. An excellent example of this use of the halo is Domenico Veneziano's *St. Lucy Altarpiece*, which depicts an enthroned Virgin and Christ Child flanked by St. Francis, St. John the Baptist, St. Zenobius, and St. Lucy. All the saints have halos floating above their heads, and the setting suggests an artist's interpretation of a veranda of a heavenly mansion. In a kind of Christian apotheosis, these symbols make clear the holy estate of the saints depicted, for they have been placed with God in the person of the Christ Child.

Depictions of the Ascension of Jesus Christ and the Assumption of the Virgin Mary exhibit stylistic similarities to *The Apotheosis of Sabina* and *The Apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina*. In Andrea Mantegna's *Ascension*, Christ stands on the solid mass of a cloud propelled toward heaven by *angeletti*; halos, rather like golden mists, crown the heads of the holy personages. In Titian's *Assumption of the Virgin*, Correggio's *Assumption of the Virgin*, and in numerous other paintings of the same title, hordes of *angeletti* escort the Virgin to heaven. In these works the figures of Nike and Aion found in ancient art have been replaced by the *angeletti* of the Renaissance.

Since the Renaissance, artists have used the word *apotheosis* in titles and designs to indicate the greatness of various rulers and generals. The artists flattered the subjects by suggesting they owed their power to sanctity and godlike qualities (e.g., Peter Paul Rubens's *The Apotheosis of Henry IV*).

In the nineteenth century Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres applied a definition of apotheosis closer to the classical meaning in the creation of a huge work, *The Apotheosis of Homer*, for a ceiling in the Louvre in Paris. Unfortunately, it was not placed on the ceiling but on a wall where, some believe, it is less effective. In the work Homer sits enthroned, crowned by Poetry, before an Ionic temple. At his feet are personifications

of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Around Homer are grouped men whom Ingres believed to be the great geniuses of all time: Pindar, Phidias, Apelles, Aeschylus, Virgil, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, Dante, Fra Angelico, Nicolas Poussin, Nicolas Boileau, Molière, Jean Racine, Pierre Corneille, and William Shakespeare are all readily identifiable. Ingres considered these men "immortals" of the arts and letters worthy of reverence as "gods."

With Ingres's work apotheosis takes on an expanded meaning, for Homer is not placed within the company of the gods as the original definition would have it. He becomes the ideal to which later artists of all kinds are compared. Because the gods of classical antiquity are no longer worshiped, the idea of becoming such a god no longer exists, and apotheosis takes on a new meaning as simply a glorification or honor for achievement, closer to homage than deification.

This formula, placing an originator of a style or a highly respected person in the midst of his or her followers, became a recipe for later artists, beginning with Henri Fantin-Latour's *Homage to Delacroix* (1864) and his *A Studio in the Batignolles Quarter (Homage to Manet)* (1870). The latter work shows Édouard Manet painting while others, including Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Frédéric Bazille, Claude Monet, and Émile Zola, look on. The work has been caricatured by contemporary critics as the "Divine School of Manet."

In the modern secular world, even with this expanded meaning, the theme of apotheosis is no longer a popular subject for artists. The ancient meaning of apotheosis, the Renaissance concept, and the expanded nineteenth-century definition all seem to be as dead as those who in earlier times were chosen to be deified.

See also Gaze; Honor/Honoring; Martyrdom; Metamorphosis

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Ancient

Alexander the Great, coin, struck by Lysimachos of Magnesia
 Antonianos of Aphrodisias, *Antinous as Silvanus*, sculpture,
 circa A.D. 130, Rome, private collection

Archelaos of Priene, *Apotheosis of Homer*, votive relief,
 second century B.C., London, British Museum

Arsinoe II, Egyptian sculpture (Ptolemaic period), St.

Petersburg, Russia, State Hermitage Museum

Antinous, Greek or Roman sculpture, many versions

Antinous as Bacchus, Greek or Roman sculpture, Rome,
 private collection

Gemma Augustea, Roman cameo, circa A.D. 30, Vienna,
 Kunsthistorisches Museum

Apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, Roman sculpture,
 Rome, Vatican Museum and Galleries

Apotheosis of Faustina, Wife of Marcus Aurelius (or Sabina),
 Roman sculpture, 138–136 B.C., formerly part of the
 decoration of the Arch of Portogallo, Rome, Palazzo dei
 Conservatore

Ascent of an Emperor, ivory diptych, Roman, circa A.D. 430, London, British Museum

Renaissance

Giotto, *Ascension of Saint John*, fresco, 1320s, Florence, Italy, Santa Croce, Peruzzi Chapel

Banco, Nanni D' Antonio di, *Assumption of the Virgin*, marble gable on Porta della Mandorla, 1414–1421, Florence, Italy, Cathedral

Mantegna, Andrea, *Ascension*, panel of triptych, circa 1464, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Titian, *Assumption of the Virgin*, panel, 1516–1518, Venice, Italy, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari

Fiorentino, Rosso, *Assumption of the Virgin*, fresco, 1517, Florence, Italy, SS. Annunziata

Andrea del Sarto, *Assumption of the Virgin*, panel, 1526–1529, Florence, Italy, Pitti Gallery

Correggio, *Assumption of the Virgin*, fresco in dome, 1526–1530, Parma, Italy, Cathedral

Vasari, Giorgio, *Apotheosis of Duke Cosimo*, completed 1565, Florence, Italy, Palazzo Vecchio

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Apotheosis of Henry IV*, 1621–1625, Paris, Louvre

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Apotheosis of James I*, circa 1629, London, Whitehall, Banqueting Hall

Le Moyne, François, *Apotheosis of Hercules*, 1733–1736, Versailles, France, Palais

Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista, *Apotheosis of a Poet*, oil on canvas, circa 1750, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista, *Apotheosis of the Pisani Family*, ceiling fresco, 1761–1762, Villa Pisani

Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista, *Apotheosis of Aeneas*, 1762–1766, Madrid, Palacio Real

Ricci, Sebastiano, *Apotheosis of Saint Marziale*, early eighteenth century, Venice, Church of St. Marziale

Mengs, Anton Raphael, *Glory of Saint Eusebius*, fresco, 1757–1759, Rome, Sant'Eusebio

Mengs, Anton Raphael, ceiling fresco, before 1779, Madrid, Palacio Real

Nineteenth Century

West, Benjamin, *Immortality of Nelson*, oil on canvas, 1807, Greenwich, London, National Maritime Museum

Vernet, Horace, *The Apotheosis of Napoleon*, 1821, London, Wallace Collection

Ingres, Jean Auguste, *Apotheosis of Homer*, 1827, Paris, Louvre

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Ingres, Jean Auguste, *Apotheosis of Napoleon*, 1853, Paris, Carnevalet

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Fantin-Latour, Henri, *A Studio in the Batignolles Quarter (Homage to Manet)*, 1870, Paris, Musée d'Orsay

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ARMS RAISED

Dimitri Hazzikostas

The following motifs and periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Arms Raised:

ONE ARM RAISED

ASIAN

NINETEENTH CENTURY

BOTH ARMS RAISED

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE

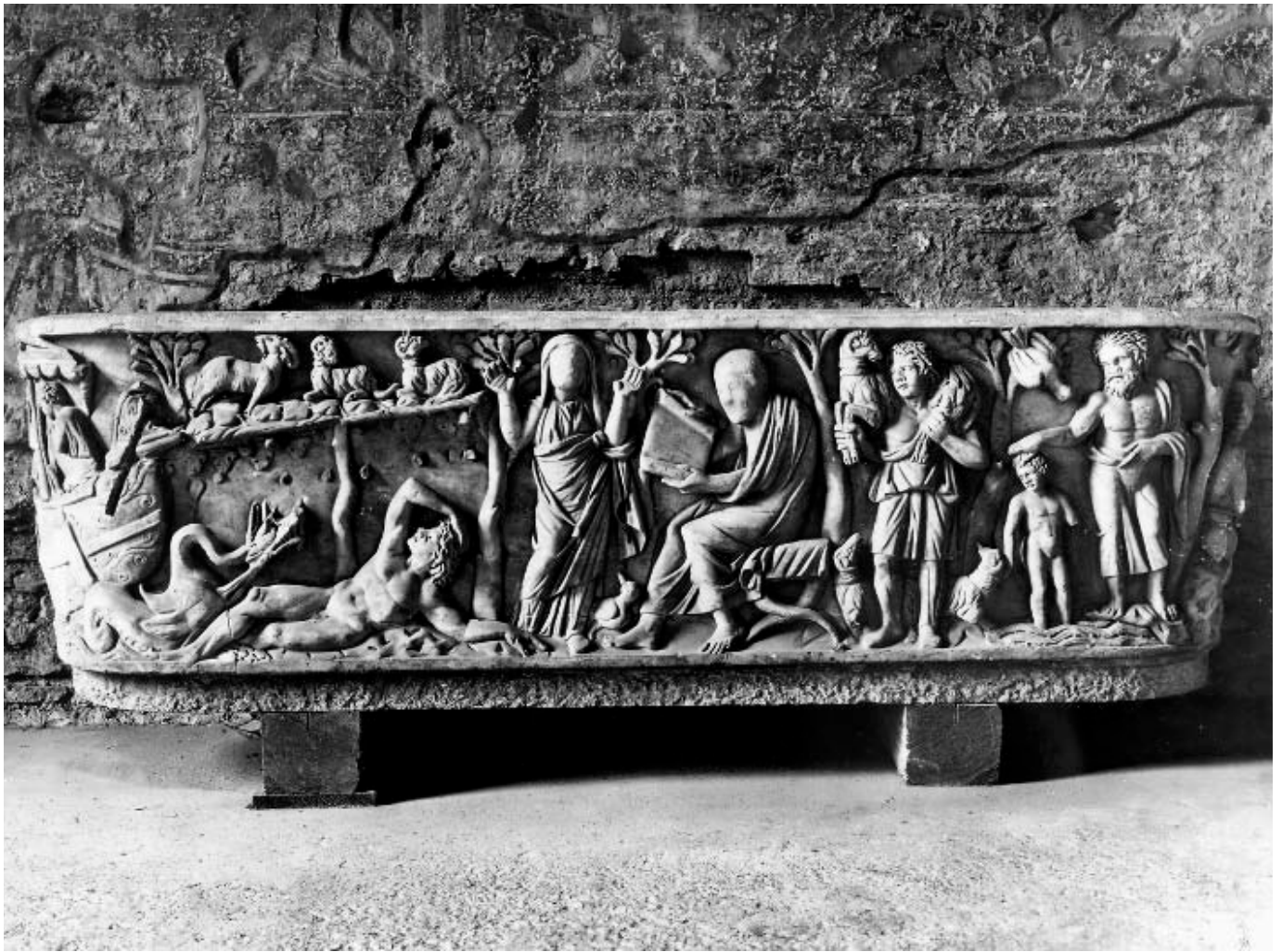
TWENTIETH CENTURY

ANCIENT AND CLASSICAL

SEVENTEENTH AND

EARLY CHRISTIAN

EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES



Christian Sarcophagus with Orant, third century, bas-relief, Rome, S. Maria Antiqua.
(Courtesy of Alinari/Art Resource, New York)

In the corpus of world art, gestures involving raised arms are among the oldest and most universal. They can be symbolic or narrative, voluntary or instinctive, with varied meanings whose interpretation requires familiarity with the subject portrayed, and in its absence, careful consideration of other pertinent details such as the positioning of the hands and fingers, the use of one or both arms, and the physiognomic expression. From Aristotle's *Physiognomics* to John Bulwer's seventeenth-century *Chirologia or Natural Language of the Hands* and Johann Kaspar Lavater's 1786 *Essai sur la Physiognomie*, many attempts have been made to codify the meanings of hand and arm gestures, often resulting in pseudoscientific theories identifying specific body language as expressively indicating the dispositions of the human soul. The task of deciphering such nonverbal forms of communication, particularly in the visual arts, remains an important challenge.

Prehistoric handprints on cave walls at Gargas and Pech-Merle in France and at El Castillo in Spain imply the assertive gesture of the raised arm as a projection of human identity and also speak of the human desire to control the environment. The earliest representations of uplifted arms appear in Paleolithic rock engravings, the most notable of which is in the little cave of Addaura, near Palermo in Sicily. Drawn with unusual clarity and elegance, the engraving represents an assembly of human figures whose swaying movements seem to indicate the enactment of a ceremonial dance. As a natural accompaniment to their steps, these prehistoric dancers raise one or both arms in a rhythmic pace that works to suggest their shared ecstatic experience. A cave relief from an earlier period, the *Venus of Laussel*, raises her right hand to shoulder height and holds aloft a bison's horn. Here, the single raised arm effectively conveys the notion of strength, both by the vitality of the gesture and by the hand's firm grip on the horn, itself a potent symbol of fertility. From its very inception, then, the raised arm gesture functioned as both a mimetic vehicle for the expression of human action and a symbol of a deeper spiritual message. Several variants emerge, with distinct but often overlapping meanings that derive from the use of one or two arms.

One Arm Raised

In the Near East the raised right arm (less frequently the left) is principally a greeting gesture that can also signify homage or veneration when directed to a being of higher rank. This formal meaning of the gesture is often applicable in scenes on Sumerian and Akkadian seals that depict mortals in the presence of a deity. A famous monumental example, the Law Code of Hammurabi, portrays the Babylonian king standing before the sun god Shamash with his right arm raised, palm turned

inward, in an attitude of respect (Frankfort, ill. 134). In Egyptian art the gesture characteristically appears with the palm facing outward and is more consistently confined to the right hand, in keeping with a widespread (but not universally shared) tendency to favor the right side and associate it with power and honor. A relief in the tomb of Seti I shows the pharaoh with his right hand raised to greet (or worship) the falcon god Horus (Lurker, p. 65). In Greek art the raised right hand also reinforces the spoken word of prayer. In literature the phrase "raising one's hand to the gods" (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*) suggests the occasional use of the gesture as an acceptable alternative to the more conventional prayer with both arms raised.

Other important variants with a ritual significance include the ceremonial farewell to the dead. A gesture typical of male mourners in early Greek and Etruscan art (e.g., the Tomb of the Augurs) has the right arm raised over the brow and the palm flat atop the head. The gesture of *aposkopēin*, in which the right hand is raised to shield the eyes (presumably from the emanating radiance of the deity), is known from Minoan statuettes of worshipers and is used in later Greek art to suggest the act of witnessing, with gaze fixed in the distance, a god's imminent approach. A unique application of the *aposkopēin* in conjunction with a deity was the Colossus of Rhodes, the enormous bronze statue of the sun god Helios by Chares of Lindos that stood near the port of Rhodes. The god's right hand raised to the brow served as an eloquent attribute of his role as the ultimate embodiment of light. The same gesture recurs in the Christian theme of the Annunciation to the Shepherds in late Gothic painting. Taddeo Gaddi's version in Santa Croce in Florence, Italy, portrays one of the shepherds, startled by the angel's apparition, shielding his eyes in reaction to the overwhelming "glory of the Lord [that] shone round about them" (Luke 2:9).

When a divinity is depicted raising the right arm, the gesture is endowed with a prophylactic or apotropaic meaning. In Isaiah 62:8 Yahweh swears "by his right hand and by his mighty arm," and in Exodus 14:8 the fleeing Hebrews are under the protection of the Lord's "high hand." In Buddhist art of East Asia, some fully robed standing images of the Buddha display the right arm raised in the gesture of benevolence. Similarly in Homer, when Priam undertakes the hazardous mission to Achilles' tent to ransom his slain son Hector, Priam feels that a god is holding a hand over him (*Iliad*, 24.374). Beneath this magic protection of Hermes' outstretched right arm, the old king passes unseen through the enemy camp, safely reaching Achilles' tent. Other poetic references associate Zeus and Apollo with divine protection bestowed by the raised arm (*Iliad*, 4.249; 5.433). On the west pediment of the Temple of

Zeus in Olympia, the figure of Apollo extends his right arm as a sign of protection or, perhaps, to signal victory for the human Lapiths engaged in battle against the centaurs. Gods of healing and childbearing are also represented with raised right hand: the Near Eastern goddess Gula, the patroness of physicians (sometimes shown with both arms raised); the Greek Eileithyiae, goddesses of childbirth; and the god Asclepius, who, according to Julian the Apostate, “stretched his saving hand out to the whole world.” Greek votive reliefs of the classical period show Asklepios curing a patient by extending toward him his healing hand.

On a more mundane and secular level, the raised right arm signifies greeting or signals verbal expression in dialogue situations, especially in classical Greek art (in lieu of the more lively gesticulation with both hands observed in conversation scenes of the archaic period). An important variant of the raised arm in speech is the rhetorical gesture, distinguished by the touching of the thumb and the index finger, leaving the other fingers extended. According to Quintilian, this gesture, when used by the orator, places stress on certain aspects of his speech and serves to stimulate the attention of the listener. Other applications of the raised right hand that mimic natural actions in human behavior include the pointing gesture and gestures of admonition, defense, refusal, and negation; the meaning is often conveyed through subtle placement of the fingers and a reliance on the viewer’s familiarity with the narrative.

The Romans, sensitized to the expressive power of gesture by a tradition of rhetorical training and their love of the theater, expanded the meaning of the raised arm in a political context. The outstretched right hand becomes in many cases the deliberate gesture of public address (*adlocutio*), identifying civilian or military leaders. A similar application can be found in scenes showing the Roman emperor’s arrival (*adventus*) on a horse, where his outstretched right arm proffers both greeting and reassuring authority. Literary parallels also can be found in the verses of the court poets Martial and Statius, who praise the emperor’s high right hand (*alta manus dextra*) or divine hand (*divina manus*), associating it with supernatural might. Late Roman art continues to identify the raised right arm with expressions of authority and magic power, especially within a new imperial iconography that increasingly stressed the divine nature of the ruler. From the third century A.D. onward, the raised right arm used as a sign of salvation in portrayals of certain Eastern deities, like the Syrian sun god (Sol Invictus) and the Egyptian Serapis, becomes fully adopted in the official images of the emperor.

The gesture also takes its place in early Christian iconography, notably in the Raising of Lazarus scenes from catacomb painting. In this New Testament theme, the power of salvation works through the sign of Jesus Christ’s outstretched right arm; the entrance of the tomb opens and Lazarus returns to life. In the fourth century, the raised right arm also becomes a sign of the blessing used by the clergy in most denominations of Christian worship. This gesture of benediction is characterized by the placement of the fingers: thumb, index, and middle finger are outstretched, while the two remaining (ring and little finger) are flexed against the palm of the hand (*benedictio latina*) or held with the little finger also raised (*benedictio graeca*).

In art, the gesture figures preeminently in portrayals of prophets, biblical kings, Christ Pantocrator, and the apostles. When Christ (more rarely a prophet or a church father) is holding a scroll or a codex in his left hand, the raised right hand takes on an added meaning, becoming a gesture of speech. In this juxtaposition, the scroll or codex signifies the written word of the Christian dogma, while the raised right hand signifies the voice of the spoken word of God, the divine Logos. Close parallels of this Christian gesture are found in the *vitarkamudra* and *dharmachakramudra* gestures of Buddhist art that also denote divine teaching.

Inspired by biblical narratives, artists of the Renaissance incorporate the raised arm gesture in a variety of symbolic ways. Leonardo da Vinci’s *John the Baptist* lifts his right hand and points a finger heavenward as a reminder that humans must ultimately confront divine judgment. In Leonardo’s painting of the *Last Supper*, Doubting Thomas’s raised hand and pointing finger serve to accentuate his questioning manner. On the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, Michelangelo creates a number of meaningful juxtapositions of raised right and left arms. He portrays God the Father extending His right hand toward Adam, who languidly receives the gift of life through his outstretched left hand. The distinction in handedness here emphasizes God’s creative energy as opposed to the passive receptivity of the awakening man; in keeping with Christian theological notions, the right, the side of strength and virtue, is preferred over the less auspicious left, representing weakness and deceit. Michelangelo makes this association clear in the *Fall of Man*, where Eve takes with her left hand the apple that is offered up in the left hand of the snake (shown with a woman’s head and torso). In *The Last Judgment*, painted during the early years of the Counter-Reformation, a disquieted Christ raises his right arm in an ambiguous gesture that beckons the dead to rise as it holds out the terrible prospect of damnation. *The Resurrection*, by the Mannerist painter El Greco, reflects a calmer Christ whose raised hand affirms his divinity and emphasizes his weightless ascent above the Roman soldiers who writhe in tormented awe.

Subsequent use of the gesture in art elaborates on its implied meanings, often using the raised arm to express such polar opposites of human attitudes as wrath and love, greed and generosity, fear and bravery, vulnerability and strength, despair and joy. Jacques-Louis David employs the raised arm in *The Oath of the Horatii* to depict civic dedication, and again in *The Death of Socrates* to reinforce the condemned philosopher’s allegiance to his personal beliefs. In a nineteenth-century work by Henri Serrur, the hero Ajax, driven mad by the gods, raises his clenched fist in anger, while the victims of Théodore Géricault’s *Raft of the Medusa* lift their arms to signify the simultaneous moment of maximum anguish and hope. Eugène Delacroix’s painting *The Bark of Dante* shows the poet with arm raised, shielding his eyes from the glaring flames and horrors of hell. Auguste Rodin selects a similar gesture for one of the *Burghers of Calais*, not just as a means of drawing the viewer around the composition, but more importantly to suggest the fateful pathos of the figure’s bondage.

Modern references to the raised arm, often abstracted to stress form, inevitably rely on previous meanings applied to

new metaphoric contexts, as in Max Ernst's *The Elephant Celebes* or Henri Matisse's *Sorrows of the King*. A drawing by Le Corbusier for a monumental sculpture intended to be placed between the High Court of Justice and the Governor's Palace in the capital of East Punjab, India, envisions a gigantic hand mounted on a tall wooden shaft. In the artist's words, "the open hand for giving, the open hand for receiving, ought to be chosen as a symbolic manifestation." In a similar manner, Rodin's earlier work *The Hand of God* acknowledges the gesture's rich iconographic tradition by presenting a hand and part of the forearm emerging from stone. Isolated and in the absence of any other details, the hand symbolizes the divine instrument of creative energy breaking through matter and brings the meaning of the gesture full circle to its primal, religious origin.

Both Arms Raised

The gesture of two raised arms constitutes the second category of iconographic meanings. In antiquity, the outstretched arms are primarily associated with prayer, reverence, and blessing. Mortals raise their hands to invoke divine powers, and the gods often reciprocate with similar gestures to dispense their favors or to indicate their epiphany. The practice of incorporating gestures of human prayer in the representation of the deity is common in the religious art of many ancient societies. Divinities with uplifted hands appear on Sumerian and Akkadian seals (Black and Green, ills. 7, 16, 73) and in the plastic arts and pottery of predynastic Egypt (Fazzini, et al., pl. 1, 2). The many arms of gods and goddesses in Hindu and Buddhist iconography, raised and carrying various symbols, denote divine power but also indicate the multiple natures and functions of these divinities. Images of Shiva Nataraja, the Cosmic Dancer, suggest the dualities present in the universe in terms of a complex pictorial allegory: the upper right hand holds the drum of creative rhythm, balanced by the flame of destruction in the upper left; his lower right hand performs the "fear not" gesture (*abhayamudra*) bestowing protection and peace, while the lower left pointing to the raised foot promises release from suffering (Zimmer, p. 152).

The association of the raised hands with divine power and protection is almost universal. The Egyptian goddess Nut, the personification of the vault of heaven, with arms extended upward, bends protectively over the Earth touching the western and eastern horizons. In Egyptian hieroglyphs, the sign of the raised arms stands for the *ka*, a principal aspect of the soul that, although lacking a clear definition, is generally believed to represent the individual's vital energy from which all life comes and to which all life returns after death. The funerary wooden statue of King Hor of the 12th dynasty in the Cairo Museum is shown with a rather sizable *ka* symbol atop the head (Michalowski, p. 380, ill. 330). Even when used separately, the signs of the arm and hand serve as determinatives for the words *strong* and *protect*. Here, too, the uplifted arms may have initially designated the protective divine spirit.

The gesture was adopted (possibly from Egypt) and invested with a similar meaning in effigies of the Minoan goddess. A faience statuette from Knossos of the Late Minoan period shows the goddess with arms uplifted, her hands tightly hold-

ing two snakes in a forceful display of her chthonic power. In two later examples, the bell-shaped goddesses from Gazi and Karphi, the raised arms rigidly bent at the elbows with hands turned inward (not unlike the Egyptian symbol for the *ka*) are schematically frozen into a ritual gesture of epiphany.

The gesture retains its importance in early Greece. In Homer, mortals entreat the gods by raising their hands, like the priest Chryses and Agamemnon (*Iliad*, 1.450; 3.275) or Odysseus (*Odyssey*, 20.97). Similarly, works of the Late Geometric and Orientalizing periods often represent worshipers in prayer (or, more rarely, divinities in their epiphany) with both arms uplifted. In classical Greece, prayer with both arms raised is sometimes mentioned in literature (Pindar, *Nemean Ode*, 5.11; Euripides, *Hippolytos*, 1190; Aristophanes, *The Birds*, 623; Callimachus, *Hymnus in Delum*, 107), but in the visual arts the gesture is not found again until the late fourth or early third century B.C. The bronze statue of a youth with uplifted arms (restored) in Berlin, known as the *Praying Boy*, which is sometimes mistaken for the *Adorer* by Boëdas cited in Pliny (*Natural History*, 34.73), most likely represents an athlete holding up a prize-wreath in his two hands. But Pliny also mentions examples of female adorers whose arms were presumably raised in the attitude of prayer (*Natural History*, 34.73; 78; 90). One such statue, probably early Hellenistic, is replicated in the so-called *Livia* in the Vatican and in other Roman variations in statuary and on coins of the early empire, sometimes identified by inscription as *Pietas* (*Pietas*).

This pagan iconographic type was adopted basically unchanged in early Christian art as the orant (*orans*), a male or female figure in frontal view with the arms raised at the height of the shoulders in pious supplication. In catacomb painting, the orant occurs primarily as an isolated image, but it may also be found in narrative scenes in conjunction with biblical characters noted for their faith and devotion to God (including Susanna, Daniel, and the Three Children in the Fiery Furnace). In isolation, the orant becomes the personification of Christian piety, often with exaggerated or oversized hands that give emphasis to the idea of prayerful entreaty, as seen in the *Woman with a Veil* in the Catacomb of Priscilla in Rome. Standing between two trees that suggest the Elysian fields, the same figure has an altered meaning; it now represents the human soul rejoicing in salvation or at rest in paradise. The orant is used with this meaning in portrayals of deceased persons, martyrs, and saints (e.g., the orant in the Catacomb of Domitilla; the saints of the mosaics of St. George in Thessaloniki; or orantes on Coptic funerary stelae), offering evidence of their piety, but also expressing their attained state of beatitude and the bliss of life eternal. For the early Christians, the appeal of this gesture depended perhaps on it being analogous to the figure of Jesus Christ on the cross—a hidden allusion to his Passion and Resurrection. Christ's triumph over death held the promise of life eternal for his followers.

The Virgin Mary also occasionally assumes the position of the orant in scenes of the Ascension (*Rabbula Gospels*, fol. 13v), where her presence (not historically justified) attests to her role in the Incarnation, adding credence to the dogma of the two natures of Christ, human and divine. During the Middle

Byzantine period, the Virgin Orans also finds a favorite place in the apse of basilican churches, under the dominant image of Christ Pantocrator in the half-dome above (e.g., Cathedral of Cefalù in Sicily). In this position, facing the congregation from the upper tier behind the altar, Mary is at once the intercessor and paradigm of Christian prayer.

In much of ancient and medieval art the gesture of raised arms seems codified in repetitive symbolic images endowed with a formal semiotic value. Raised hands may also be found, however, in narrative contexts where their meaning is more a reflection of natural human behavior. Such narrative applications of the gesture range from the illustration of physical tasks that require objects to be held aloft, like the hurling of rocks or the brandishing of weapons in battle, to subtler characterizations that may reveal a mental attitude, mood, or feeling. It is this less tangible application that often calls for further interpretation, in a variety of situations.

Arms raised above the head with hands open or closed signify excitement and joy. In a marble statuette in the Cleveland Museum in Ohio showing Jonah's escape from the whale, Jonah emerges from the mouth of the beast with arms flung upward in prayerful joy for his deliverance from peril. As often observed in modern-day athletic competitions, the gesture can also signal a release from tension or indicate the surge of enthusiasm that follows the attainment of a long-awaited goal. An early example of this meaning of the gesture in pictorial narrative appears on the François Vase in Florence, Italy. The scene of Theseus's arrival at Delos after his ordeal with the Minotaur portrays an overjoyed sailor who, in anticipation of the ship's landing, exuberantly stretches both arms above his head.

Hands touching the head with arms bent at the elbows is a far more familiar ancient gesture found in Egyptian funerary painting, on Mycenaean sarcophagi, and on Greek Geometric vases. Originally a natural expression of grief, describing the wailing and tearing of the hair that were part of the cultic veneration of the dead, the gesture through repeated use grew into a convention of mourning. Such dramatic gestures of lamentation are atypical of classical Greek art, which introduced an iconography of calmer and more introspective gestures of mourning, creating a legacy that lasted well into the Middle Ages. Roman attitudes and the moral teachings of the church fathers that emphasized moderation in all spheres of life may also have helped to sustain this trend. There are only a few isolated Late Antique examples, like the scene of Dido's death in the Vatican *Vergil*, where the emphatic grieving gesture with hands raised atop the head is used to convey a mourner's uncontrolled grief.

Expressive poses incorporating raised arms become the hallmark of Late Gothic art, as its spiritual emotionalism coupled with an added focus on facial expression allowed for a freer exploration of human feelings. Italian painting of the trecento regularly uses exaggerated gesticulation as an empathetic device, especially in scenes of the Lamentation and Entombment (Barash, ills. 28–32; 48–49). The same attitude, even more pronounced, is typical of Baroque art, as its propensity for dramatic realism and open dynamic forms rekindled the interest in expressive gestures involving raised arms in both sculpture and painting. In Caravaggio's *Entombment* in the

Vatican, the outflung arms of one of the Marys serve as the starting point of the falling diagonal of light that directs attention to the dead figure of Christ in the center; her uplifted gaze reflecting deep sorrow complements her grieving gesture.

In narrative contexts, other related meanings expressed by the impassioned raising of the arms include supplication, fear, despair, defiance, and martyrdom. A Roman fresco from Pompeii depicting the *Sacrifice of Iphigenia* shows the hapless daughter of Agamemnon with her arms raised in despair and supplication as she is being led away to the altar. Delacroix's *Christ Asleep During the Tempest*, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, juxtaposes the reassuring serenity of the sleeping Christ with the fear of his disciples that culminates in the anguished disciple standing with raised arms in the middle of the small boat. In Francisco Goya's *The Third of May, 1808*, which commemorates the execution of a group of Madrid citizens by French troops, one of the defenseless Spaniards appears with arms flung diagonally akin to a crucifix, a gesture that suggests both defiance and martyrdom.

Modern art has, for the most part, incorporated the traditional interpretations associated with raised arms, sometimes transposing the gesture to an abstract context that places greater emphasis on its acquired symbolism. Pablo Picasso, who often drew his inspiration from classical motifs, uses raised arms in *Guernica* to indicate the agonized death throes of a falling woman in the midst of destruction; in the *Three Dancers* he applies the schema of the raised arms to place the frozen balance of the central figure in sharp contrast with the gyrating movements and rhythmic buoyancy of the other two dancers. André Breton's thesis that "Beauty must be convulsive or cease to be" was repeatedly illustrated by the surrealist painters who adapted the raised arm gesture, sometimes using juxtapositions of disjointed human forms to create uneasy tensions or to convey an otherworldliness, as in much of Salvador Dalí's work. In Paul Delvaux's *Venus Asleep* figures raising their arms appear beside a reclining nude who is isolated in slumber; the haunting atmosphere of the scene aptly suggests the tense disquietude of a dream. Similarly, in his work *The Hands*, Delvaux's subjects raise their hands in mysterious sign gestures that express, in their inability to communicate, a characteristic alienation.

Italian sculptor Marino Marini in *The Rider* utilizes raised arms to create a dynamic axis that works to balance the rider's backward incline; the figure's apparently vain attempt to grab hold of something for support creates a visual metaphor that associates the gesture with the human struggle to maintain equilibrium, perhaps in the face of a modern industrialized world. Sometimes the precariousness of the human condition is eloquently expressed by the very absence of the familiar, as in the sculptural work *Falling Man* by Ernest Trova. His figures, devoid of arms, are rendered incapable of halting their plummet, a prospect that creates discomfort in the viewer because of the instinctive reliance on the arms and hands as essential, creative tools. Such twentieth-century images are the antithesis of da Vinci's *Vitruvius Man*, who firmly stands with raised arms pushing against the limitations of the circle that inscribes him, and, as the measure of all things, challenges the boundaries of his universe.

See also Devotion/Piety; Grieving/Lamentation;
Pointing/Indicating

Selected Works of Art

Ancient and Classical

- The Separation of Heaven and Earth*, in *Papyrus of Nisi-Ta-Nebet-Taui*, 1090–945 B.C., Cairo, Egypt, Egyptian National Museum
- Snake Goddess from Knossos*, faience statuette, late Minoan period, circa 1700–1550 B.C., Irakleia, Crete, Archeological Museum
- Minoan Goddesses from Gazi*, statuette, circa 1400–1200 B.C., Herakleion Museum, Crete
- Minoan Goddess from Karphi*, statuette, circa 1200–1000 B.C., Herakleion Museum, Crete
- Tomb of Augurs*, wall painting, circa 540–530 B.C., Tarquinia, Italy, Necropolis of the Monterozzi
- Tomb of the Baron*, wall painting, circa 510 B.C., Tarquinia, Italy, Necropolis of the Monterozzi
- Aulus Metellus* (“*The Orator*”), bronze statue, circa 100 B.C., Florence, Italy, Museo Archeologico
- Augustus from Prima Porta*, marble statue, A.D. 14–29, Rome, Vatican Museums
- Trajan’s Column* (details with “Adlocutio” scenes), A.D. 110–113, Rome
- Marcus Aurelius’s Equestrian Statue*, A.D. 166–180, Rome, Capitoline Museum
- Adventus*, relief from monument of Marcus Aurelius, A.D. 180–190, Attic Storey, Rome, Arch of Constantine

Early Christian

- Orant Flanked by Trees*, marble sarcophagus, early third century, Rome, Museo Torlonia
- Raising of Lazarus*, fresco, early third century, Rome, catacomb of Callistus, Sacrament Chapel
- Orant (Donna Velata)*, fresco, mid-third century, Rome, Catacomb of Priscilla, cubiculum of the “Velatio”
- The Three Children in the Fiery Furnace*, fresco, mid-third century, Rome, catacomb of Priscilla, cubiculum of the “Velatio”
- Christian Sarcophagus with Orant*, third century, Rome, Sta Maria Antigua
- Veneranda Led into Heaven by Saint Petronilla*, fresco, mid-fourth century, Rome, catacomb of Domitilla, tomb of Veneranda
- Daniel in the Lions Den*, fresco, fourth century, Rome, catacomb of the Via Latina, cubiculum

Asian

- Standing Buddha*, gilt bronze, seventh century, Paekche Kingdom, Korea, Tokyo M. Nitta Collection
- Crowned Buddha from India*, stone relief, circa eleventh century, San Francisco, California, Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, Avery Brundage Collection

- Standing Buddha*, gilt bronze, fourteenth century, Yuan dynasty, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Minneapolis Institute of the Arts
- Shiva, Lord of the Dance*, bronze statue, circa twelfth–fourteenth century, South India
- Vasudhara, Goddess of Abundance*, gilt bronze from Nepal, sixteenth century, private collection

Medieval and Renaissance

- Umbrian Master, *Lamentation*, tempera on panel, late thirteenth century, Perugia, Italy
- Giotto, *The Apparition of Saint Francis at Arles*, fresco, circa 1269–1300, Assisi, Italy, San Francesco
- Giotto, *The Raising of Lazarus*, fresco, 1303–1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
- Gaddi, Taddeo, *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, fresco, circa 1328, Florence, Italy, Santa Croce, Baroncelli Chapel
- Donatello, *Entombment*, bronze relief of high altar, circa 1445–1447, Padua, Italy, San Antonio
- Leonardo da Vinci, *Study of Human Proportions According to Vitruvius*, pen and ink drawing, 1485–1490, Venice, Italy, Accademia
- Leonardo da Vinci, *Saint John the Baptist*, oil on panel, circa 1513–1516, Paris, Louvre
- Leonardo da Vinci, *Last Supper*, oil-tempera mixture on wall, 1495–1497, Milan, Sta Maria delle Grazie, Refectory
- Michelangelo, *The Creation of Man*, ceiling fresco, circa 1511, Rome, Vatican, Sistine Chapel
- Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, fresco, 1536–1540, Rome, Vatican, Sistine Chapel

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

- El Greco, *The Resurrection*, oil on canvas, 1600–1605, Madrid, Prado
- Caravaggio, *Entombment of Christ*, oil on canvas, 1603–1604, Rome, Vatican Museum
- Goya, Francisco, *Execution of the Madrileños on the Third of May*, 1808, oil on canvas, 1814, Madrid, Prado
- David, Jacques-Louis, *The Oath of the Horatii*, oil on canvas, 1784, Paris, Louvre
- David, Jacques-Louis, *Death of Socrates*, oil on canvas, 1787, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Nineteenth Century

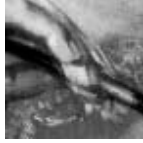
- Serrur, Henri, *Ajax*, oil on canvas, 1820, Lille, Musée des Beaux Arts
- Delacroix, Eugène, *The Bark of Dante*, oil on canvas, 1822, Paris, Louvre
- Delacroix, Eugène, *Christ Asleep During the Tempest*, oil on canvas, 1854, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Géricault, Théodore, *The Raft of the Medusa*, oil on canvas, 1818–1819, Paris, Louvre
- Rodin, Auguste, *Burghers of Calais*, bronze, 1886, Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden

Twentieth Century

- Rodin, Auguste, *The Hand of God*, marble, 1906, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Ernst, Max, *The Elephant Celebes*, oil on canvas, 1921, London, private collection
- Picasso, Pablo, *Three Dancers*, oil on canvas, 1925, London, Tate Gallery
- Picasso, Pablo, *Guernica*, oil on canvas, 1935, Madrid, Reina Sofía
- Dalí, Salvador, *Soft Construction with Boiled Beans: Premonition of Civil War*, oil on canvas, 1936, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art
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ARTISTS/ART

Julie F. Codell

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Artists/Art:

RENAISSANCE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY



Judith Leyster, *Self-Portrait*, circa 1630, oil on canvas, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Woods Bliss. (Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

Interest in the status and personalities of artists and the role of art can be traced to antiquity. Although no works by Apelles, whose patron was Alexander the Great, survive, his name has come down in literature as the consummate painter, and he inspired Italian Renaissance artists. Another Greek painter, Zeuxis, was famous for his extraordinary realism, while Parrhasius and Apollodorus also have been remembered as esteemed painters who enjoyed fame and wealth in their own day. Works by ancient sculptors and architects, such as Phidias and Polyclethus, have survived, as have their writings on art. When considering the reputations and iconographies of artists, it is necessary to remember that painters, sculptors, architects, and craftsmen were considered separately; from antiquity through the Renaissance sculptors were aligned with manual laborers, while painters and architects were more likely to be elevated because of their knowledge of mathematics, perspective, mythology, and biblical texts. While Greek and medieval artists occasionally signed their works, their social status rarely rose above that of a workman. The mid-sixth-century B.C. architect and sculptor Theodoros of Samos created a bronze self-portrait and wrote an architectural treatise. Artists began writing on art during the fifth century B.C. Painting was taught as part of a liberal education. Pliny, who wrote in the middle of the first century A.D., praised Pamphilus, Apelles' teacher, as learned. At the end of the fourth century historian Duris of Samos wrote anecdotal books on the lives of painters and sculptors.

Yet, there seems to have been little public interest in artists as personalities. Painters had a higher status than sculptors, but generally the association with technical rather than conceptual knowledge marked the low status of artists, who sometimes ranked only slightly higher than slaves. Although he was the son of a sculptor, Socrates ranked artists as lowly, as did Plato and Aristotle, who praised musicians and poets but held artists in low esteem as mere imitators of the physical world. During the Hellenistic period contemporary with Aristotle, there was an increased interest in artists, art theory, and collecting, resulting in a lively art market. Art was taught in the schools, and Aristotle agreed this was appropriate. Alexander, once a pupil of Aristotle's, appointed Apelles court painter. By the late classical period, when the Stoic philosophers turned to subjectivity, writers praised works of art as important achievements. Nevertheless, works of art were often held in higher esteem than their creators, a situation described by Seneca, Plutarch, and Lucian.

In ancient Rome the visual arts were never included in a formal education, and during the Middle Ages the liberal arts, which made up the educational foundation of the period, disregarded the visual arts. Throughout the Middle Ages artists

were considered artisans and were usually anonymous. By the twelfth century some interest in artists appeared, as in Dante's references to Cimabue and Giotto, reflecting the improved status of artists in Florence. Italian architects began to sign their works as early as the eleventh century. The rise of artists seems to have been an Italian phenomenon at first; northern European artists' status lagged behind. Painters' guilds began in Italy in the thirteenth century. Guilds regulated behavior, education, and production, and lumped artists variously with craftsmen (e.g., painters and druggists were in the same guild because they both ground chemicals). The elevated status of Renaissance artists was achieved after centuries of struggles by artists against the power and supervision of the guilds, exemplified by Filippo Brunelleschi, who refused to pay his guild dues and won his case against the guild. This struggle over the freedom of artists to work without restrictions, either economic or geographic, led in the sixteenth century to the establishment of artists' academies, which replaced the guilds and elevated artists from manual laborers to free intellectuals (Wittkower, pp. 2–9).

Although lives of the artists were the subject of literature before Giorgio Vasari (e.g., Filippo Villani, Antonio Billi, Antonio Magliabechian, Battista Gelli), his *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters and Sculptors* (1550) was the most inclusive and complete and became a model for later biographies in Italy and in northern Europe. Other important Renaissance treatises on art that served to elevate artists' status included Cennino Cennini's *Il libro dell'arte* (1437) and Leon Battista Alberti's *De pictura* (1435). Artists appear in the works of Dante and Boccaccio, often as humorous figures in the latter. With the appearance of artists in literature and in their own writings on theory, they emerge as subjects of art itself. Along with the artist as the subject of art, art-making and the nature of creativity also become subjects of art, literature, and philosophy.

The depiction of artists, whether by themselves or by other artists, has generally taken two courses, one related to the self-portrait to record or memorialize the individual subject, the other a representation of artists as a class. Lorenzo Ghiberti's possible self-portrait in his elaborate East Doors of the Baptistery of San Giovanni (circa 1435) or Michelangelo's depiction of his own face on St. Bartholomew's flayed skin in the *Last Judgment* (1534–1541) of the Sistine Chapel are examples of both. The first artist known to write an autobiography, *I Commentari*, Ghiberti reflects his own self-consciousness in his self-portrait. While Michelangelo's is a self-portrait, too, it also represents the artist as a saintly martyr, commenting caustically on his difficult relations with his papal patrons and perhaps more broadly on the subordination of artist to patron in post-Reformation Rome.

During the Renaissance the social and civic roles of artists became tied to their relations to wealthy patrons with social ambitions, as well as to their own increased education and assertiveness. Vasari mythologized Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo as charismatic prodigies with magical powers of draftsmanship and expressed the notion of the artist as genius, a marked distinction from the medieval notion of the artist as craftsman. Vasari's biographies are filled with anecdotal descriptions of artists' personality quirks. The spreading of these attitudes from Italy to northern Europe is represented by Albrecht Dürer's *Self-Portrait* of 1500, which depicts the artist as resembling a traditional icon of Christ. For Dürer, art was a matter of individual genius, and the artist resembled a divine creator (a theory articulated by Leonardo).

Not surprisingly, during the Renaissance artists became the subjects of paintings, and through the nineteenth century Renaissance artists symbolized art itself. The first painter depicted at work was St. Luke, who became the patron saint of painters' guilds. Many depictions of him painting the Virgin and Child were produced during and after the Middle Ages, and artists such as Rogier van der Weyden portrayed St. Luke at work. Famous artists are commemorated in frescoes attributed to Paolo Uccello in the fourteenth century and to Francesco Salviati in the sixteenth century, as well as in the popular multiple portraits of great artists of the past produced in the nineteenth century. Many nineteenth-century paintings depicting Raphael, Michelangelo, and Leonardo use these artists as symbols of art (e.g., Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's *Raphael and Fornarina*, 1814, and J. M. W. Turner's *Canaletto Painting Venice*, 1833) and to elevate the status of artists by association (Levey, pp. 31–41). Artists such as William Hogarth in *Hogarth's Studio*, by E. M. Ward (1863), and Giovanni Antonio Guardi in *Guardi Selling his Pictures on the Piazza*, by Giovanni Bertini, represent nationalistic ambitions in art (Levey, pp. 40–60), in addition to efforts to achieve elevation and fame. Early portrayals of artists in their studios include Jan Vermeer's *A Painter at Work* (circa 1665), in which the painter sits with his back to the viewer, facing the model who is posed as a muse. Transforming an ordinary model into the muse, the artist creates allegories and symbols and elevates nature.

In the Renaissance the role of the artist emerged as a topic of interest, and some artists, such as Giotto, Titian, and Peter Paul Rubens (who was also a diplomat), were highly respected and economically well-off. However, the gradual decrease in church and state patronage, appearing first in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century and more rapidly throughout Western Europe in the nineteenth century, forced artists and the public to consider the new role of art and artist in a free market. Economic uncertainty and fragile social status were expressed in many artists' self-representations during and after the seventeenth century. Rembrandt van Rijn's numerous self-portraits present a remarkable sequence. They record his aging from his ostentatious youth to his philosophical maturity, as in his *Self-Portrait* of 1658, depicting the harsh realities and fragility of his life during a series of economic successes and failures caused by speculative market conditions and the highly competitive art market in seventeenth-century Holland.

Parmigianino's *Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror* (1524) expresses the Mannerist play and distortion of Renaissance centrality and geometric order, evoking a new artistic psychological detachment and ironic wit while focusing on the artist's hands and face, as if to represent the struggle between the notions of artist as genius and as craftsman. In France, Nicolas Poussin's *Self-Portrait* (1650) presents a poised, gentlemanly, well-dressed, serious, and prolific artist amid his many canvases, a presentation designed to appeal to the rising Protestant middle-class patrons he served by alluding to the artist's diligence and to the act of collecting. His self-portrait amid his other paintings presents him as artist, connoisseur, collector, arbiter of taste, and man of erudition. Diego Velázquez, in *Las Meninas* (1656), depicts himself in the act of painting the royal family in the palace, in an attempt to present himself as a member, not only of the royal entourage, but also of the prestigious Order of Santiago, an aristocratic order whose membership would have recognized the elevated status of painters, but which Velázquez did not receive until near the end of his life. Francisco Goya also depicted himself in the act of painting the royal family in *Charles IV and the Royal Family* (1800), alluding to Velázquez's painting and to his own role as court painter to a monarchy about which he felt ambiguous and from which he dissented politically.

In England, Joshua Reynolds's self-portraits include one, painted around 1773, in doctoral robes, intended to present him as academic, literate, and aristocratic. His Rembrandtesque self-portrait presents him as the heir of the great master. Other examples of the representation of the artist with social and economic status include Thomas Gainsborough's rather arrogant self-portrait and his 1751 portrait of himself with his wife and child, painted in the family portrait style in which he depicted his aristocratic patrons' families grouped on their property. Hogarth's humorous conceit *Self-Portrait with Pug* (1745) is a portrait within a portrait and an allegory about painting's dual realistic and symbolic portrayal of people and objects. The painting's inclusion of books by William Shakespeare, Jonathan Swift, and John Milton intimate that the painter is part of the great British literary tradition, a longer, more acceptable tradition in England than that of painting, which had been mostly supplied by foreign artists. Indeed, throughout the nineteenth century Hogarth was considered the father of British painting, the first to restore painting to a higher status as a profession than it had enjoyed in England before him and the first to articulate an anticlassical British aesthetic in his book *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753), in which the beauty of line and form is synthesized with a moral purpose and contemporary subject matter.

During the romantic period writers and later artists began to articulate a compensatory spiritual superiority to counterbalance their increasingly precarious position in a speculative market. While Samuel Taylor Coleridge argued that artists were compensated by a higher spirituality as "the unacknowledged legislators of the world," many artists presented themselves as depressed or socially defiant in response to the loss of aristocratic and state patronage and the necessity of serving an anonymous public often uneducated in matters of art and taste. Hector Berlioz in his *Symphonie Fantastique* and Eugène

Delacroix in his *Journals* (covering the years 1822–1863) represent the artist as struggling to find a new social status and experiencing dichotomous moods of elation and depression. Gustave Courbet's self-portraits include his dandyish *Self-Portrait with the Black Dog* (1842), which may refer to Hogarth's painting, and *The Man with the Pipe* (circa 1845), depicting a disheveled bohemian artist. His life-size *The Painter's Studio: A Real Allegory Summing Up Seven Years as an Artist* (1854–1855) is a remarkable example of the complexities of artistic production in a free market. Portraying himself painting a landscape, a genre that proved lucrative for him, and seated beside a standing nude model/muse and a small country boy, the artist mediates between his friends and patrons on the right side of the canvas and the downtrodden social outcasts on the left side, references to Courbet's socialist views and to the marginalized groups to which many bohemian artists belonged in nineteenth-century France. Courbet depicts himself self-aggrandized in a realistic allegory in which the artist is the center, the linchpin of society, between the classes.

Frederick Leighton's immensely popular *Cimabue's Madonna Carried in Procession Through the Streets of Florence* (1855) is a Victorian tribute to the civic role and social status of artists in the Renaissance, an ambition much admired and envied by Victorian painters who goaded the monarchy and Parliament to support the arts on a comparable scale. Queen Victoria (who bought Leighton's painting) and Prince Albert did a great deal to promote the visual arts and crafts. The Pre-Raphaelites also contributed toward transferring romantic notions about the poet to the painter. Their portraits include William Holman Hunt's compelling, melancholic, dreamy-eyed portrait of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, which may allude to popular interest in mesmerism or hypnotism; Hunt's series of self-portraits, one at 34 in 1841, looking rather boyish, and another in 1845; George Frederic Watts's portrait of Rossetti; John Everett Millais's portrait of Ford Madox Brown reading, rather than painting; and Rossetti's own self-portrait of himself sitting for Elizabeth Siddal (1853). Also commenting on literature as a model for the artist are Ford Madox Brown's *Byron's Dream* (1874) and *Chaucer at the Court of Edward III* (1845–1851). Brown's *The Last of England* (1855), depicting the emigration of the Pre-Raphaelite sculptor Thomas Woolner, who is unable to make a living in his homeland, reflects the plight of the Victorian artist. Rossetti's many paintings of the life of Dante, such as *Dante's Dream* (1856) and *Dante at the First Anniversary of Beatrice's Death*, model Dante as the archetypal artist. Millais's *Sir Isumbras at the Ford* (1856–1857) uses the medieval knight as a symbol of the artist. Millais's *Lorenzo and Isabella* (1848–1849), based on a poem by John Keats that is in turn based on a story from Boccaccio, is an elaborate symbol of the artist's social and economic dilemmas set in the Renaissance, a period of great importance to Victorian artists. Other possible veiled representations of the artist appear in Hunt's depictions of Jesus Christ, as in *The Light of the World* (1855–1856) and *The Scapegoat*.

Artists sometimes substituted their own self-images for those of heroes, as in Benjamin Robert Haydon's *Curtius Leaping the Gulf* (1842), in which the artist represents himself as the hero martyr. William Dyce portrayed an imaginary

moment in the boyhood of Titian in *Titian's First Essay in Colour* (1856–1857) to connect artistic genius with religious inspiration: the artist as mediator between divine inspiration and nature. In Millais's *Self-Portrait* the artist holds his palette and strikes a statesmanlike pose with a dignified gaze and dress. By the end of the century Aubrey Beardsley portrayed himself as a devotee of Pan, with pointed ears and tied to a statue of Pan. These examples reflect changes in the images of the artist in the nineteenth century, when they could be presented as heroic, spiritual, rebellious, or as bourgeois gentlemen. In literature artists were popular subjects, variously portrayed as supernatural, doomed by their position outside society, reckless and bohemian, usually poor, innocent or pure of heart, sensuous, the object of female desire, and generally resistant to domestication.

One classical myth popularly portrayed in nineteenth-century painting was the story of Pygmalion, the sculptor whose female nude came to life. Exemplified in Jean-Léon Gérôme's *Pygmalion and Galatea* (1890), the story in its nineteenth-century version reflects the changing role of the artist—from the civic one described by Joshua Reynolds and dominant from the Renaissance to the eighteenth century to the private one of the masculinized, eroticized, romantic bohemian whose studio was less a public educational space (e.g., workshop or atelier) than a private fantasy world. Edward Coley Burne-Jones produced a series of Pygmalion paintings: *The Heart Desires*, *The Godhead Fires*, *The Hand Refrains*, and *The Soul Attains* (1868–1870). The theme is again recalled in his painting *King Cophetua and the Beggar Maid* (1884). In Burne-Jones's depictions the tension between the artist's devotion to his art and to his beloved is resolved when the sculpted female image, both art and woman, becomes the object of his desire.

Other myths resurrected to represent artists in the nineteenth century were those of the semidivine figures of Prometheus, stealer of fire, and Hephaestus, the divine blacksmith (Jeffares, pp. 100–101). In the Promethean myth the protagonist defies the gods and is punished for his rebellious act. Prometheus was also identified as having created human beings out of clay. Many fictional artists were represented as doomed for their rebelliousness. The Hephaestus myth—the lame blacksmith created two golden female statues to help him walk—is transformed into artists with some physical deformity, such as the fictional artists in George Eliot's novel *Mill on the Floss* (1860), William Makepeace Thackeray's *The Newcomes* (1853–1855), and Theodore Watts-Dunton's *Aylwin* (1898).

Fictional women artists also provided comments on the role of gender in artistic production. Women artists appear in Charlotte Brontë's novel *Jane Eyre* (1847), in which Jane herself demonstrates artistic talent, Anne Brontë's *The Tenant of Wildfell Hall* (1848), Margaret Oliphant's *The Three Brothers* (1870), and Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse* (1927), in which the character Lily Briscoe may be modeled on her artist sister Vanessa Bell. Artemisia Gentileschi's active portrayal of herself in the 1630s in *Self-Portrait as "La Pittura,"* slightly disheveled and actively painting, combines realism and allegory. In this synthesis, later taken up by Courbet and Hogarth, the artist is both a portrayer of reality and responsible for heightening that reality by transforming it into something sym-

bolic or spiritual. Gentileschi's painting comments on her work, rather than her physical appearance, and also discharges the suspicion that women artists were less capable or skillful than men. Judith Leyster's *Self-Portrait* reproduces one of her paintings within the painting, again to demonstrate her role as artist rather than as woman. Marie-Louise-Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun's *Madame Vigée-Lebrun and Child*, painted in the 1780s, with both figures in classical dress, indicates her status as a fashionable painter for Marie Antoinette and emphasizes her beauty, for which she was well-known. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's *Portrait of the Artist with Two Pupils*, Mlle Marie Gabrielle Capet and Mlle Carreaux de Rosemond (1785) depicts the artist in her studio, with its classical busts, with some of her pupils to signify a woman as a master of a workshop or atelier, positioned within the great artistic tradition that she has received and is passing to other women. Angelica Kauffmann's *The Artist in the Character of Design Listening to the Inspiration of Poetry* (1782) allegorizes the artist into a symbol of principles of design and depicts the notion of *ut pictura poesis*, by which painters argued that, like its sister art poetry, painting was elevated by subjects profoundly literary or historical, justifying the claim that artists should have the same status and respect accorded to poets, as Renaissance artists had argued. Paula Modersohn-Becker's series of self-portraits during her pregnancy represent her fertility; her creativity as artist and as woman intersect in the *Self-Portrait* (1906). Gwen John's self-portraits, such as her *Self-Portrait* (1900–1903) in the National Portrait Gallery in London, present the artist as defiant, with her arms akimbo. Her assertive *Self-Portrait in a Red Blouse* (1900) represents a confident artist who was in reality independent and equally unconventional in her art and in her life.

The popular image of the artist has been that of a bohemian, socially distant, even hostile, a cynical figure, usually masculinized and avant-garde. While in times past artists, especially academic artists, portrayed themselves as respectable middle-class family men, most modern representations of the artist's body have emphasized rebelliousness, an antisocial stance, and an alienation considered fundamental to artistic creativity. Artists' portraits of each other, broadly interpreted, express diverse attitudes toward artists competing for attention in the nineteenth century. The contrast between Ingres's drawing of a poised, aristocratic, and well dressed Niccolò Paganini in 1824, with his violin tucked under his arm and under his control, and Delacroix's portrait of Paganini in performance in 1836, eyes closed and body swaying, transcendental and removed from material reality, represents the difference between a neoclassical notion of the artist as civic and aristocratic or gentlemanly and the romantic model of the artist as spiritually superior to others, introspective, outside social norms, and transcendent in relation to the material world.

Among the modernists, the private alienated artist has been widely represented. Vincent van Gogh's *Self-Portrait with Bandaged Ear* (1889) represents perhaps the most anguished expression of the suffering artist whose vision remained unaccepted. Van Gogh did several self-portraits at the end of his life, portraying himself as intense and troubled in striking green and orange colors. Paul Gauguin's *Self-Portrait with Yellow Christ*

(1889–1890) represents the artist between two of his works, a Crucifixion and a ceramic tobacco jar alluding to Gauguin's smoking habit and his work in clay. Here the artist is represented as divided between his spiritual and his material or even bestial self. Gauguin also represents himself as the suffering, struggling artist in the tradition of Albrecht Dürer and Michelangelo.

At the end of the nineteenth century, modernist artists were categorized among the insane and criminal. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century the Italian criminologist and physician Cesare Lombroso and his German disciple Max Nordau argued that modern artists were mad, their impressionist and postimpressionist styles "proving" the dissolution of civilization. Modern artists have inherited the romantic notion of the artist along with this turn-of-the-century argument that madness and artistic creativity were interrelated. These ideas were further mixed with artists' own realization that modern capitalism has little room for art and the modern state little patience for artistic rebellion. Modern alienation and marginalization are the products of both the romantic psychology of creativity and the popular psychoanalytical theories of Sigmund Freud, who was very interested in artistic creativity and wrote a treatise on the psychosexual sources of Leonardo da Vinci's *Virgin and Anne*. The German Expressionists painted many self-portraits laden with the psychology of alienation. Ernst Kirchner's *Modern Bohemia* (1924) depicts a European art world between the world wars in which the studio, filled with artists, models, books, flowers, and art objects, is nevertheless a lonely place where artists are isolated, escaping the claustrophobia by remaining isolated from one another, lost in their individual dreams. Marcel Duchamp's self-portrait *Rose Selavy*, in which he appears in drag, is a unique representation of the artist—disguised, sexually ambiguous, unredeemed by spiritual superiority, leveled by association with street life and popular slang. Duchamp undercuts centuries of debate over the artist's status, intellect, and masculinity in one stroke. Stanley Spencer's highly agitated and realistic portraits, such as his *Self-Portrait* of 1959 with wrinkles and a distressed expression, recall the aging Rembrandt; instead of philosophical stoicism and wisdom, however, Spencer's self-images are anxious and troubled. Such modern self-representations seem premised on the popular concept of artists as psychically troubled in the belief that such a troubled state was a precondition of creativity.

Throughout her life Käthe Kollwitz executed many self-portraits in charcoal, etching, lithography, and bronze. Her bronze *Self-Portrait* of 1936 represents a mature, wise, stoic image in the tradition of Rembrandt's late self-portraits. Leonora Carrington's *Self-Portrait* (1936–1937), which presents her in a surreal home with flying horses, is as much a statement about surrealism and its foundations in psychoanalysis as it is a self-portrait. Here the artist is identified with a style that seems to be her personality, emphasizing the idea that style is a personal expression, rather than a broad, culturally shared language.

Frida Kahlo's many self-portraits generally portray her as thwarted mother, sometimes as artist. In her *Portrait of Frida and Diego* (1931), Kahlo's husband Diego Rivera has the palette and she stands hanging on his arm, the demure wife; however, a banner over her head, an allusion to medieval alle-

gorical paintings, cites her as the painter of portraits. Kahlo's portraits convey the difficulties of establishing a professional role for women artists, and, like Carrington, her self-portraits almost always allude to domestic life or settings as well as to style, in her case to Mexican folk art. Kahlo, like so many modern artists, takes on a role as a "primitive," a modern posture disguising the artist's legacy from civilization, in opposition to Renaissance artists, who portrayed themselves as inheritors of classical tradition embodying a high level of education and civilization. Modern artists generally prefer to portray themselves as rejecting civilization for a primitive or primordial state (e.g., Kahlo and Mexican folk art or Gauguin in Tahiti), reflected also in the inspiration many artists draw from non-Western art and cultures.

Pablo Picasso's series of himself at work with a nude model comments on the combined matrix of genius and masculine sexuality. In his drawings of himself drawing, Picasso depicts himself sometimes as a monkey, sometimes a Minotaur; for him the act of drawing was itself inscribed by sexual prowess (e.g., *Dans l'Atelier*, 1954) and a sign of that prowess.

Artists' portraits of other artists are also indicative of social attitudes toward artists, as well as of their interpersonal relationships. Anna Klumpke's *Portrait of Rosa Bonheur* (1898) shows the artist in her studio interrupted by the viewer while she is painting horses, her most famous subject. Despite her white hair, her eyes are alert and her gaze dignified and masterful, expressing the authority and success of a woman artist. Juan Gris's *Portrait of Picasso* (1912) is more an homage to Picasso as the founder of Cubism than a general statement about artists as a class. Alice Neel's striking *Portrait of Andy Warhol* (1970), presenting him nude from the waist up after his recovery from surgery following a shooting, depicts him as an aging, sagging, and vulnerable artist, contrary to his buoyant public persona.

Many artists have portrayed the theme of painting and sculpture allegorically. The figure used to represent painting or sculpture is usually, although not always, that of a female wielding the pencil, brush, or chisel. The allegorical paintings of Artemisia Gentileschi, William Hogarth, and Gustave Courbet have already been mentioned. To this list may be added Andrea Pisano, Frans van Mieris the Elder, François Boucher, Rosalba Carriera, and a host of others. Angelica Kauffmann's paintings of *Painting* (*Colouring*), *Genius* (*Invention*), *Composition*, and *Design*, all figures of women, decorate the ceiling of the Royal Academy of Arts in London.

In eighteenth-century literature the artist became a prominent character and sometimes hero/heroine in a fictional genre called the *kunstlerroman*. The most well-known example is Henry Murger's *Scènes de la vie de Bohème* (1851), from which other novels and operas were derived. The artist is often depicted as a bohemian, although sometimes only mildly or humorously so, as in George Du Maurier's *Trilby* (1894) or William Makepeace Thackeray's *The Newcomes* (1853–1855). Henry James's *Roderick Hudson* (1875) is about a sculptor. Other major writers who wrote about artists include Charles Dickens, George Eliot, Virginia Woolf, Wilkie Collins, George Gissing, Thomas Hardy, Rudyard Kipling, George Moore, Sir Walter Scott, Anthony Trollope, and Émile Zola. Poet Robert

Browning created imaginary dramatic monologues spoken by Renaissance artists such as Fra Filippo Lippi and Andrea del Sarto in which they express the difficulties and pleasures of painting. In Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891) the artwork possesses a supernatural power, a popular theme in Gothic literature of the eighteenth century. In the nineteenth century artists were depicted first sympathetically as romanticized rebels and bohemians, later as foppish aesthetes and decadents, and finally as alienated or humorous as in Joyce Cary's *The Horse's Mouth* (1944). In James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1914), in which *artist* refers to a broad category, the artist's development is seen as a troubled alienation from home and country, a kind of exile as payment for artistic freedom in a modern rootless world, not unlike the peripatetic lifestyles of many modern artists and writers, including Joyce. In Virginia Woolf's *Orlando* (1928) the artist moves across time, reflecting the role of history in artistic self-consciousness, and is embodied in both genders over time. Representations of artists also occur in popular literature and film, including films made from novels, such as *The Horse's Mouth*; *The Agony and the Ecstasy*, from Irving Stone's novel about Michelangelo; *Moulin Rouge*, about the life of Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec; and *Lust for Life*, about the life of Vincent van Gogh. Films also have portrayed the lives of Frida Kahlo and the sculptor Camille Claudel, contemporary and partner of Auguste Rodin. Most of these films emphasize the artist as sufferer, outsider, tortured soul, and renegade.

See also Fame; Labor/Trades/Occupations; Imagination/Creativity; Self-Portraits I: Men; Self-Portraits II: Women

Selected Works of Art

Renaissance

- Pisano, Andrea, *The Art of Painting*; *The Art of Sculpture*; *The Art of Sculpture*, marble sculpture reliefs, circa 1334–1348, Florence, Italy, Campanile
- Ghiberti, Lorenzo, *Baptistry Doors*, bronze sculpture, 1435, Florence, Italy, Baptistry
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ASCENT/DESCENT

Paul Grimley Kuntz and Lee Braver

The following symbols are covered in the discussion of the theme Ascent/Descent:

MOUNTAINS

LADDERS

TOWERS

MISCELLANEOUS

TREES



Paolo Veronese, *Jacob's Dream*, circa 1555–1556, Venice, Italy, San Sebastiano.
(Courtesy of Osvaldo Böhm)

The endless variety of symbols indicating ascent and descent, climbing up or climbing down, ascending and descending, must be attributed to the imperative—human, natural, and divine—to explore the heights and depths of the world. More than all other animals humans have pushed the limits of the vertical dimension of space, making it as true of mortals as of God, “If I ascend into heaven, thou art there: if I make my bed in hell, behold, thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; Even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me” (Psalms 139:8–10).

Mountains, towers, trees, and ladders are all means by which people rise and are symbols of ascent and descent. The human being is the animal who strives to reach heaven and who falls into hell (*homo ascendens et descendens*), and when we employ these symbols we recognize that we rise and we fall.

The cultural evidence for this is the perennial appeal of the symbols, which the biblical prophets used to express their revelations, Byzantine, Romanesque, and Gothic architects used in their designs, and later churches display in their spires (Patrides, “Hierarchy”). One important work expressing the Judeo-Christian sense of hierarchy is Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, which challenges graphic artists to illustrate the levels of the pit of hell, the mountain of purgatory, and the heavenly levels of paradise. There are as many illustrations of Dante in the twentieth century as were earlier executed by Giovanni di Paolo, Sandro Botticelli, William Blake, and Gustave Doré. This divine hierarchy was also present in ancient Greece, which depicted Hades as the underworld while the gods enjoyed Mount Olympus as their home.

As with other animals that move, humans find themselves in space and in a landscape that is rarely flat or level. Hills and mountains rise up by degrees, land slopes down into valleys. To gain control over land, the top of the mountain makes possible vision in all directions, while the valley, however pleasant, is a place in danger of attack (e.g., “the valley of the shadow of death” from Psalms 23). Humans build towers and protect them by digging ditches, so extending the height and depth provided by the environment. Every culture has some holy mountains, where a prophet such as Moses ascends to meet with the Lord and receive the tablets of the Law. And every culture has valleys, sometimes accursed, as was the valley outside Jerusalem that held the foul city dump, Tophet, in the Valley of Hinnom (II Kings 23:10; Isaiah 30:33; Jeremiah 7:31–33). Primitive groups believed that above the clouds of heaven is the abode of gods and in the pit of hell are the devils. People live in a middle world, beneath heaven and above hell, and in that ambiguous realm good and evil are mixed, so that constantly everyone is faced with choices between them. The most striking

example of this generic characteristic of the human moral predicament is the long tradition of depicting Adam and Eve beneath the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil and their expulsion from paradise (Genesis 2–3). Two great examples of this scene are those created by Masaccio and Michelangelo, in the Brancacci Chapel in Florence and in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican, respectively.

To ascend is generally to become better by degree, and to descend to become worse. But there are also visual symbols of ascent that cannot succeed, as building the Tower of Babel is still a symbol of vain ambition. To occupy the place of gods produces the confusion of tongues (Genesis 11). The Greek myth of Otus and Ephialtes, two giants who stacked up mountains in order to reach the home of the gods, also shows the consequences of hubris. The Greek gods punished Sisyphus in Hades for his many deceptions by condemning him eternally to roll a giant boulder up a hill, only to have it roll down again just as it reached the summit. In medieval and Renaissance symbolism ascent may be merely riding fortune’s wheel up, to be followed by inevitable decline and ruin.

The ultimate of good and evil in vital terms is life and death. The natural world provides the symbols of light and dark as the associated characters of good and evil because above are sources of light, especially the sun, without which there can be no life. Since dark is only the absence of light, it is natural to assume that being in itself is good and that evil ultimately is nothingness.

The hierarchy of being can be constructed between self-subsistent being and all that is below and dependent on it, the necessary contrasted to the contingent. This range by degrees, including all the opposites—spiritual-material, living-dead, intelligent-brute—is expressed abstractly by the symbolic Tree of Porphyry, and diagrammed chiefly in books of logic and metaphysics. Unfortunately the best known book, *The Great Chain of Being* by Arthur O. Lovejoy (Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1936), a masterpiece of the history of ideas, pays no attention, other than Homer’s Golden Chain, to the visual arts. The few examples of chains are all from literary sources.

The Tree of Life is spread worldwide in many different forms. The Norse picture of the world is the evergreen ash tree, Yggdrasil, populated by humans created out of ash and elm trees. Is the mythic Tree of Life true in the sense that all species can be considered branches and that the trunk grew from common roots? Biologist Stephen Jay Gould points out that Charles Darwin’s *Origin of Species*, especially in its early chapters, employs the Tree of Life as a guide to construing temporally the mass of observed facts of kinship.

In two other ways the symbols of the vertical dimension are as much used in the modern world as they were in the medieval

period, when artists were more deeply inspired to use symbols of heaven and hell than we are today. Economic success is attained by climbing a ladder, and the rails and rungs are sometimes compared to the spiral of the symbol of the United States dollar (\$). We still represent visually the steps to be mounted to own one's own home or to rise to the eminence of chief executive. The reaction against materialism also takes the hierarchical form, in that spirituality is conceived as advancing beyond sensation to perception and from imagination to intellect. The ascent of spirit is commonly thought of as inner development, going beyond calculating reason to appreciation and devotion to ideals for their own sake. In particular, the depth psychology of Carl Jung finds significance in ancient myths, theology, and alchemy, as well as the arts that use symbols of mountains, towers, trees, ladders, and bridges. The spirit naturally seeks to rise, as the sparks fly upward. It is doubtful whether concern with symbolism would have developed apart from a revulsion against reducing all life to a dead and monotonous level, thus depriving us of what psychologist Abraham Maslow called "peak experiences."

Throughout the discussion of the meaning of mountains, towers, ladders, and trees we will observe that although these symbols can be found in very diverse cultures, there is a tension between their peculiar cosmological and moral connotations and the syncretistic tendency of Jungian thought to claim one essential underlying denotation. Many interpreters find essential meaning in one archetype of ascent and descent: the center and world axis, as in the iconographic philosophy of Mircea Eliade.

Salvation is sometimes a descent into the womb of mother Earth rather than an ascent to the heavenly father. Even in Western culture, with Mount Olympus as the home of Zeus and the other Greek gods and Sinai as the mountain of the covenant with the god of Israel, mountains were for centuries regarded by Europeans as blemishes on a good creation (Nicolson).

Mountains

Israelites were provided with Psalms to sing as they made pilgrimages to their temple in Jerusalem on Mount Zion. There are 15 "Psalms of Ascent," and the most famous verse is still used in worship by people far from the Holy Land and by those who are not descended from the Hebrews: "I will lift up mine eyes unto the hills, from whence cometh my help" (Psalms 121:1). This is only one of many such expressions. It occurs in paintings with Chinese characters telling of mountain peaks that lead beyond the clouds to heaven. In India there is Mount Meru, which Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains believe to be the center of the world. From this center are spread out four lotus-petal continents, and the mountain is the seed-cup of the world lotus. From ancient Greece we are acquainted with temples built on high promontories, such as the Parthenon on the crest of the Acropolis at Athens. For many Native American peoples the mountain was itself the divinity. The Japanese also celebrate Mount Fuji, with its springs that provide water to the rice paddies.

The peak of the mountain is a place of exalted vision, as depicted in the middle panel of Matthias Grünewald's *Isenheim*

Altarpiece. Explorers commonly tell of their ecstatic experiences, as did Hudson Stuck and three others who in 1913 were the first to climb Mount McKinley in Alaska. We can therefore gain common feeling for the Hebrews, led by Moses from Egypt to Mount Sinai. The power of Yahweh was manifested in storm, fire, and lightning. The people must stay behind, awaiting the return of the prophet Moses.

The earliest representation of Moses receiving the Law from above is in a fresco in the Synagogue of Dura-Europus, now in Syria (third century A.D.). The image of Moses ascending the mountain became standard in Byzantine representations, particularly because Emperor Justinian established the great monastery of St. Katherine at the foot of Mount Sinai. A mosaic at Ravenna, Italy, presents a high mountain with a sharply precipitous drop from level to level, reminding us of the metaphor used by American monk Thomas Merton in his autobiography, *The Seven Storey Mountain* (1948).

The Israelites had to remain below while Moses ascended the height. In Jewish and Byzantine art only the hand of God is shown coming from a heavenly cloud. It is said of Moses on the height that after fasting 40 days and 40 nights he spoke to the Lord "face to face," but in other texts it is only the Lord's backside that Moses can glimpse. Moses is given the aureole of a saint, and in Western art from the twelfth century until the eighteenth there are horns from his forehead or cheeks, such as those in the illuminated manuscript by Rudolf von Ems. Iconographer Ruth Mellinkoff accounts for this as a translation of the Hebrew by St. Jerome as a horned face. We now agree with the traditional Hebrew and Greek interpretation that the meaning more properly is that Moses' face was radiant. Rarely, Moses is shown with face veiled as he presents the tablets of the Law to the people.

The people grow impatient during their long wait for the divine terms of the covenant of Yahweh and induce Moses' brother, Aaron the priest, to melt down jewelry into a golden calf. This is commonly presented as an idol set upon a column or a monumental platform. The scene was a favorite of Renaissance and Baroque painters and perhaps best known because of Nicolas Poussin. Because the text tells of the daughters of Israel singing and dancing around the idol, the painter had the opportunity to depict an orgy. Moses is presented in anger because of the idolatrous infidelity of his people, and Moses in anger smashing the tablets is a standard episode of the Moses cycle. The best known, in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, is by Rembrandt van Rijn.

The stones of the mountain, inscribed by the finger of God with the Ten Commandments, are not found in the earliest depictions. The ancients were acquainted with writing on a scroll, and only in the Middle Ages did Moses appear carrying the rounded-top stones. Jewish scholars have established that this shape, called compass-top, was first devised by Christian artists and borrowed by the synagogue, where it has become the most familiar symbol of Judaism as a religion (in contrast to the six-pointed Magen David used by the state of Israel).

Probably unique in Christian churches is the altarpiece of San Moisè in Venice, Italy. Rocks are piled up to replicate a mountain, with God the Father giving the Law to the prophet Moses. Both are bearded patriarchs, surrounded by angels with

trumpets. At the foot of the mountain stands brother Aaron on the left and sister Miriam on the right.

The modern love of wild mountain scenery is evident in Henry Cheever Pratt's *Moses on the Mount* (1828–1829, formerly attributed to Thomas Cole). This work is unusual in that the human figures are tiny, dwarfed by the majestic mountains above the prophet and the priest. Paul Cézanne became fixated on nearby Mont Sainte-Victoire and painted it many times over the last two decades of his life. Fascination with mountains has received perhaps its most vivid modern treatment in the motion picture *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977). A seemingly random selection of people across the country become obsessed with the image of a mountain and engage in an all-encompassing pursuit of its meaning. Their quest ends with an alien race making contact with Earth at the mountain, perhaps a secular analogue to epiphany.

Towers

People have constructed artificial mountains across the globe, including pyramid tombs in Egypt, pyramids for sacrifice and worship in Aztec Mexico, and ziggurats in the river valley of the Tigris and the Euphrates. All are awesome means of attaining the height, and some have steps of ascent, sometimes strictly limited to use by the priesthood or royalty who attained divine elevation.

The most significant symbol of a tower in Western art is not associated with success in reaching heaven, but with human failure. The account of the Tower of Babylon is retold in the Bible as the Tower of Babel, and Babel now signifies the consequent confusion of tongues. The intent of the Babylonians is stated in Genesis: "Let us build us a city and a tower, whose top may reach unto heaven" (Genesis 11:4). The account comes from Hebrews who were convinced that their true God had led Abraham from Ur of the Chaldees, and that it was proper to forsake a city noted for its tower. In contrast to true contact with God (as in the case of Jacob and his vision of a ladder let down from heaven), the attempt to build a tower to heaven became the symbol of human pride and the consequent confusion, the symbol of meaninglessness. The Hebrew scribes were also rejecting the Babylonian story of creation, which involved the copulation of the male and female deities and the imitation of the creation by the divine marriage rite of the king with the priestess in the temple on top of the tower.

In contrast to the rather standard construction of a ladder, which may vary somewhat in width and much in height and angles, the towers that are represented in medieval and Renaissance art have far greater variety. Sometimes it is depicted in the early stages being constructed of brick, as in a mosaic in St. Mark's Basilica in Venice, but more commonly its height may reach to the clouds of heaven. Sometimes it is an erect tower, square, with windows to indicate internal stories, but more frequently it is a construction with higher levels receding, often with a spiral staircase leading upward. There is usually an indication of scaffolding used by workmen, because the tower remains unfinished. Sometimes it has many surrounding buildings, for the biblical account is of a "city and a tower." In the version by Jan Brueghel the Elder (Brueghel de

Velours) painted before 1625, there are two rivers and a busy city on what seems to be an island, with mountains in the background. In the nineteenth-century version by Gustave Doré, the stress is placed on the height piercing the clouds, while pagan worship occupies the foreground. Sometimes the general theme of pride of the high and never-to-be-finished structure is reinforced by representation of a king, Nimrod, in some pose of arrogance. Another way of pointing to the moral that pride is followed by destruction (Proverbs 16:18, 29:23, etc.) is to show a vast structure collapsing into a ruin.

The tower is not always a symbol of bad ascent and failure, indeed it is sometimes the opposite. The tower often means unassailable purity. St. Barbara, imprisoned by her father to protect her Christian virginity, is often pictured with a windowless tower. This also serves as a symbol of the Virgin Mary. The tower that signifies sainthood may have three windows, signifying the Holy Trinity.

Humanists of the Renaissance used the symbol of a tower-like mountain, usually with an external sprawling pathway that could be used to ascend the heights above the clouds. There are frequent representations of the Tablet of Cebes from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Cebes, a student of Socrates and a Pythagorean, is one of the speakers in the *Phaedo* of Plato. The text of his *Tabula* comes from a Neoplatonic manuscript of the first century A.D. It offers an explanation of a large picture on the wall of a temple of Cronus. The story is of a pilgrim traveling on a highway and visiting this temple. According to the allegory, life's meaning is found in learning to distinguish true from false, virtue from vice, and the way to cope with bad luck, and in spite of all misfortune to gain happiness in the end. There are 27 lessons to be learned, and the illumination leads by spirals up toward a temple at the summit.

The tower can be the symbol of the object of conquest for the soldier and by analogy the scholar's goal. Encamped in the plain beneath the forbidding height, the *tabula militiae scholasticae* are various tents (of wickedness?): ignorance, laziness, pleasure, fear, and three more. The steps up are the seven liberal arts, beginning with grammar, logic, and rhetoric (the trivium, contrasted to the quadrivium). The outer wall to be taken is the bachelor's degree, after which is the master's, and at the center of "arx Palladis" (citadel of wisdom) sits the ruler with a banner on which is written "glory."

Trees

Just as mountains and towers, trees under which we live and ladders that we construct for scaling walls serve as symbols of ascent and descent. In his poem "Birches," Robert Frost sums up the notion of ascent through trees:

I'd like to go by climbing a birch tree,
And climb black branches up a snow-white trunk
Toward heaven.

More profound than the ascent of the tree by climbing up its branches is the variety of tree forms used to symbolize the ascent or descent of the soul. A tree provides the instrument of the most egregious descent, in religious terms, of the soul in human history, the fall into original sin. The text of the fall,

according to the Hebrew Bible, includes “a garden eastward in Eden,” where the Lord God “put the man. . . . And out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food; the tree of life also in the midst of the garden, and the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.” God puts Adam in Eden “to dress it and to keep it,” with permission to eat of every tree except one that is prohibited: “Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat: But of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it: for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die” (Genesis 2:8–17). Albrecht Dürer painted Eve being tempted by the serpent from the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, while Adam holds the Tree of Life.

The garden became a favorite with artists. The tree is symbolic of the unspoiled beauty of creation, good according to the Creator (Genesis 1 repeats “God saw that it was good” after most days of creation). Adam and Eve were perfect before they touched the forbidden fruit. God commanded that man and wife “shall be one flesh. And they were both naked, . . . and were not ashamed” (Genesis 2:24–25). Eve and Adam yield to the temptation of the serpent, “Ye shall not surely die . . . ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.” Eating of the fruit, their “eyes . . . were opened, and they knew that they were naked.” In shame they hide from the sight of God. Charged with disobedience they offer excuses; Adam blames Eve, and Eve blames the serpent. God curses the man to till the stony soil and the woman to bear children in pain. Man “is become one of us,” says the Lord, “to know good and evil” and doomed to die because he cannot “take . . . of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever.” An angel with a flaming sword forever keeps man from finding “the way of the tree of life” (Genesis 3:4–24).

Not all myths are like the story of lost paradise, and even in Hebrew scripture wisdom is available to those who seek it: “She is a tree of life to them that lay hold upon her: and happy is every one that retaineth her” (Proverbs 3:18). This is an optimistic version, that people retain and even increase their capacity for wisdom, and that the means are theirs if they choose to use them. But the Orthodox Christian version, influenced by St. Paul, is that the sin of Adam has left all descendants morally feeble and deformed. Only through a second Adam—Christ—comes redemption. The sacrificial death of the Savior is on a cross, and the interpretation is that the cross is of the wood of the tree of death, whose fruit the first pair ate. The place of the cross, Golgotha, is the site of Adam’s tomb. The reversal of the fall, initiated by the first woman, requires a second Eve, Mary mother of Jesus, and as the temptation came through the serpent (a satanic or devilish symbol) the foot of the woman bruises the serpent’s head (Genesis 3:15).

If the way for mortals to rise to the level of the divine is through wisdom, then the Tree of Life is also the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Sometimes the two trees are identified explicitly (e.g., the missal of Archbishop Bernhard von Rohr of Salzburg). Those who hold to the Pauline doctrine of Adam’s fall would naturally present the tree whose fruit was forbidden as a tree of death.

The Orthodox Christian story of redemption through the death on the cross sometimes places the dying Savior on a tree, symbolizing new life coming from sacrificial surrender of life.

The cross as tree allows man and woman redeemed to be raised up and reconciled with God. The contemplation of the crucifix is a way to confess sins of Adamic disobedience and to open one to Christian forgiveness (Schiller).

The human genealogical descent of Jesus from Jesse is symbolized by the medieval Tree of Jesse, best known in the stained glass of Chartres Cathedral in France. The lineage runs from Jesse through David to one called in a hymn “great David’s greater son.” This is presented as a justification for Jesus as Messiah, or “anointed one,” “Christ.”

The symbol of the tree was central to the medieval reflection on history. The chief example is Joachim of Fiore, the abbot of Calabria, whose plan of salvation was the emergence of the age of the Son from the age of the Father and the fulfillment in a new age, the age of the Spirit. The abbot’s visions are rendered as the flourishing of trees.

In systematic thought about the cosmos no metaphysician employed the parts of the tree more than the Blessed Ramon Lull, Catalan knight and novelist, Franciscan missionary to the Muslims, extreme rationalist in theology. Long before Blaise Pascal and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz, Lull had the idea of a calculating machine. In a basic question, he asked for the root, the trunk, the branches, the leaves, and the fruit. Drawings accompany his metaphysics, as they do Joachim’s prophecies. The leaves are sometimes named with the Aristotelian categories on one branch, and on its mirror opposite are the names of the primary aspects of reality of his own system. Lull wrote a book for preachers in which he taught them to think of a sermon as a tree and to follow the growth of the tree from root to fruit, to be sure that every aspect had been covered.

Tree then becomes symbolic of the whole, and a tree of being is intended to be a symbol of all of reality. When Immanuel Kant in the *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) speaks of a “tree of categories” or Descartes compares the “whole of philosophy” to a tree in his *Principles of Philosophy* (1644), they probably were unaware of the rich heritage of Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Hindu myth, as well as the fabulous Yggdrasil of Scandinavian myth. For centuries before the Enlightenment, logic texts had employed a diagram with many variations, a tree of being. It goes back to a founder of Neoplatonism, Porphyry, born in Tyre in about A.D. 232, who edited Plotinus. The ground of being is the One, and all else, emanation of the One. The most general category of universal is substance, which if corporeal is body, which if living is life, which if sensible is animal, which if rational is man. Man, in virtue of his soul and intellect, can gradually attain the One. This is the trunk. The branches represent, on right and left, corporeal or incorporeal, animate or inanimate, sensible or insensible, rational or irrational. One of the variations shows homo (man) springing from the originative pair, Adam and Eve, with Christian man from the regenerative pair, Jesus and Mary. Another shows homo holding on to the roots of being.

Is the tree of being always rooted in earth below and growing up toward the source of light? The *Arbor Universalium*, because of its concern with classification, reads downward from mineral body to plant to animal to man, when each succeeding level is higher. In the East and in the West there is the paradoxical upside-down tree. From the Katha Upanishad

(6:1): “its root is above, its branches below—the eternal fig-tree! that [root] indeed is the Pure. That is Brahma that indeed is called the Immortal on it all the worlds do rest, and no one soever goes beyond it.”

One of the most interesting trees was developed from the Sephiroth Tree, ten names of God, on which mystical Jews meditated to ascend to the eternal. The ten names, three in the core of the roots and seven branches, are the fronds of the palm tree.

Ladders

Just as the Tower of Babel in the biblical account requires that we recognize the Babylonian heritage of the symbol, so the story of Jacob’s Ladder in the patriarch’s dream at Bethel requires us to recognize an ancient Egyptian symbol. The Hebraic rejection of building a tower to heaven has become a symbol of vanity and of consequent confusion, whereas the ladder let down from heaven is the true way linking Earth to heaven.

To understand the many paintings, from the synagogue of Dura Europus to works by Marc Chagall, we need the text of the story. Jacob, obeying his father Isaac’s command not to marry a Canaanite but to find a wife from the family of his mother’s brother, is on a journey toward Haran.

And he lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the sun was set; and he took of the stones of that place, and put them for his pillows, and lay down in that place to sleep. And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it. And, behold, the Lord stood above it, and said, I am the Lord God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land whereon thou liest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed. . . . And in thee and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed. And, behold, I am with thee, and will keep thee in all places whither thou goest, and will bring thee again into this land. . . . And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the Lord is in this place. . . . How dreadful is this place! This is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. (Genesis 28:11–17)

At this point Jacob took the stone he had used as a pillow and set it up as a pillar. He poured oil on this mark of the place called Bethel, the “house of God” (Genesis 28:18–19). As a symbol of God’s presence another vertical monument is used, the pillar.

The Hebraic story of a ladder reaching from Earth to heaven was accepted by Christians, who, coming from various cultures, could build upon Egyptian and Hellenistic significances. Egyptians wore amulets of the ladder, and the cult of Orpheus offered a ladder to carry the soul to heaven. The most significant development was through Abbot John of the Monastery of St. Katherine at the foot of Mount Sinai. The abbot used Jacob’s Ladder as the symbol of the way to moral perfection. Known as St. Johannes Climacus (St. John of the Ladder), the abbot wrote down his philosophy in a book of 30 chapters, *The Ladder of Paradise*, each chapter a rung on the Ladder.

Abbot John was a master of Eastern Christian asceticism, and *The Ladder* was translated into many languages; as a result, in Eastern churches from Greece to Russia there are frescoes and icons depicting Jacob’s Ladder. St. Romuald and St. Benedict are also associated with ladders in Western or Latin Christendom.

The Hebrew text speaks of the Lord above the ladder, but Jewish art cannot represent Yahweh. Because God the Son took on flesh, Christian art can represent Jesus Christ welcoming those monks who succeed in advancing the 30 rungs described in *The Ladder of Paradise*. Each rung represents a vice to be overcome or a virtue to be gained. The highest rung is faith, hope, and charity. Not all ladders rise precipitously, but all are steep, and monks fall not only when the aspirants lose their hold and fall; devils torment and distract those striving upward. Angels may offer comfort, but at the base of the ladder is the beast ready to devour the damned.

Not all ladders of perfection are as threatening. Medieval artist Herrade von Landsberg, an Alsatian abbess, presents a less steep ascent and only half the number of rungs, 15. Her book is called *Hortus Deliciarum* (Garden of Delights), and there is a life for those who do not choose to climb, as the lord and lady, who live a pleasant life on the hillside.

There are innumerable illustrations of Jacob’s Ladder in manuscripts to accompany the text, as there are of Moses ascending Sinai and bringing back the Law, building the Tower of Babel, the Tree of Life, and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. These also appear in many paintings that adorn churches and inspire aspiration to ascend. As with other symbols of ascent, iconographers Louis Réau and Engelbert Kirschbaum give accounts of the changing iconography over the centuries.

There are great differences between presentations of the images of Jacob’s dream. Some of the earlier examples divide sharply between Earth and heaven, in contrast to their union through the ladder with angels ascending and descending. Others differ in the presentation of the ladder, which in some is set away from the sleeping Jacob and in some is set so close to him that it appears to spring from the patriarch’s breast. This is evident in German woodcuts of the Reformation and Baroque periods. Another striking difference can be seen in works by two Spanish painters: Jusepe de Ribera, in whose painting a great flood of light from heaven is the ladder, and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo, in whose painting the ladder is crowded from top to bottom with angels. Nineteenth-century artists William Blake and Gustave Doré depart from the traditional straight ladder. Blake presents a spiral staircase with many angels, some embracing one another, some bearing gifts, others bringing children. Does the spiral signify gradual progress upward, with many turns? Doré depicts the ladder as a broad staircase with innumerable steps, which brings to mind Dante’s “Vision of the Golden Ladder.” Does this signify a way to the infinite open to many? By contrast a narrow ladder seems limited to a single file of climbers.

Most ladders used as symbols of ascent are probably what the artists observed house builders and roofers using, with wooden rails and rungs. But Ribera used only a broad shaft of light. A most interesting ladder can be observed in the painting

by Paolo Veronese in the sacristy of the Church of San Sebastiano in Venice. From an opening in the sky comes a ladder of two narrow shafts of light with barely suggested rungs of light. The angels also may be read as luminous winged creatures of human form. Because angels have no material bodies, they have no weight, and Veronese has thereby presented a more heavenly ladder. In contrast to the dawn on the left side of the painting is the darkness on the right side. Rather than Jacob asleep with head on stones, he is awake and beholds the vision of the ladder of heavenly light. In the forest Jacob wrestles with an angel (in this case the angel must have a body as solid as flesh). It is not common, but there are medieval examples that combine Jacob wrestling with Jacob dreaming because the stories are told in separate chapters (Genesis 28:10–22 and Genesis 32:24–32).

Rather than a ladder for the angels, some artists provide the angels with stone steps, as did Blake and Doré. In Latin or Italian the word *scala* may mean either a ladder or steps. An example is from a fifteenth-century manuscript of an illuminated *Divine Comedy* (Samek-Ludovici and Ravenna). From the level of the Arrogant (bent over with stones) to the level of the Envious (with eyelids sewn shut), Dante mounts a wooden ladder. But in going to the level of the Irritable (wrapped in thick smoke), Virgil is shown climbing wooden steps. There are other drawings of the hill of Purgatory in which the transition from level to level is consistently by ladder.

Artists sometimes devise ladders to present complex theological concepts in very simple visual language. Hans Baldung invented a double ladder, one with three rails. Reading the story as fall and redemption of humankind, on one side Adam in his pride ascends while on the other Christ in his humility descends. Read in the other direction, however, it could also be the famous formula “God became man in order that man might become God.”

Are all ladders or steps theological? Not necessarily. The steps may correspond to a hierarchy of nature. Said Lull, “We begin at the imperfect, so that we might ascend to the perfect; and conversely, we may descend from the perfect to the imperfect.” To illustrate Lull’s *De novi logica: De correllativia, necnon de ascensu et descensu intellectus* (1512), study begins with the material world, on the level of the stone, rising to the level of fire, to plants (a tree), sensitive animals (a lion), and arriving at the level of the intellectual animal, man. And beyond are pure unbodily intellects, angels. The scholar holds up a zodiac, signifying that the order of nature points beyond to the height of the divine orderer.

Alchemical literature, particularly of the seventeenth century, is full of visual representations of steps needed to ascend to the level of wisdom, symbolized by the philosopher’s stone. We may read “gold” literally, as the precious metal, or symbolically, as wisdom. It is difficult to think of physical, chemical, and biological processes such as “calcination, sublimation, . . . and putrefaction” leading to anything on the level of intellect or moral judgment unless we think of an inward ascent. In Robert Fludd’s version of Jacob’s Ladder, the rungs are of inward levels, senses, imagination, reason, intellect, intelligence, word. This is not merely what we call “faculty psychology.” Fludd is awakening to the presence within himself of “immortal spirit”

joined to his “vile body.” Because of spirit man “can participate in eternal beatitude. What joy there is in this world comes alone from the presence of the spirit.” Hence the bursting star of light beyond the ladder (Godwin).

Of course not all scholars were mystics who found joy in acquiring wisdom for its own sake. Scholars were also climbing a ladder of success. There are enemies of a happy life, and these are symbolized allegorically as poverty, sickness, lust, and early death. These four hold back the young man, tugging at ropes attached to his belt.

There is no end to the ingenious ways in which the ladder can be used symbolically. In discussing the stalled rise of an important public official, a journalist wrote: “It is as though in mounting the career ladder he had put his foot on a rubber rung.” The beauty of the wit of an apt metaphor, as of a good pictograph, is that they need no explanation.

Ascent to Heaven and Descent to Hell

Both Judaism and Christianity have examples of prophets who are carried into heaven. The earliest example is Elijah, famous for destroying the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel after defeating them and demonstrating the power of the Lord God of Israel (I Kings 18:20–40). Mount Carmel became the symbol of mystical ascent and the fulfillment of the complete devotion to God, as in the most famous of Carmelite mystics, St. Teresa of Avila and St. John of the Cross. Both were poets, and St. John was an artist as well, who made a visual diagram of his most famous work, *The Ascent of Mount Carmel*. St. John sketched a pair of ladders with stages of achievement named, but discounted also if the aspiring person should dare assume any merit of his own. The liturgy of the Carmelites, on the feast day of Our Lady of Carmel, is built around the stages of climbing Mount Carmel. The climax of St. Elias’s story (as Elijah is called when absorbed into Christian sainthood) was his transportation into heaven by a chariot of fire drawn by horses of fire (II Kings 2:1–14). The image is familiar to those who have heard the hymn “Jerusalem” by William Blake:

Bring me my Bow of burning gold:
Bring me my Arrows of desire:
Bring me my Spear: O Clouds unfold!
Bring me my Chariot of fire!
(From “Preface” to *Milton*)

The disciples of Jesus, according to the Gospels (Matthew 17:1–13, Mark 9:2–10, Luke 9:29–36), witness Jesus transfigured on the mountain with Moses and Elijah and after his Resurrection ascended into heaven (Acts 1:9). This becomes crucial among the events professed in the Apostles’ Creed, “descended into hell, ascended into heaven.” The former is often depicted as a Christ, after Crucifixion and Resurrection, carrying a banner of victory over Satan. From hell he liberated some imprisoned there. Christ ascending into heaven is a familiar symbol, developed through centuries of Christian art (see Réau for chief examples of mosaic and painting, and Kirschbaum for analysis of the changes in iconography). Christ is drawn upward by divine miracle and does not need the spe-

cific mode of Elijah's vehicle. This is true also of Mary's assumption into heaven. The mother of Jesus is adored particularly among the Eastern Orthodox as "Mother of God" (Theotokos). A noted Western example is Titian's altar painting in the Franciscan church of Venice, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari.

The boy Jesus at 12 comes to the temple, where he had been presented as a circumcised baby (Luke 2:21-50). There he engaged the scribes of the temple in discourse (Luke 2:41-50). A parallel event seems to have happened in Mary's life. The girl Mary entering into the precinct of the women was painted by Titian for the religious confraternity of Carità and is now at the Academia Museum of Fine Arts in Venice. Titian visualizes a young lady on the landing between two flights of stairs, the lower darker, the higher brighter, a fitting symbol for one becoming the most perfect of women.

The symbolic meaning of the ascension of Jesus may be retained even in the modern world, where being drawn up may connote magic and the deceptive appearance of a body floating unsupported, or "levitation," a kind of occult manifestation that sounds like something from the pages of psychical research. Salvador Dalí's *Crucifixion* and *Last Supper* both evince this occult treatment of Christ. An altarpiece in Chichester Cathedral, the Anglican center for interrelating art and religion, shows Christ mounting a set of plain stairs. What helps to set apart Christ from ordinary literal mounting from one floor to another is the woman (Mary Magdalene) in the garden who would touch the risen Savior. The story is familiar in the history of art as "Noli me tangere," "Touch me not; for I am not yet ascended to my Father" (John 20:17).

The Psalmist asks a question: "What is man . . . ?" The question may be asked in other contexts; in this theistic context the question should include the phrase "that thou art mindful of him?" "For thou hast made him a little lower than the angels, and hast crowned him with glory and honor" (Psalms 8:4-5). Religious art of Jews, Christians, and Muslims have celebrated prophets who ascend to the level of angels. Last Judgments are painted with saints around the throne of the divine judge, just as in the giving of the Law the Lord is surrounded by angels.

The most fully elaborated painting of ascent to heaven and a visit to those damned for their sins, comparable to Dante's *Divine Comedy*, is inspired by the dramatic Sura XVII of the Koran, "The Night Journey." A mystical poet elaborated the account in Arabic, which was translated into Vighur (Eastern Turkish) during the reign of Shah Rokh between 1404 and 1447. The story is illuminated by 61 scenes of Muhammad, who had been carried from Mecca to the mosque at Jerusalem. According to tradition the rock, where once Solomon's temple stood, bears the footprint of the mare that carried Muhammad to heaven. Whereas the reception by God of Enoch (Genesis 4:17) and Moses (Deuteronomy 34) are like Elijah's flight in the chariot, at the end of their earthly days Muslims have the advantage of a revelation from a prophet who visited the throne of Allah and based his revelation on firsthand witnessing of the delights of the righteous and the torments of the damned. Among the former are the prophets Adam, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, David, Solomon, and Moses. John the Baptist, Zacharias, and Jesus welcome Muhammad as the

prophet who fulfills their messages. Muhammad is therefore the prophets' prophet.

The hierarchical cosmic setting of seven levels of the infernal dwelling of the devils, the seven levels of Earth, and the seven levels of heaven is the scope from bottom to top in which Muhammad is the prophet whose message is most complete. "The symbolic ladder, establishing a connection between cosmic regions, is found in traditional Muslim accounts of the *Mirāj* which often shows Mahomet climbing the steps of a luminous ladder rising up from the Temple of Jerusalem . . . to Heaven."

The 61 illuminations with golden flames against a blue of lapis lazuli reinforce the Muslim's faith that personal virtues will gain eternal bliss. It is the angel Gabriel who, with glittering wings, leads the prophet riding the human-faced Buraq to a garden dominated by a golden tree. The beautiful houris—maidens who live with the blessed in paradise—wear feathers in their hair and are ever young and pure. These are the holy women of Islam, the noble women who embraced the faith and became "companions of the prophet."

In hell is another tree, with thorns as spears and a fruit bitter as poison. The fruit, in the form of demon's heads, is eaten by the damned. The devils are blue with red eyes and torment the evildoers. One level of hell, Gehenna, is for bad Muslims, but six levels are for infidels. The evil-speakers are one kind of infidel, and 13 others include the greedy, the sowers of discord, the hypocrites, those who rob orphans, and those who drink wine. It is the adulterous women who are singled out for punishment. They hang by hooks that go through their breasts while a devil stirs the coals to burn their legs. Among other punishments is for those who drink fermented liquors. The red demons squirt bitter poison into their mouths.

There is no other series of paintings that uses all the common symbols of ascent. The ascent begins from Mount Zion; the archangel Gabriel descends from Mount Arafat, filling all space from east to west, and with feet on Earth his head touches heaven. Muhammad is not an angel with wings, but he rides a mare who knows all the levels of hell, Earth, and heaven. In this particular series the prophet does not mount a ladder of light, but when he comes into the presence of Abraham, the Father of the Faithful sits on a throne far above seven steep steps. Just slightly above him flies the archangel, and just below Abraham's level is the prophet. Flames rise and connect bottom to top. Similarly, the good tree of paradise and the bad tree of inferno link bottom to top.

Conclusion

Is there one archetype essential to all symbols of ascent and descent (mountains, towers, trees, and ladders) or is there a family of symbols with various moral meanings? Comparative iconography now has led—largely on the basis of the study of such symbols of climbing as mountain, tower, tree, and ladder—to a theory of one universal essential symbol. Jung and his followers claim one archetype, and Mircea Eliade and followers claim this is the Axis Mundi, or "hub" of the universe, a central cosmic pillar. This vertical dimension of human existence, a world-pillar, connects three realms: the underworld,

the human, and that of the gods. It may take the form of a bridge by which the spirit can ascend to the transcendent. It underlies the Christian use of the cross and gives mortals access to the supreme being (Sullivan; Moon).

If this theory is true, then one universal iconography can provide the whole of wisdom, whereas particular iconographic traditions—Jewish, Muslim, Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, etc.—only partially reveal the specific aspects. The best modern surveys and bibliographies of 13 special iconographies are in the *Encyclopedia of Religion* (vol. 7, pp. 3–67), and 27 classifications are in Biedermann (pp. 509–530), which unfortunately are omitted from the English translation.

The remarkable fact to which such a universalistic iconography calls attention is that the visual symbols easily migrate from one culture to another and are intelligible in spite of the irreconcilable differences between theologies and ideologies. A universal language of visual symbols then succeeds, while such inventions as Esperanto fail to debabelize the human species. Also cited are examples such as the upside-down tree, which has no known connection or influence but points to some underlying predisposition to symbolize visually as well as to grasp grammatical structures.

Does such universalistic theory overlook differences? The monotheistic religions have a holy mountain such as Sinai, and Japanese Buddhism has Mount Fuji. But a Moses does not climb Fuji to bring back tablets of Yahweh's commandments, and a Buddhist would not find Sinai representing 10 stages of contemplation on the ascent to Nirvana. Both Christ and the Buddha are associated with trees. But what is there but contrast between the cross and Crucifixion and the bo tree and enlightenment?

Rather than essential identity between the various symbols of ascent and descent, is it not then more accurate to claim only what the philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein could see between what are called "games," that is only a "family resemblance"?

The universalist thesis, even if not true, at least induces us to observe that images of verticality are used to reinforce one another. Bernard McGinn, a student of medieval spirituality, observed that metaphors are used "in tandem," that is, that the writer refers to both "chain of being" and "Jacob's Ladder," to one tree limb above another in steps, etc. It is also so with visual images. In the background of a tower a mountain rises. The cross on which Christ hangs has a ladder by which he ascended and by which his body will be brought down. In Tintoretto's *Crucifixion*, Christ is apparently hanging onto the ladder. Some medieval painters have Christ's arms nailed to the arms of a tree. In a medieval Jewish painting, beside a Jacob's Ladder is the pillar described as a sacred symbol at Bethel (Sed-Rajna, p. 60). One of the most elegant carvings of Jesus ascending a mountain, after his burial and Resurrection, has a tree growing out of the tomb (Moon, p. 458). There are countless examples of replications of images in paintings, as there are of "metaphors in tandem" (Sullivan, p. 21).

Many symbols of climbing have a distinctly moral meaning. The ascent of Mount Sinai is to bring back the "Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not" of the covenant. Even for those who find no meaning in the supernatural origin, and who scoff at the notion of laws written on stone by the finger of God, the notion of Exodus from slavery under the pharaoh to live under

written moral law remains a most significant model of the good life. Similarly, even if the choice between the one and only Yahweh and the copulating deities of Mesopotamia is made in favor of the latter, the condemnation of building a tower to unlimited height and a city without bounds still may be a wise message of warning against overweening pride and unlimited growth.

The Gospel stories of temptation in the wilderness, on the pinnacle of the temple, on an exceeding high place may seem incredible in the visual image of the tempter Satan but meaningful as an example of refusing to be bribed by power into violating a principled commitment. Even more explicit are ladders of virtue and trees of virtues and trees of vices. The emblem tradition is full of allegorical representations of all aspects of good and evil (Droulers). The most famous collection in English has an allegorical title page. It is an invitation to leave the pit of hell behind, even the pleasures of Vanity Fair, and to strive upward. There are twin peaks, to strive to serve God through church or through state. The latter way, symbolized by the sword, is more steep and dangerous (Wither).

Aspiration and despair are among the most powerful human emotions and are expressed not only in word and image, but also in song. A favorite American folk song, a so-called Negro spiritual, contains the lines "We are climbing Jacob's ladder . . . Every rung goes higher, higher." But many do not rise, remaining at the foot of the ladder. There may be the illusion of climbing and gaining ground, as pictured by M. C. Escher, yet after climbing on three or four sides of a structure we find that we are lower than when we began. Is this no different than the paradox of earning more and more money, but finding through taxes and inflation that it buys less and less? In "Sixteen Tons" Tennessee Ernie Ford sang of the plight of the coal miner: "Another day's labor and deeper in debt . . . I owe my soul to the company store."

In contrast to a society in which there are no fixed classes, or at least in which there is no structure based on inherited position, there is the world of *Upstairs, Downstairs*, a television series that describes the world of the aristocracy, represented by Lord and Lady Bellamy, and the servants, over whom Mr. Hudson, the butler, reigns. The old standards were based on noblesse oblige of the master and obedience on the part of the servant. The old way that was being challenged, increasingly after World War I and with the Great Depression, with which the chronicle ends, is the premise that all are happier when each knows his or her place, whatever the level. The television series effectively shows the decay of the old theological assumption that there should be harmony because the good Lord has placed the rich man in his castle and also the poor man at the gate. What hierarchical principle is to replace it? It is to be replaced by the assumption of meritocracy, that all offices are open to those with talent, those who can rise to occupy the position for which he or she is best suited. From this perspective of encouraging people to strive to improve themselves and their circumstances, the old commandments "Know your place" and "Don't be uppity" block the individual and counter social progress.

Perhaps the most successful pictogram showing the human's place in the hierarchical cosmos is from a humanist text, *Liber*

de Intellectu, by Charles de Bouelles (1510). On the left are steps up from what is the mineral level, symbolized by a stone, to what lives, symbolized by a tree, to what is sensible, the horse, to the top level, what is rational, man. On the right side are steps down. The top level is the scholar studying, the level of virtue. But descending to the level of sensual indulgence (*luxuria*) is a man admiring himself in a mirror. Beneath, on the vegetative level, is a portly man at his table, eating and drinking. On the bottom level is a man so drunk he is beyond caring for anything (*acedia*, the lowest level of vice).

Symbols of the vertical dimension are ways of picturing degrees from the best to the worst.

See also Fortune/Misfortune; Order/Chaos; Upside Down

Selected Works of Art

Mountains

Moses Receiving the Law, fresco, third century A.D.,

Damascus, Syria, from the Synagogue, Dura Europus, Damascus, Museum

Moses on Mount Sinai, mosaic, sixth century, Ravenna, Italy, San Vitale

Master Hugo, *Moses Expounding the Law*, frontispiece of the *Bury Bible*, illuminated manuscript, early twelfth century, Cambridge, England, Corpus Christi College

von Ems, Rudolf, *Moses Sees the Backside of God's Head; Moses' Shining Face; the Ark of the Covenant*, from *Weltchronik*, illuminated manuscript, copy, 1400–1410, Los Angeles, California, J. Paul Getty Museum (Ms 33, fol.89)

Grünewald, Matthias, *Virgin and Child with Angels*, middle panel of the *Isenheim Altarpiece*, 1510–1515, Colmar, France, Musée Unterlinden

Poussin, Nicolas, *The Adoration of the Golden Calf*, oil on canvas, 1626, San Francisco, California, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum

Meyring, Heinrich, *Altar Piece*, sculpture, 1634, Venice, Church of San Moise

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Moses with the Tablets of the Law*, oil on canvas, 1659, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

Pratt, Henry Cheeves, *Moses on the Mount*, oil on canvas, 1828–1829, Shelburne, Vermont, Shelburne Museum

Cézanne, Paul, *Mount Sainte-Victoire Seen from Bibemus Quarry*, oil on canvas, 1898–1900, Baltimore, Maryland, Baltimore Museum of Art

Steinberg, Saul, *Portfolio*, drawing, 1994, *The New Yorker*, March, 14, 1994

Varo, Remedios, *Ascension to Mount Analogue*, oil on canvas, 1960, private collection

Towers

The Building of the Tower of Babel, fresco on nave vault, early twelfth century, Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe, France, Church

Mosaic, thirteenth century, Venice, Italy, Basilica of St. Mark

Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *The Little Tower of Babel*, oil on canvas, 1563, Vienna, Austria, Historical Museum

Tabula Militiae, woodcut, 1578, Strassburg Academy

Bruegel, Jan the Elder, *Tower of Babel*, oil on canvas, before 1625, Sienna Museum

Wither, George, title page of *Emblemes, Ancient and Modern*, engraving, 1635

Tablet of Cebes, engraving, from Vaeinius, 1672

Doré, Gustave, *Tower of Babel*, nineteenth century

Burne-Jones, Edward, *Danaë and the Brazen Tower*, oil on panel, 1872, Oxford, England, Ashmolean University

Ernst, Max, *Towers*, oil on canvas, 1914, Kingston Hill, Surrey, collection of Gabriele Keiller

Trees

The Tree of Enlightenment, pillar relief, first century B.C., Bharnut, India, Stupa

Sarcophagus with Reliefs of the Type of the Passion Sarcophagi, circa 360, Rome, Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano

The Resurrection and Ascension of Christ, circa A.D. 400, Munich, Germany, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

di Bonaguida, Pacino, *Lignum Vitae*, panel, 1303–1320, Florence, Italy, Accademia Nazionale Di San Luca

The Tree of the Estates of Man, illustration for the *Book of Devotions* of Wilhelm Werner Graf von Simmern, fifteenth century

Dürer, Albrecht, *Adam and Eve*, oil on canvas, sixteenth century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *Adam and Eve*, wood, 1526, London, Courtauld Institute of Art

Cranach, Lucas the Younger, *Illustration of Protestant Dogma*, 1543, Bible of Elector John Frederick of Saxony, Wittenberg, Germany

Tree of Life, bronze, Indian, 1550–1700, Kansas City, Kansas, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art

Sephirotic Tree, engraving, 1626, from Robert Fludd's *Philosophia Sacra*

Valentinus, Basilius, *Tree of the Planets with two Alchemists*, engraving, 1659, from *Azoth*

La Instruccion Es un Arbol de Vida, 1917–1918, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Judaica Collection (MS 729)

Crucifixion, New York, Morgan Library

Tree of Being, emblem used by the Philosophy Department of Syracuse University

Ashurnasirpal and the Sacred Tree, London, British Museum

Winchester Psalter: Tree of Jesse, British Library

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AUTOMATA

Karen Pinkus

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Automata:

CLASSICAL
SIXTEENTH, SEVENTEENTH
AND EIGHTEENTH
CENTURIES

NINETEENTH AND
TWENTIETH CENTURIES



Jacques de Vaucanson, *Le mécanisme du fluteur automate*, 1738, frontispiece, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. (Courtesy of Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts)

The general concept of an artificial being or machine imitating natural (human) actions has emerged as a persistently significant topos throughout an extremely wide variety of historical and cultural moments. The automaton, however, ought to be distinguished from other analogous forms. As opposed to the robot, for example, the automaton is often specifically defined as any artificial device that (apparently) moves without human muscular intervention. The mechanical automaton saw its halcyon days as a pre-Industrial Revolution curiosity, and its spring-loaded action could be considered an important precursor to later productive machinery. Beginning much earlier, in the ancient world, automata were driven by water, steam, or pendulums. Even watches, clocks, musical instruments, locomotive engines, and steamships—none of which, clearly, bears any resemblance to a humanoid form—have been linked with the automaton. As an iconic motif, the one common denominator underlying all automata could be the semblance of self-propulsion or the explicit absence of a controlling human figure in some representation of a machine. Having stated this, however, the very notion of a representation of automatism is itself problematized by the definition. Because the automaton is normally a kinetic, three-dimensional form, on the one hand it may be impossible to distinguish it from other sculptural forms such as a mobile or fountain. On the other hand, the automaton is by its very nature differentiated from the (traditionally elevated) aesthetic category of painting, in relation to which it can necessarily only exist as a secondary representation. In short, automata are moving, sculptural works (which does not, of course, preclude their representation in two-dimensional form or in literary and philosophical discourse). In general, automata raise a series of issues concerning the significance of human action and volition.

Some of these issues are exemplified by the mask, one of the notable automatic figures of antiquity or cultures in general. The mask is traditionally three-dimensional, and although attached to a human form during ritual performances, it often appears to “speak” by itself, as in Greco-Roman theater. The mask raises cultural anxieties about the binary concepts of nature/culture, life/death, human/machine that are also potentially raised in discussions of automation. And like the robot of modernity, the ancient mask often bears some physiognomic relation to human characteristics. Speaking masks belong to the world of the uncanny, and they may even be confused with a similar form of early automation. Many early societies created sculpted, hollow bodies, statues that might emit “voices” (really the wind passing through specially designed holes). Some variations of the legend of Orpheus include an anecdote suggesting that after the poet had been decapitated, his head floated to the Isle of Lesbos, where it was said to emit prophecies. Another example of the hollow-bodied type of automata is the mythical speaking Colossus of Thebes. In ancient Egypt

the statue of Amunoph III was supposed to utter sentences, understood only by certain initiates, when it was hit by the sun’s rays. In his *Spiritualia* Hero of Alexandria described many such machines either imported from Egypt or manufactured during his own time, and he himself became associated with their making through a form of cultural conflation or synecdoche.

The Trojan Horse, which “spoke” to the city guards in order to gain entrance to Troy, could thus be included in this category of speaking hollow bodies. In Greece such machines were linked in legend with Daedalus, the creator of the Cretan labyrinth and the creator par excellence of antiquity (later, moving and speaking statues were known as *dédaliques*). In the *Iliad* the temple of Hephaestus contains self-moving tripods capable of forging animate beings from boiling metal, and in the *Meno* Plato writes of statues (*dédaliques*) formed from metal in Crete that are so active they have to be chained to keep them from escaping. Scholars have also found the term *dédaliques* in a wide variety of scientific treatises of antiquity, referring, for example, to self-generating tripods that would change scenery during a dramatic presentation. In fact, the Minotaur could itself be considered an automaton, as could the hybrid bull with which Pasiphaë coupled to produce the Minotaur. The fact that Daedalus constructed the labyrinth confirms a broader cultural link between the monstrous hybrid and the architectural space it inhabits. The Minotaur is the beastly offspring of a transgressive coupling, just as the labyrinth represents the labor of a human endowed with god-like powers of construction.

Like these legends, the Pygmalion story raises questions of the propriety of relations between artificial and human forms and also of the automatism of sexuality itself, a concern that will surface later in the appearance of copulating automata from various historical periods and cultural sites. In the *De Syria Dea*, Lucian describes ithyphallic statues whose self-moving members would “rise” for special occasions or Bacchic festivals. The erotic automaton will emerge again in a more moralized version during the eighteenth century.

The narrative topos of the human-made demiurge reverses the natural order of the universe and appears to problematize creation itself. Fabricated statues appear in the Bible as idols, like the Golden Calf (Exodus 32:1–35; Psalms 106:19–23; Hosea 8:5–6; Acts 7:41). The myth of the golem is referred to in Psalms 139:15–16 and elsewhere in the Bible, where the term merely means a chaotic, divine substance and does not yet refer to a human-made monster as in the case of Dr. Frankenstein’s construction. In fact, the biblical Adam himself was originally a golem, a kind of inanimate figure given life in the Promethean tradition. And the sorts of cultural fears played out in such representations or narratives can also be found in numerous forms of art from African, Inuit, Hopi, and Pueblo

cultures, for example. Masks and hollow-bodied forms with movable or self-speaking parts also populate mythology and theatrical traditions from China, Indonesia, and other regions of the Far East.

Automatic devices such as the water clock, first produced in antiquity, were revived during the reign of Charlemagne as courtly toys. Clocks with mechanical figures—precursors to the cuckoo clock—were known throughout the Middle Ages in elite circles. In a way they functioned as ritualistic objects inasmuch as they served to bind together a group of spectators who would marvel at their ingenuity. On the other hand, the mechanical homunculus aroused a certain degree of anxiety during the Middle Ages, partially because of its cultural link with pagan idols and with sexually explicit motion. Albertus Magnus is said to have constructed a talking clay automaton, following a narrative based on Promethean roots. Legend suggests that Thomas Aquinas smashed this “satanic” idol. Other similar stories have arisen, attesting to the tense relation between science and the Church.

Talking statues were commissioned in the Middle Ages and Renaissance and were also found in Baroque gardens as curiosities or courtly games. The sixteenth-century garden of Bomarzo, in Italy, included monstrous, mechanical figures that spouted water unexpectedly or made odd sounds as courtiers strolled through this artificial space.

During the early years of mercantilism, and especially after the invention of movable type, machines were represented in painting as part of a topos of social progress. But again, mere representations of technology do not necessarily fall within the automaton topos inasmuch as human intervention may not be concealed in a given instance. In Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia* (1758–1760), *Mechanica* is figured as a woman who balances weights and pulleys on a scale. Behind her, in a framed scene, we see a representation of the historical-mythological Daedalus exhibiting one of his mechanical statues before a group of men in ancient Greek dress. Behind this scene is a harbor where packages are being loaded onto ships by a series of pulleys and cranes. The link between the foregrounded emblematic figure (who resembles Albrecht Dürer’s *Melancholia*), the middle-ground *locus classicus* of mechanical invention, and the background scene depicting the applications of Daedalus’s science is crucial; the automaton has become conflated with a more general topos of mechanization and is thus linked with industrial progress.

The automaton reached the peak of its popularity in the eighteenth century under the hands of masters such as Jacques de Vaucanson. His famous flute-playing faun traveled to the courts and was exhibited as a highly ornate amusement for the aristocracy. He also produced a duck that would “ingest” and then “digest” a grain of corn, excreting “feces” (which was probably only ground corn stored in another part of the duck until a mechanism triggered its expulsion). The scatological nature of this nonsensical toy is quite suggestive of the cultural position held by the automaton at this time; an amusing curiosity, it was also charged with anxiety, as exemplified by the excrement produced by the Vaucanson duck. Such famous automata as John Nevil Maskelyne’s psycho, which was able to play cards and make calculations, were based on the same principles of spring-driven action as the animals. Other devices, such as an automatic writer or chess player created by the Jaquet-Droz family, may have provoked more serious philo-

sophical discussion about the potential threat posed to human supremacy by the machine.

Various self-playing or self-propelling mechanical instruments have been associated with automata. During the early seventeenth century a mechanical theater with spring-driven figures and music, produced in Salzburg, Austria, was immensely popular. During the eighteenth century Johann Wehrle and others in the Black Forest region of Germany produced marvelous musical clocks. Often these included human or animal figures that would turn around on a circular plate, disappear inside a house, and reemerge, signaling the change of the hour. Similar clocks included bells hit by hammers.

Over time, these spring-driven automata evolved into mass-produced toys that do not necessarily give rise to philosophical or existential anxieties. Nevertheless, it is extremely important to realize that the unique pieces manufactured during the eighteenth century are themselves works of art rather than mere iconic motifs to be reproduced or translated into paintings, for example, and this is confirmed by their current status as museum objects. Whatever their cultural or iconographic context, spring-driven toys require some human intervention (winding), and no matter how sophisticated, they are only following set mechanical patterns that have, in some sense, been designed into them; but it is precisely this primary human intervention that is masked or dissembled by the automaton.

This distinction from an ordinary machine—the level of dissimulation involved—led philosophers to construe the automaton as problematic related to questions of the soul. Seventeenth-century Dutch philosopher Baruch Spinoza defined human beings as spiritual automata, and this definition was taken up by German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz in his concept of the monad. Various thinkers have remarked on the ambiguous status of the automata in relation to cognition. During the eighteenth century, it was viewed as a duplicitous character occupying a charged space between the rational and irrational. The automaton represented human folly as much as human achievement for preindustrial revolutionary thought. Toys such as the defecating duck were often construed as useless and wasteful by moralists, even though some makers of amusements later turned their abilities to the construction of more useful products, such as prosthetic devices.

The eighteenth century also ushered in a vogue for erotic automata, exquisitely constructed timepieces whose ticking motion was not only a metaphor for, but was literally figured in, copulating figures. The mechanical precedents for these figures are those clocks that include movable parts such as animals striking bells on the hour. The erotic pieces were primarily made in Neuchâtel, Switzerland, and were extremely expensive. In addition to watches, the Swiss craftsmen also made erotic automata on snuff boxes and signet rings. Like the defecating duck, these erotic automata not only amaze by the precision of their repetitions or actions, they also include reference to the philosophical discourse about the potential mechanization of all human actions. French caricaturist J. I. Grandville’s satirical *Un autre monde* (1844) takes this topos further. His engravings focus on the animation of inanimate objects that personify all the peccadilloes and behavior of the bourgeoisie.

The debate about the social threat posed by the machine places automation at the center of a much broader cultural polemic. Poet Rainer Maria Rilke’s essay on dolls reflects the

anxiety posed by theoretically inanimate objects that manage to threaten a definition of what is human. Like Sigmund Freud's reading of E. T. A. Hoffmann's automatic doll Olympia (from the short story "The Sandman") in his essay "Das Unheimlich" (The Uncanny), Rilke's dolls come to life after they have outgrown the child; they represent the unveiling of "that which should have remained hidden." But dolls are also unresponsive in spite of their humanoid form and the human investment that children make in them, so they become abject as "the horrible foreign body on which we had wasted our purest ardour." Since they do not return emotion, they are figures of desire, always unattainable. Following Henri Bergson's influential essay on laughter, an artisan fashioned a *rieur*, a mechanical laughter whose uncanny stiffness mirrored the programmed nature of human reactions to what are ultimately cultural constructions of the humorous.

The term automaton thus became conflated with (imaginary) constructions of artificial intelligence, regardless of their anthropomorphism or the satisfaction of criteria such as the semblance of self-propulsion. Dada art made use of the image of the cyborg, a term coined in the 1920s from the combination of *cybernetic* and *organism*. Cyborgs are defined as a combination of human and nonhuman forms, normally a portrait of a human face with some form of machinery superimposed on it. They provide a link between the aesthetic category of the collage and the larger cultural problem of mechanization. During World War I, Giorgio De Chirico and Carlo Carrà were responsible for a style known as metaphysical painting that relied heavily on faceless mannequins. Posed in a variety of different ways, these humanoid figures were rendered in highly artificial colors. The mannequin becomes a central figure as it displays commodity goods in the store window and imitates human actions with lifelike poses. Eugène Atget's photograph of mannequins adorned with price tags has influenced a variety of theories of the commodity fetish in visual culture. But unlike older forms of automata, these modern mannequins do not move; in fact, it is their very immobility that fascinates a viewer.

Similarly, for André Breton, surrealism was conceived as a kind of automatism in which language intersects the human psyche but is not created specifically or consciously by the writing subject, a kind of psychic automatism corresponding roughly to the state of the dream. Breton's "automatic text" calls into question the status of language, desire, and the self, and this is seen as a positive development. Many works of canonical modernism are constructed around themes of mechanicity. In his "Manifesto of Surrealism" (1924) Breton described the phantasmagoric position of the surrealist subject with the automatist image of a "man cut in two by a window." The window in question is not the window pane of Albertian perspective painting (the frame to an objective outside world), but pure fantasy (interior). The surrealist subject finds himself both inside and outside a scene, and this is a connection to a primal fantasy or trauma that we might say comes from both within and without the subject. In relation to this, De Chirico wrote in an essay called "Mystery and Creation": "I remember one vivid winter's day at Versailles. . . . Everything gazed at me with mysterious, questioning eyes. And then I realized that every corner of the place, every column, every window possessed a spirit, an impenetrable soul." The exterior space is related to the castrating gaze of objects in many of his early

paintings, and refers to the gaze of Hoffmann's "The Sandman."

Marcel Duchamp's painting *Nude Descending a Staircase*, as well as his sculpture *The Bride Stripped Bare by Her Bachelors Even*, both created in the early 1920s, could be said to express automatism in formal terms. Like the photographic experiments of Eadweard Muybridge and Étienne-Jules Marey, Duchamp's painting, with its multiple planes, decomposes the movement of a figure into a series of automatic gestures, but unlike the classical automata, this work does not presume to dupe the viewer into mistaking a handmade object for reality or self-propulsion.

Because of a perceived relationship with the mechanization of industry, the automaton became associated with the robot (often in relatively negative terms). In the 1920s, *robot* was coined in the title of Karel Capek's *R.U.R.*, from a Czech word meaning a laborer. Machine labor and the subservience of human labor are thus radically linked in the robot. The robot has evolved into a central icon of mass and elite culture to the point that it has taken on all possible human values, from physical to ethical and even reproductive, making it virtually indistinguishable from its natural models. One of the best-known examples of the robot from mass culture is Robotrix from Fritz Lang's film *Metropolis* (1926), characterized by a metallic finish, machine body parts, and a humanoid shape. Played by actress Brigitte Helm, the robot does an extraneous seductive dance within the course of an otherwise serious political narrative. In part, this dance suggests that the robot functions in the film as a seductive spectacle, a marvel, in much the same way as the mechanical automata of eighteenth-century Europe amazed audiences purely by their lifelike motions. In general, the visual qualities and art direction that went into the creation of Lang's robot have been widely praised, while critics find the social content she embodied rather simplistic and sentimental. Lang conceived of this film while viewing the New York skyline from the deck of an ocean liner, so the robot definitely inhabits the most thoroughly modern urban space. The young hero Freder leads a revolt against the aristocracy from which he is himself descended. His father tries to block him by creating a robot to spread dissatisfaction among the workers, leading to mob violence as the robot is killed. In the film the robot is played by the same actress who plays the heroine, Maria, and is able to convey human qualities in the robot. Lang's robot has often been compared to the automata depicted in *R.U.R.*, the Russian silent film *Aelita* (1924), and to figures from H. G. Wells's novels *The Sleeper Wakes* and *The Time Machine*.

Along with this anthropomorphic strain in art and narrative, the automaton based on a notion of seeming self-propulsion has shed its representational value and now exists as pure, productive machine. Many modern machines in use function according to the classical principles of the automaton, including devices such as the tide predictor and the electronic eye. In his cultural critique *Symbolic Exchange and Death*, postmodern theorist Jean Baudrillard makes a significant distinction between automata and robots. The former is termed a theatrical, mechanical counterfeit of human action, in homage to the eighteenth-century tradition of the curiosity. The latter is dominated by its very technical nature and by its status as a laborer. The former is associated with metaphysical questions about the nature of man, as in the philosophical tradition of the soci-

ological, theatrical character type. The latter is much less optimistic and may be figured in totalitarian images of the mechanical body or various pessimistic science fictions that continue to dominate the visual landscape of postmodernity. This distinction should be upheld, since the automaton traverses a wide spectrum of cultures possessing a variety of technological means, whereas the robot-worker is a unique product of postindustrial society. In essence, then, we find a cultural shift beginning around the nineteenth century from the automaton as moving sculpture (animation of the inanimate) to the lifeless humanoid (inanimation of the animate). This clearly has to do with the impact of the machine age and the realization of new technological possibilities for commercial ends that displace human-artisanal intervention. Daedalus is thus transformed in the cultural imagination from a human force behind the animation of machines to the maker of machines that threaten to displace workers and, finally, to the self-generating machine in a scene eerily devoid of human figuration.

See also Dreams/Visions; Labor/Trades/Occupations; Labyrinth/Maze; Masks/Personae

Selected Works of Art

Classical

- Trojan Horse*, on wheels with figures inside, detail of a relief amphora, late seventh century B.C., Mykonos Museum
Medallion, with "automated" mask from ancient comedy, Roman, Rome, Villa Albani
Dioskourides, mosaic of scene from *The Girl Possessed*, performed with "automated" masks, from Pompeii, Naples, Museo Nazionale

Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

- Hell Mouth*, from the Garden of Bomarzo, Italy, late sixteenth century, Bomarzo, Italy
 Swanenburgh, Isaac van, *Cloth Manufacturing*, painting, late sixteenth century, present location unknown
 Vaucanson, Jacques de, frontispiece from *Le mécanisme du fluteur automate*, 1738
Print, "actor" and "automated" mask engaged in a dialogue, from *De Larvis scenicis et figuris comicis antiquorum romanorum*, by Francesco Ficoroni, 1754
 Ripa, Cesare, *Mechanica*, from *Iconologia*, Hertel edition, 1758–1760
Tippoo's Tiger, Mechanical Organ, painted wood, from Mysore, circa 1795, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

- Muybridge, Eadweard, *Automated Bodies*, from *The Human Figure in Motion*, 1880s
 Chirico, Giorgio di, *The Disquieting Muses*, oil painting, 1916–1918, Milan, private collection, many replicas and variants, 1945–1972, in private collections
 Hausmann, Raoul, *ABCD*, circa 1923, fragments of photographs, typography, currency, tickets, maps, and ink on paper, Paris, Musée National d'Art Moderne

- Ray, Man, *André Breton in front of Giorgio di Chirico's "The Enigma of the Day,"* photograph, circa 1925
 Atget, Eugène, *Store Window, Avenue des Gobelins*, photograph, 1925
 Berliner Ensemble performing Bertolt Brecht's *The Caucasian Chalk Circle*, with "automated" masks, 1956, East Berlin, Theater am Schiffbauerdamm
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AVARICE

Priscilla Baumann

The following iconographic narratives are included in the discussion of the theme Avarice:

KING MIDAS

BATTLE OF THE VIRTUES AND
VICES: THE PSYCHOMACHI-
AN TRADITION

PARABLE OF DIVES AND
LAZARUS

MAN WITH PURSE HANGING
FROM NECK

OTHER VARIATIONS
VICTORIAN GENRES



Usurer Capital, twelfth century, sculpture, Ennezat (Puy-de-Dôme), France, photo by Roger-Henri Baumann.
(Courtesy of Roger-Henri Baumann)

The vice of avarice, also known as cupidity, covetousness, or greed, consists of an inordinate desire to accumulate material wealth. More broadly, in some contexts, avarice can be understood as the excessive desire for anything; power and prestige, for example, are also commonly sought. In antiquity, philosophers, poets, and playwrights recognized the dangers of avarice. Plato considered it a moral hindrance to the good of society (*Republic* I:347; III:390; VI:485; VIII:548; *Laws* IX:870); Virgil decried the accursed love of gold (*Aeneid* 3:57); and Plautus wrote a comedy about miserliness (*The Pot of Gold*). The myth of King Midas likewise served to warn against the dangers of the love of gold.

During the Middle Ages the theme inspired artists throughout Latin Christendom. Considered one of the capital or “deadly” sins by Christian theologians, avarice reappears as a subject in many media, particularly manuscript illumination, wall painting, and, most frequently, in stone sculpture of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This theme has continued to be a source of creative imagery for artists and writers from the Middle Ages to contemporary time. Depictions of avarice reflect the shifting preoccupations of society and manifest a rich and varied iconographic vocabulary.

Early patristic writers like Tertullian, St. Augustine, and St. Ambrose warned repeatedly against the dangers of avarice, basing their arguments on biblical texts, especially Paul’s statement that “cupidity is the root of all evil things” (I Timothy 6:10). Pope Gregory I referred to avarice as the queen of all vices. The Carolingian scholar Hincmar considered avarice, along with pride, the gravest of sins. Following the exhortations of religious reformers like Peter Damian and Ivo of Chartres, the emphasis shifted during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the love of money came to be viewed as a particularly despicable sin, since it contributed directly to the wretched conditions of the poor. Throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, theological tracts, confessors’ handbooks, and sermons reiterated the dangerous pitfalls resulting from this vice. Bernard of Clairvaux, for example, equated avarice with idolatry. Depictions of avarice proliferated, particularly in sculpture, and the subject rapidly became one of the most popular for artists throughout Western Europe, reflecting the ethical concerns of a society moving from an agrarian-feudal system to a money-based, profit economy.

During the Middle Ages three major iconographic traditions evolved to identify the theme of avarice. The earliest of these portrays the combat between the virtues and vices (for example, charity versus avarice), based on the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, an allegorical poem describing the moral conflicts of the soul. Sixteen extant manuscripts dating from the ninth century to 1298 attest to the poem’s renown and pervasive

influence. During the twelfth century the psychomachian treatment was especially popular with sculptors in southwestern France. Depictions of the virtues protected by their shields and stamping on the heads of vices, often arranged circumferentially on the archivolts of church portals, abound in Saintonge and Poitou.

Another iconographic variant derives from the biblical parable of Dives and Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31). The story warns that selfish accumulation of riches in earthly life will result in punishment in the next. Dives, the rich man, is often shown feasting at a table; outside his gate the poor man Lazarus begs for food scraps as dogs lick his sores. One sculptural example is found on the wall of the south porch at Moissac, France, but the story also appears in other media, as, for example, in the stained-glass roundels at the Cathedral of Bourges, in France.

The most common iconographic motif, however, portrays a miser with a thick purse hanging from his neck. Demons usually surround him, ready to drag their victim to hell. Numerous examples of this vivid scene can be found on capitals and church portals, often strategically positioned to best attract the attention of the crowds of pilgrims and passers-by.

Two manifestations of avarice were of pivotal concern to moral theoreticians in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: the vice of simony and the practice of usury. Simony referred to the buying or selling of ecclesiastical office and was one of the prime targets of church reformers. Named after the sorcerer Simon Magus, who offered money to St. Peter for spiritual power, the subject appears infrequently in art. A dramatic exception is found on a capital at Autun, France, where Simon Magus is depicted hurtling to the Earth after having paid for the power to fly. Usury, the practice of lending money at interest, was considered a particularly reprehensible crime, as evidenced by the countless tracts, sermons, and papal bulls forbidding the activity. John of Salisbury considered no vice more insidious, and it was generally understood that the usurer’s soul was damned for eternity. Although any iconographic reference to avarice could, in theory, include usury, in the province of Auvergne, in central France, specific warnings are carved on the banderoles of capitals decrying the practice of usury as the work of the devil. On a capital at Ennezat, France, two winged demons grip a naked man with a thick purse tied around his neck. A detailed inscription, carved on a large scroll spanning all three faces of the block, reads: “Since you have practiced usury, you have done my work.” There is no doubt that usury was the moral plague of the twelfth century, and these sculptural vestiges offer a dramatic witness to the ethical concerns of the period.

With the rise of a powerful merchant class during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, merchants and bankers, whose

aim was to make a profit, were less rigorously stigmatized. Avarice became less a “deadly sin” than a serious social vice. But the flagrant dissipation and exaggerated consumption of the wealthiest in this new moneyed class caused general hatred of the rich, and invectives against avarice continued.

Dante condemns cupidity and identifies the covetous sinners in hell with the common medieval attribute, a purse around the neck (*Inferno*, XVII:55). Mirroring the popular sermons of the time, the avaricious soul in hell is depicted in some manuscripts with demons forcing coins into the sinner’s mouth. Reflecting a more materialistic and worldly society, an illuminated manuscript of the popular fourteenth-century satirical poem the *Roman de Fauvel* shows Avarice as a temptingly attractive creature, in elegant courtly attire, gracefully holding a purse on her lap.

Medieval preoccupation with the sin of avarice persisted with Flemish painters, who developed the theme in meticulous detail. Hieronymus Bosch’s *Death and the Miser*, for example, emphasizes the necessity of spiritual reform and reflects contemporary concern with the deliberate accumulation of temporal possessions.

In 1556 Pieter Bruegel the Elder completed a series of drawings entitled *The Vices*. Unlike earlier artists, Bruegel did not intend to warn against individual vices as sins to be avoided; rather, for him the vices were natural human passions, the motivating force behind this earthly realm of folly. In his drawing *Avaritia*, a multitude of activities based on the lore of popular proverbs depict the perennial and insidious attractions of money. The figure of Avarice appears as a blind princess who caresses the coins poured into her coffer by a bestial creature dressed as a monk.

References to avarice appear frequently in the seventeenth century. The French dramatist Molière’s comedy *L’Avare* (*The Miser*) treats the subject as a despicable, but human, and laughable, defect of character. The subject is seen often in paintings of the period, as, for example, in Luca Giordano’s *Parable of Dives and Lazarus*. It is in Holland, however, during the prosperous Golden Age of the seventeenth century, that the vice of avarice is depicted in many media, reflecting Calvinist preaching against the diabolical greed of financial speculation, the “despotism of Queen Money.” Hendrik Pot’s painting *The Miser* provides a chilling vision of an avaricious woman surrounded by costly possessions, her gaunt cheeks a negative reflection of stuffed moneybags hanging on the wall. The stifling, airless interior, so full of lifeless objects, contrasts vividly with a view of the clear sky and delicate branches of a tree seen through the window.

The theme of avarice is found most frequently in art and literature during times of radical social upheaval. The twelfth century was one of these periods, when anxiety about the ethics of a profit economy was reflected in a proliferation of theological tracts and sculptural images concerning the dangers of avarice. The Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century incited a similar reconsideration of the subject. William Powell Frith, for example, painted a moral tale in five parts about the life of a corrupt financier.

Artists and writers concerned with social reform contrasted the abysmal poverty of the urban working class with the insatiable greed of capitalistic schemers. Charles Dickens described

selfishness and greed with anatomical detail in novels like *Martin Chuzzlewit* and *Our Mutual Friend*; his usurer in *Bleak House* and Scrooge in *A Christmas Carol* epitomize the meanness of the avaricious character and portray the resulting misery inflicted on the victims of such men. In the novels of Honoré de Balzac, the insidious danger of cupidity is personified in such manipulative characters as Rastignac, Vautrin, and the avaricious father of Eugénie Grandet.

Artists like Honoré Daumier and Charles Meryon emphasized the pervasive poverty of city life, and during the nineteenth century the vice of avarice is often indirectly personified in the guise of an arrogant banker or corpulent diner. Alphonse Chigot’s 1857 lithograph *The Stock Exchange* depicts Capital as a rapacious demon, with the poverty and disaster resulting from its power evidenced in the swarming masses surrounding the stock exchange building.

The theme reappears in twentieth-century art and literature as well. Notable literary examples include François Mauriac’s novel *Le Noeud de Vipères* (*Nest of Vipers*) and Ezra Pound’s visceral condemnation of usury (*Cantos* XLV). Paul Klee’s 1929 etching the *Miser*, a sophisticated reduction of all the despicable characteristics of a miser, provides yet another example of the fascination of the subject.

Throughout the centuries, depictions of the theme of avarice reflect society’s ambivalence toward the use and misuse of wealth. Whenever too glaring a disparity exists between rich and poor, the grim despotism of Queen Money, so aptly named by the seventeenth-century Dutch, is mirrored in the art of the time. The perennial temptation of avarice remains a recurrent theme in the art and literature of Western civilization.

See also Envy; Money; Sin/Sinning; Vices/Deadly Sins

Selected Works of Art

King Midas

Poussin, Nicolas, *Midas Bathing in the River Pactolus*, painting, circa 1629, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Francken, Frans the Younger, *King Midas at the Table*, painting, circa 1642, Braunschweig, Germany, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum

Battle of the Virtues and Vices: The Psychomachian Tradition

Manuscript, eleventh century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (MS 2077, fol. 170v)

Sculpture, circa 1130, south transept window, and archivolt of central portal, west entrance, Aulnay, France, St. Pierre

Sculpture, circa 1280, porch, Strasbourg, Saskatchewan, Canada, Cathedral

Parable of Dives and Lazarus

Sculpture, twelfth century, west wall of porch, Moissac, France, St. Pierre

Stained Glass, north wall of ambulatory, thirteenth century, Bourges, France, Bourges Cathedral

Giordano, Luca, *The Parable of Dives and Lazarus*, late seventeenth century, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum
Sculpture, doorway plaque, Gouda, The Netherlands, St. Janskerk

Man with Purse Hanging from Neck
Sculpture, circa 1140–1150, originally from south-central France or Limousin, present location, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts
Sculpture, capitals of Auvergne: Chanteuges, Ennezat, Lavaudieu, Saignes, twelfth century
Wall Painting, thirteenth century, west wall, Chaldon Church, Surrey, St. Peter and St. Paul

Other Variations

Manuscript, fourteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (MS Fr 146, fol. 12v)
 Bosch, Hieronymus, *Death and the Miser*, circa 1490, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection
 Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *Avaritia*, drawing, 1556, London, British Museum
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 Chigot, Alphonse, *The Stock Exchange*, lithograph, 1857, Paris, Musée Carnavalet

Klee, Paul, *The Miser*, etching, 1929, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Busch-Reisinger Museum

Victorian Genres

Frith, William Powell, *The Race for Wealth: 1. The Spider and the Flies; 2. The Spider at Home; 3. Victims; 4. Judgment; 5. Retribution*, series of five paintings, 1880, Baroda, India, Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery

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BACCHANALIA/ORGY

Sarah S. Gibson

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Bacchanalia/Orgy:

ANCIENT AND CLASSICAL

EARLY CHRISTIAN AND
MEDIEVAL

RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Joachim Wtewael, *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, 1612, oil on copper, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute. (Courtesy of the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, Williamstown, Massachusetts)

Bacchanalia is the Latin word for what were originally Greek religious rites celebrated in honor of the god Dionysus (Bacchus). By extension it has come to mean drunken revelry, but some reference to the god and his gift of wine should be present. Thus the “merry company” and gaming scenes beloved of seventeenth-century artists are not bacchanalia and can be traced to different origins. Orgy is derived from the Greek word *orgia*, denoting the secret rites performed for various deities, including Dionysus. Frenzied dancing, singing, drinking, and sexual activity characterized these rituals. Dionysiac (Bacchic) themes illustrating the many myths connected with the god were popular in both classical and post-classical visual art. Preeminent among these themes is the bacchanal depicting a banquet scene of more or less riotous behavior. Bacchanal does not carry quite the pejorative connotation of orgy. The latter usually refers to revelry of unrestrained indulgence, debauchery, and dissolution, although this is far from its original meaning.

Artistic representations of bacchanalia, and individuals participating in them, were widespread throughout antiquity. Renaissance and Baroque artists leaned heavily upon the classical heritage, reinterpreting the myths according to their own and their patrons’ desires. Bacchic themes were popular in the eighteenth century, but with a decided emphasis on their erotic qualities. Nineteenth-century artists tended either to perceive Bacchic subjects as orgies that could serve moralizing purposes or to re-create a lost golden age. Early twentieth-century artists, especially Pablo Picasso, turned again to classical Bacchic motifs, but the nonfigurative art of the later twentieth century did not provide much opportunity for mythic representations.

In contrast to public Greek and Roman religious observances, Bacchic mysteries were secret forms of worship available only to the initiate. Livy describes them in his history of Rome (circa 29 B.C.) where he notes they were so notorious for drunkenness, wild dancing, and dismemberment of animals, that the Roman Senate banned their celebration in 186 B.C.

The maenads (bacchantes) who conducted the ancient Dionysiac rituals were ordinary mortal women possessed by the spirit of the god. Their frenzied activity was acceptable in conjunction with the celebration of rites apparently designed to induce a sense of freedom and well-being. Additionally, promises about rebirth seem to have been a part of the mysteries.

But there was a dark side to this exhilaration. Bacchantes under the god’s inspiration were reported to perform extraordinary feats of strength, uprooting trees and tearing apart wild animals to eat raw flesh. The aim of the frenzy and eating of flesh was to become one with the god and his power.

Traditional attributes of the maenads include exotic animal skins and garlands. They usually carry the thyrsus, a pole

wreathed in ivy, a plant sacred to the god, and topped by a pine cone. Satyrs and Sileni often accompanied maenads in their revels.

Satyrs were creatures of the woods with a partly human form, but possessing some bestial trait such as a horsetail, the ears of an ass, or the legs of the goat. The Romans identified them with *fauni* (fauns), although these creatures are usually regarded as being more gentle than satyrs.

Silenus, in Greek myth, was a creature half man, half animal who embodied the spirit of wildlife. Later portrayals showed a fat, bald old man addicted to Dionysus’s gift of wine and possessing pointed ears as a vestige of his animal self. Silenus is sometimes represented as the tutor of Dionysus (Bacchus), and groups of sileni—creatures similar in form—are often present in the train of the god. Satyrs and sileni pursue the pleasures of wine and women that mortals are constrained to pursue only in fantasy. These free spirits engage in music making, dancing, and drinking, seemingly in a constant state of sexual excitement. But they are seldom cruel and in the course of time came to resemble ordinary human beings.

Bacchic revels were among the most popular subjects on Greek vases. One example is an Attic black-figure oenochoe with *Dancing Maenads and a Panther* (circa 525–500 B.C.), now in Harvard University’s Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts. These kinds of scenes appealed equally to the Romans as evidenced by wall paintings from the Villa of the Mysteries (circa 50 B.C.) in Pompeii and marble sarcophagi found throughout the Roman world. The longevity of portrayals of these revels can be seen in the fourth-century A.D. *Mildenhall Plate* in the British Museum in London, in which loose-haired maenads carrying thyrsi and animal-skin-clad satyrs dance with abandon to the music of cymbals, flute, and tambourine. A fifth- or sixth-century silver ewer from Syria, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art in Ohio, shows a more restrained Bacchic thiasos (a group gathered to worship a deity).

In Greek mythology, Dionysus was an important god, although rather different from the other Olympian deities. He was the god of wine and ecstasy, giving joy and assuaging cares, who was experienced through the surrender of self-identity. Reflecting this characteristic was his association with theater and masks. His simplest image consists of a mask on a column draped with a cloth.

Dionysus was twice born, first from the womb of his mother and then from the thigh of his father. He was the son of Zeus, the king of the gods, and Semele, daughter of Cadmus, king of Thebes. Zeus’s wife, Hera, jealous as usual, contrived to have Semele disposed of, but Zeus rescued his unborn child, who was then placed in his father’s thigh to be born in due course. The myths tell many of Dionysus’s adventures and

vicissitudes. Among these was his rescue of Ariadne after Theseus had abandoned her. The subsequent wedding feast celebrating the marriage of Dionysus and Ariadne is thus the prototypical bacchanal.

Dionysus's divinity was not universally recognized, so that he was forced to travel, even to India, to gain converts, ultimately triumphing over all his persecutors. Scenes of triumphs are also important visual themes that recount the Dionysian (Bacchic) myths. Even his mother's sister, Agave, did not recognize Dionysus, and Agave's son Pentheus, king of Thebes, was in turn hostile to his worship. The means whereby Dionysus proved his power formed the basis of Euripides' tragedy *The Bacchae* (first performed at Athens in 405 B.C.). At the climax of this play, Agave, in a Dionysian-induced frenzy, bears her son's head back to the city after he has been torn to pieces by the women of Thebes. Upon recovering her senses, she realizes that she has killed her own son. This dark side of the god's power is in striking contrast to his general affability as the giver of wine and honey who understands and accepts human nature, tolerating excesses in his followers.

Dionysus (Bacchus) was originally portrayed as a rather dignified deity, as in the Berlin Painter's Attic red-figured lekythos (circa 480 B.C.), now in the Fogg Art Museum, where he is shown as a fully clothed, mature, bearded man wearing a crown of ivy leaves. A change occurred in his appearance in the second half of the fifth century B.C. when he became more like the youthful Apollo, as on a hydria (circa 400 B.C.), also in the Fogg Art Museum, painted in the manner of the Meidias Painter. On this vase the god is shown as a seminude young man. In Roman guise he was represented as a handsome youth bearing grapes or a wine cup, and his Roman maenads were more interested in erotic pursuits than their Greek predecessors had been.

In late antiquity Dionysus (Bacchus) continued to enjoy popularity as the god of ecstatic release through wine and revelry; the hedonistic aspects of his cult were emphasized, as was his connection with the harvest festival. The early Christians easily assimilated Roman forms of Dionysian (Bacchic) images, no doubt because of his reputation as a saving god and because of the parallels that could be drawn between his life and that of Jesus Christ. Both were sons of a god and a mortal mother; they dwelt among mortals but descended to the underworld, Dionysus (Bacchus) to rescue his mother, Semele, from the realm of the dead. Both gave their followers promise of rebirth after death. Wine formed an important element in the rituals associated with both figures, and the devouring of raw flesh suggested that the Dionysian (Bacchic) myth may have found an echo in the Eucharistic host. The god's attributes of grapevine and grape clusters were also borrowed by the early Christians to symbolize the wine of the Eucharist and the blood of Christ. A mosaic of the mid-fourth century A.D. in the ambulatory of Santa Costanza in Rome incorporates a scene of putti engaged in harvesting grapes that related to Dionysian (Bacchic) precursors. Another example, among many, of Christian assimilation of the Dionysian motifs is found in a late-fourth-century sarcophagus from the Catacomb of Praetextatus in Rome. It combines the image of the Good Shepherd with putti harvesting grapes and trampling them in a wine press.

Bacchanalia and other Bacchic manifestations seemed to have captivated Renaissance and Baroque artists and patrons. Elaborate scenes of the gods' banqueting, woodland revels with satyrs, fauns, nymphs, and maenads, had widespread appeal. Certainly an erotic element underlies many of these images, but they are also pervaded by a joyous hedonism. Such scenes had clear antique prototypes in the Bacchic processions carved on sarcophagi, many of which were well known to Renaissance artists. Additional inspiration was to be found in numerous literary sources.

Solitary images of Bacchus were also popular, such as Michelangelo's sculpture of the young god (1496–1497) who holds a wine cup aloft in a gracefully drunken *contraposto*. Jacopo Sansovino adopted the composition for a *Bacchus* of his own (1511). While these figures certainly suggest high-spirited, tipsy revelry, they do not, by themselves, constitute a full-blown bacchanalia. In 1514 Giovanni Bellini painted for Alfonso d'Este's Camerino d'Alabastro a scene derived from a somewhat ribald passage from Ovid's *Fasti* about the sacrifice of an ass to Priapus. Now known as *The Feast of the Gods*, located in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., it is most often called a bacchanal and indeed depicts the Olympian deities fully enjoying the gift of ivy-berried Bacchus, shown as a child drawing the wine from a keg. Titian (and possibly also Dosso Dossi) later reworked the picture but did not disguise the fact that Bellini portrayed the gods less as idealized beings than as everyday people. A certain lightheartedness pervades the painting; if not entirely decorous—some of the gods seem to have suffered from the effects of the wine—they are certainly not indulging in riotous behavior.

Somewhat later, in 1520–1522, Titian supplied two more Bacchic pictures for Alfonso. One, the *Bacchus and Ariadne* in the National Gallery in London, shows the moment when Bacchus discovers Ariadne and, leaping from his chariot, claims her as his bride. Strictly speaking it cannot be called a bacchanal as there is no feasting or drinking; it falls into the category of Bacchus's triumphs or processions in which the god is accompanied by his boisterous train of followers—bacchantes, satyrs (even a baby satyr), and a fat, drunken Silenus precariously seated on an ass. In the other picture, *The Bacchanal of the Andrians* (1523–1525), in the Prado in Madrid, deities and mortals mingle to share the river of wine that the god had bestowed upon the inhabitants of Andros. Titian captures the exuberant hedonism of this supposed golden age as imagined by the men and women of the Renaissance. The text of the music that can be discerned in the foreground sets the tone: "Who drinks and does not drink again knows not what drinking is." A certain voluptuousness and sensuality underlie the scene, characteristics that will be often repeated and made more overt by succeeding generations of artists.

Dating from almost a century later, Joachim Wtewael's *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (formerly entitled *Bacchanal*, 1612), in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Massachusetts, is a good example of the trend toward eroticism. The painting is still decorous enough, with little suggestion of dissoluteness, to have been appropriate as a celebration piece for a marriage—as other wedding scenes, such as that of Bacchus and Ariadne often were—but it also

appears to be an excuse for a display of virtuosity in the depiction of nude figures and the lush richness of the setting. The main sources for the story of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis are to be found in Ovid and in Catullus's *Carmina*. It was this feast that set in train the events leading to the Trojan War.

All the gods except Eris, goddess of discord, had been invited to the wedding festivities. Eris, enraged, dropped a golden apple inscribed "To the Fairest" into the midst of the banqueters. Hera (Juno), Athena (Minerva), and Aphrodite (Venus) each claimed the apple and asked Paris, a prince of Troy, to select from among them. Each promised him a reward, and he chose Aphrodite's bribe of the most beautiful woman in the world. Thus Paris came to steal Helen from King Menelaus of Sparta and took her home to Troy. Menelaus, rallying his Greek comrades, pursued the pair to the gates of Troy, which then endured a 10-year siege ending in its destruction and the return of Helen to her original husband.

The wedding of Peleus and Thetis was one of Wtewael's favorite subjects. In the Clark version, Discord can be seen flying above the revelers, about to hurl her golden apple of contention. Among the gods pictured are Poseidon (Neptune) with his trident at the lower left; Aphrodite and Ares (Mars) embracing in the center; Zeus (Jupiter), wearing a crown at right center; beside him Artemis (Diana) wearing a crescent moon diadem; and of course, grapevine-clad Dionysus (Bacchus) on the right, pouring a jug of wine, a satyr at his feet. The story of the judgment of Paris can be seen in the distant background, just to the right of center.

Art historian Anne Lowenthal observes that a didactic vein underlay much of seventeenth-century Dutch art, and that a picture such as this one would have appealed to the Dutch penchant for deciphering works with multivalent symbolism. Although the moral point (discord takes over when moderation is forgotten) may be clear, the pleasure of the sensuous life is also clear. Because of this disjunction, we may ask if the moralizing is meant quite so seriously (Lowenthal, pp. 56–57).

In Peter Paul Rubens's interpretation of Titian's *Andrians*, painted in the mid-1630s, now in the National Museum in Stockholm, Sweden, no moralizing tone is present. His painting is an exuberant bacchanal, but with an emphasis on earthly passions and expressions. Titian's beautiful sleeping nymph snores with her mouth open, obviously a little the worse for wine.

A different, cooler spirit prevails in the bacchanals of Nicolas Poussin, such as his *Bacchanal Before a Term of Pan* (early to mid-1630s), in the National Gallery in London. Poussin's maenads have a sharpness and clarity reminiscent of ancient bas-reliefs, but they have a carefree rhythm that evokes a poetic, poignantly nostalgic view of the vanished golden age.

Somewhat earlier, Rubens had selected a different episode from the Bacchic myths for a group of works dating from 1617 to 1626. These depict the drunken Silenus, whose tale is taken from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Silenus, the foster father and tutor of Bacchus, was found wandering in a drunken stupor by some Phrygian peasants, who crowned him with vine leaves and carried him to King Midas. Recognizing him, Midas entertained him, then led him back to Dionysus, who rewarded Midas by granting his wish for the golden touch.

In Rubens's first Silenic procession (circa 1617–1618), in the Alte Pinacothek in Munich, Germany, Silenus is flanked at the left by an old peasant woman and a faun, while he is supported on the right by a black man and a maenad. Several other peasants, baby fauns, a goat, and a vomiting maenad complete the scene. The inviting gaze of the bacchante as she supports Silenus imparts a sense of eroticism to the picture. This painting was evidently the source for Anthony Van Dyck's *Drunken Silenus* (circa 1620), in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Dresden, Germany.

Rather different in tone is Diego Velázquez's *Bacchus* (1629), in the Prado. Here the youthful god appears in the company of a group of Spanish peasants, all male. One kneels to receive a crown of vine leaves while two others invite the viewer into the scene with tipsy smiles. A sense of very earthy well-being pervades the painting, but Bacchus's slightly sly, sideways glance and the leering quality of the smiles of two of the peasants suggest that more may be going on than is actually pictured.

Eroticism becomes the dominant strain in bacchanals of the eighteenth century. Seldom do the works feature feasts of the Olympian deities. Prevalent are woodland revels with overt sexual implications, such as Charles-Joseph Natoire's *Maenads Surrounded by Satyrs and Infants*, in the Fogg Art Museum, where two old satyrs leeringly lift the drapery from a sleeping maenad. There are of course marked exceptions to this tendency—almost voyeurism—as in a pair of Wedgwood vases with bacchanalian dancers (circa 1789), based on a frieze from the Borghese krater.

These two opposing tendencies, eroticism combined with the orgiastic aspects of the bacchanal and a classicizing historicism, combine in the nineteenth century. Two examples are Thomas Couture's *The Romans of the Decadence* (1847), in the Louvre in Paris, and Lawrence Alma-Tadema's *The Women of Amphisia* (1887), in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute. Both are imaginary reconstructions of a classical past, incorporating historically accurate details of architecture and dress.

Alma-Tadema's picture shows, not a bacchanal, but the aftermath of the ecstatic, frenzied rites of Bacchus's female devotees. The exhausted bacchantes are fed and guarded (from potentially harmful men) by the women of Amphisia. Essentially a genre scene, there is no real suggestion of an orgiastic event that may have preceded the morning-after that we now see. *The Romans of the Decadence* is quite different, openly condemning moral depravity; eroticism is kept to a minimum but is nonetheless present. The painting addresses a primarily male audience; the women are shown either waiting on the men or in various stages of dishabille in order to titillate them. Art historian Albert Boime states that an obsession with orgies and the courtesan permeated the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as evidenced by a large number of prints showing voyeuristic views of couples or groups engaged in orgiastic activities. Such scenes appeared also in the theater, in novels, and in musical dramas. Couture's painting came to embody a variety of meanings. It was seen either as a satire on contemporary French society, as an attack on the regime of Louis-Philippe, or as the decadence of the French on the eve of the Revolution. Whatever Couture may have intended (and there is evidence that he was reacting formally to the prevalent

academicism), the painting appealed to its contemporaries as a form of social criticism (Boime, pp. 131–188 passim).

Certain subthemes relating to Bacchic revels should be mentioned. Extracted from a bacchanal, such as those engraved by Andrea Mantegna (circa 1494), the drunken Silenus often became a separate subject. Rubens portrayed a tottering Silenus with a train of Bacchus's followers in a painting of circa 1618, now in the Alte Pinacothek in Munich. Images of Bacchus alone appear, as typified by Michelangelo's *Bacchus* (1496–1497), in the Bargello in Florence, Italy, carved in a shakily classic *contraposto*. Caravaggio's *Bacchus* (circa 1596), in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, is another example. Individual bacchantes, dancing, sometimes accompanied by satyrs, or simply enjoying a sylvan picnic, are also offspring of the full-fledged bacchanal. So, too, were various portraits disguised as mythological figures, such as the unknown woman portrayed by Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun as a *Bacchante* (1785), in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute.

The vitality of the bacchanal over time is evident. Images have changed in response to contemporary ideas, but the basic human aspects of joy, ecstasy, delight in wine, and sensuality that the bacchanal so vividly expresses are still with us.

See also Abandonment; Drunkenness/Intoxication; Ecstasy

Selected Works of Art

Ancient and Classical

- Amasis Painter, *Dionysus with Dancing Youths and Girls*, Attic black-figure amphora, circa 540 B.C., Basel, Switzerland, Antikenmuseum, Kappeli Collection
- Dancing Maenads and a Painter*, the Keyside Class, Attic black-figure oinochoe, circa 525–500 B.C., Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum
- Euthymides Revelers*, red-figured amphora, Vulci, circa 510–500 B.C., Munich, Germany, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek
- Brygos Painter, *Revelers*, red-figured kylix, Vulci, circa 490 B.C., Würzburg, Germany, Martin V. Wagner Museen der Universität
- Makron, *Satyrs and Maenads*, Attic red-figured kylix, circa 490–480 B.C., Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum
- Berlin Painter, *Dionysus*, Attic red-figured Lekythos, circa 480 B.C., Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum
- Manner of the Meidias Painter, *Dionysus Surrounded by Members of his Entourage*, circa 400 B.C., Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum
- Villa of the Mysteries*, wall painting, circa 50 B.C., Pompeii, Italy
- Childhood Sarcophagus*, marble, second half of second century, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery
- Sarcophagus with Bacchic Thiasos*, marble, circa A.D. 160, Rome, Museo Nazionale
- Sarcophagus with Dionysus and Ariadne*, marble, circa A.D. 200–205, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery

- Good Shepherd Sarcophagus*, marble, late fourth century A.D., Rome, Vatican, Lateran Museum
- Bacchanal*, Roman relief, marble, A.D. 400, London, British Museum

Early Christian and Medieval

- Mildenhall Plate*, silver, fourth century A.D., London, British Museum
- Grape Vine*, mosaic, mid-fourth century A.D., Rome, Santa Costanza
- Good Shepherd Sarcophagus*, marble, late fourth century A.D., Rome, Vatican Museum, Lateran Museum
- Ewer with Bacchic Thiasos*, silver, originally from Syria, fifth or sixth century A.D., Cleveland, Ohio, Cleveland Museum of Art

Renaissance

- Mantegna, Andrea, *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat*, engraving, circa 1494
- Mantegna, Andrea, *Bacchanal with Silenus*, engraving, circa 1494
- Dürer, Albrecht, *A Bacchanal with Silenus*, drawing, copy after Andrea Mantegna, 1494, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina
- Michelangelo, *Bacchus*, marble, 1496–1497, Florence, Italy, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
- Cosimo, Piero di, *The Misfortunes of Silenus*, painting, circa 1505–1510, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum
- Cosimo, Piero di, *The Discovery of Honey*, oil on panel, circa 1505–1510, Worcester, Massachusetts, Worcester Art Museum
- Sansovino, Jacopo, *Bacchus*, marble sculpture, 1511, Florence, Italy, Museo Nazionale del Bargello
- Dossi, Dosso, *Bacchanal*, oil on canvas, 1512–1516, London, National Gallery
- Bellini, Giovanni, *The Feast of the Gods*, painting, 1514, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection
- Dossi, Dosso, *Bacchanal*, painting, circa 1515, Rome, Castle Sant' Angelo
- Titian, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, oil on canvas, 1520–1522, London, National Gallery
- Titian, *The Bacchanal of the Andrians*, painting, 1523–1525, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Zuccari, Taddeo, *Bacchanal*, fresco, 1551, Caprarola, Italy, Palazzo Farnese
- Primaticcio, Francesco, *Bacchanal*, fresco for Chateau de Fontainebleau, executed by Niccolò dell'Abbate, 1551–1556, repainted nineteenth century
- Carracci, Annibale, *Venus, Satyr, and Two Amorini (Bacchantes)*, painting, circa 1588, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
- Caravaggio, *Youth with a Wreath of Ivy and a Bunch of Grapes*, painting, 1593?, Rome, Borghese Gallery
- Caravaggio, *Bacchus*, painting, circa 1596, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Carracci, Annibale, *Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, painting, 1597–1604, Rome, Farnese Gallery

Seventeenth Century

- Wtewael, Joachim, *The Wedding of Peleus and Thetis* (formerly titled *Bacchanal*), painting, 1612, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute
- Haarlem, Cornelis Cornelisz van, *Bacchanal*, painting, 1614, Budapest, Hungary, Szepmuveszeti Muzeum
- Jordaens, Jacob, *Bacchanalian Scene*, painting, circa 1616, Ghent, Belgium, Museum voor Schone Kunsten
- Rubens, Peter Paul, *Drunken Silenus*, painting, circa 1617–1618, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
- Van Dyck, Anthony, *Drunken Silenus*, painting, circa 1620, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister der Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
- Poussin, Nicolas, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, painting, 1625–1626, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Poussin, Nicolas, *Bacchanal with a Guitarist (The Andrians)*, painting, 1627–1628, Paris, Louvre
- Velázquez, Diego, *Bacchus*, painting, 1629, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Rubens, Peter Paul (after Titian), *The Andrians*, circa 1630, Stockholm, Sweden, National Museum
- Poussin, Nicolas, *Bacchanal Before a Term of Pan*, oil on canvas, early–mid-1630s, London, National Gallery
- Stanzione, Massimo, *Bacchanal*, painting, circa 1630, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Poussin, Nicolas, *The Triumph of Bacchus*, painting, 1635, Kansas City, Missouri, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art
- Jordaens, Jacob, *The Train of Bacchus*, painting, 1635–1640, Kassel, Germany, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Schloss Wilhelmshöhe

Eighteenth Century

- Ricci, Sebastiano, *Bacchanal*, painting, circa 1710?, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage
- Fragonard, Jean-Honoré, *Bacchanal*, cycle of four etchings, circa 1763
- Clodion, Claude-Michel, *Satyr with Two Bacchantes*, terra-cotta statue, 1766, New York, Frick Collection
- Vigée-Lebrun, Marie-Louise-Élisabeth, *Bacchante*, painting, 1785, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute
- Romney, George, *Lady Hamilton as a Bacchante*, painting, circa 1786, London, Tate Gallery

Nineteenth Century

- Gleyre, Charles, *The Dance of the Bacchantes*, painting, 1846–1848, Lausanne, Switzerland, Musée Cantonal des Beaux-Arts
- Couture, Thomas, *The Romans of the Decadence*, painting, 1847, Paris, Louvre
- Daumier, Honoré, *Two Nymphs Pursued by Satyrs*, painting, 1850, Montreal, Quebec, Museum of Fine Arts
- Gérôme, Jean-Léon, *The Bacchante*, painting, 1853, Nantes, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

- Bouguereau, William, *Faun and Bacchante*, painting, 1860, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Rodin, Auguste, *Head of a Bacchante*, plaster, 1865–1870, Meudon, France, Musée Rodin
- Alma-Tadema, Lawrence, *The Women of Amphissa* (awakening after a night of revels), painting, 1887, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute
- Leighton, Frederic, *Bacchante*, painting, circa 1892, Forbes Magazine Collection, United States
- MacMonnies, Frederick William, *Bacchante and Infant Faun*, bronze, 1893, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, and other locations

Twentieth Century

- Derain, André, *Bacchic Dance*, watercolor, 1906, New York, Museum of Modern Art
- Hofmann, Hans, *Bacchanale*, oil on cardboard, 1946, collection of the artist
- Clarke, John Clem, *Small Bacchanal*, 1970, New York, O. K. Harris Gallery
- Picasso, Pablo, *Bacchanal After Poussin*, painting after Poussin's *Bacchanal: The Triumph of Pan*, 1973

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BAPTISM

Don Denny

The following subjects are included in the discussion of the theme Baptism:

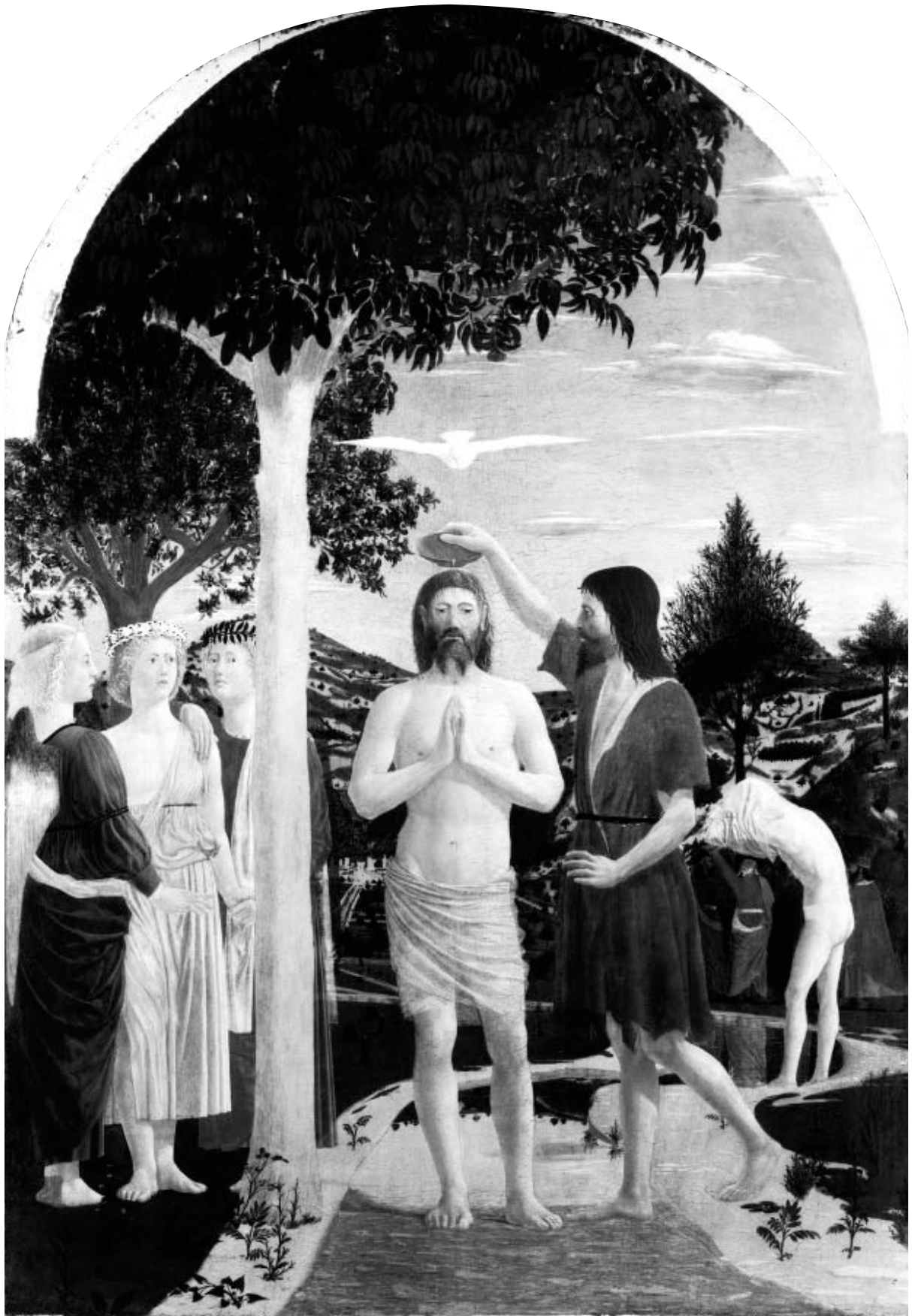
EGYPTIAN

BAPTISM OF CHRIST

OTHER CHRISTIAN BAPTISMS

SYMBOLIC REFERENCES TO
BAPTISM

BAPTISM IN NON-CHRISTIAN
CULTURES



Piero della Francesca, *The Baptism of Christ*, circa 1450, painting on panel, London, National Gallery. (Courtesy of the National Gallery, London)

Baptism may be defined broadly as the application of water or other liquids in a ritual of religious initiation. Baptism of one kind or another was known to most ancient cultures, but many such cultures left little or no iconographic record of the practice.

In early antiquity the most extensive representation of baptismal activity is found in Egyptian funerary art, where the subject alludes to rites of purification of the deceased, thought necessary for a beneficial admission of the spirit into the afterlife. The typical graphic formula shows a priest or other officiant holding a vase from which rises a jet of water arching over the erect figure of the dead person, shown either as a mummy or in a semblance of life. The Theban tomb of Sennofer, a mayor of Thebes in the fifteenth century B.C., includes a painting of a priest, clad in a leopard skin, extending a vase from which a single stream of blue water branches into two arcs, partially to frame, respectively, the figure of Sennofer and of his wife, Merit, both shown in living guise (Lange and Hirmer, pl. XXIV). The fourteenth-century tomb of the vizier Ramose, also at Thebes, has a very fine bas-relief carving of Ramose, in living form, flanked by two diminutive attendants, each of whom holds a vase from which a thin stream of water is ejected; the streams cross and fall to complete a perfect arch around the body of Ramose (Lange and Hirmer, fig. 172). In a more mythic vein, a relief at Abydos represents Osiris, who has been slain by his brother Set, being brought back to life by his son Horus. The falcon-headed Horus holds in his left hand three small aligned matching vases; from the outer two vases rise fine jets of water, from the central vase rises a similar line formed by a series of ankhs, symbols of life, the three closely grouped trajectories forming an arch over the erect, rigid figure of Osiris (Budge, vol. I, p. 83).

By far the most commonly repeated baptismal image has been that of the baptism of Jesus Christ. Based on descriptions of the event in the Gospels (Matthew 3:13–17; Mark 1:9–11; Luke 3:21–22), the subject owes its importance in the long history of Christian art to the fact that it marks one of the major points in the life of Christ and to its obvious relation to the continuing significance of the Christian baptismal rite, one of the chief sacraments of both Eastern and Western Christianity. Certain iconographic features are standard among the vast number of variations of the theme: Christ, nude or clad in a short loincloth, stands in the Jordan River; St. John the Baptist, usually wearing a hair shirt, approaches from the side and raises an arm to place his hand on Christ's head or, later, in Renaissance art, to pour a few drops of water on his head; a dove signifying the Holy Spirit hovers over Christ. More often than not, one or several angels are present, often holding cloths with which to dry Christ's body.

Fairly typical of innumerable medieval representations of the subject is an eleventh-century mosaic in the Byzantine

church of Hosios Lukas, near Delphi, Greece. Christ stands nude in a mass of water that rises like a mound to the height of his shoulders. Within the water is a small figure personifying the River Jordan in the antique manner, as a bearded man holding a water jug. St. John stands on the riverbank at the right and places a hand on Christ's head; two angels stand opposite holding brightly decorated cloths; above is the hand of God, from which issues a stream of light and the dove of the Holy Spirit. Medieval instances of the subject contain a great many variations of such details. The baptism on the Klosterneuburg altarpiece, a metal-and-enamel masterwork by Nicholas of Verdun (1181) in the Klosterneuburg Abbey near Vienna, Austria, is somewhat minimal, including only one angel, placed behind St. John, and excluding the hand of God and the personification of the Jordan. A stone-carved tympanum (1221), at S. Marie delle Pieve in Arezzo, Italy, is closer to the Byzantine type, with the river god shown under the water; here there are four cloth-bearing angels, two on either side of the design.

The end of the Middle Ages saw some significant changes in the iconography of Christ's baptism. John pours water over Christ's head from a small dish or shell. This change—an early example is the bronze relief on the south door of the Florence, Italy, baptistery, created by Andrea Pisano in the 1330s—reflects a change in actual practice from baptism by immersion, with the entire body submerged, as was common in the Middle Ages, to baptism by infusion, in which only a small amount of water is sprinkled on the head. Correspondingly, Christ is no longer shown nude, his body covered up to the shoulders or the waist by an oddly unnatural mound of water, but wearing a loincloth and with the water rising only to his ankles. A handsome example is Piero della Francesca's painting (circa 1470) in the National Gallery in London: Christ is posed with his hands in an attitude of prayer, the symmetry of his frontal position echoed by the white dove hovering overhead; John strides gently forward to drop a trickle of water from a dish; three angels stand at the left, gracefully holding hands; in the background a man removes his clothing in preparation for baptism; beyond is a hilly Italian landscape. From the following century, a more dynamic version by Tintoretto, in the Prado in Madrid, Spain, has Christ in a bending, submissive posture, hands crossed on his chest, and John, also partially nude, standing above him on the riverbank and leaning forward to pour water on his head; water gushes from a rock spring beside John; the dove is far up in the sky; no angels are present.

Baptismal fonts, large vessels of stone or metal often decorated with relief sculpture, have been a common type of church furnishing over the centuries and, considered as an entire class of objects, involve a varied wealth of baptismal imagery. One of the most famous fonts is the bronze example created by Renier of Huy for St. Barthélemy in Liège, Belgium, in the early twelfth century, presenting around its cylindrical surface a

series of five sculptural reliefs: 1) John the Baptist preaching in the wilderness, his audience signified by a group of four men; 2) John baptizing two men as they stand nude in the River Jordan; 3) the baptism of Christ, with Christ waist-deep in the river, his right hand raised in a gesture of benediction, John at the left, two angels at the right, over Christ the hand of God from which descends the dove; 4) St. Peter baptizing the centurion Cornelius (Acts 10), who stands nude in a small font, blessed by the saint, the hand of God appearing above; 5) the apocryphal motif of St. John the Evangelist baptizing the philosopher Crato, arranged much like the previous scene. Thus the complete sequence implies a chronological development and an outline of the creation of the Christian sacrament of baptism, with the baptism of Christ as the hieratically composed, central device, the crucial moment in that history. Supporting the font is a ring of what was originally 12 and is now 10 small bronze oxen, a reference to the "molten sea . . . on twelve oxen" cast in bronze for the Temple of Solomon (I Kings 7:23–25), understood as an Old Testament antetype of Christian baptismal fonts.

The baptisms of many significant individuals of history and legend have had a place in Christian art. On the large tympanum of one of the northern transept portals of Reims Cathedral in northeastern France, among many sculpted scenes produced in the thirteenth century, figuring prominently is the baptism of Clovis, king of the Franks, by St. Rémi, bishop of Reims, a momentous event in 496 that marked the monarch's conversion to Christianity and, in effect, the beginnings of France as a Christian nation. Clovis stands nude in a baptismal font, with members of his court behind him as he faces St. Rémi, in bishop's vestments, likewise attended by a sizable retinue; a dove descends to deliver to the saint an ampulla of divine chrism with which to sprinkle the baptismal water. The subject has special meaning to Reims Cathedral, the traditional site of the consecration of the French kings.

For the shrine of St. Ursula (1489) in the Hospital of St. John in Bruges, Belgium, Hans Memling painted a series of charming small scenes recounting the travels of the British princess and her many companions, including a picture of their arrival in Rome to be greeted at the entry to a church by Pope Cyriacus. At one side of the composition, the church wall is omitted to reveal the baptism by two priests of a few of the saint's followers—who, according to the *Golden Legend*, "had not yet received baptism." Another legendary baptism, that of St. Lucilla of Rome, is richly celebrated in a painting by Jacopo Bassano (1570) in the Museo Civico in Bassano, Italy. Surrounded by stately architecture and picturesque subsidiary figures, effects typical of Venetian Renaissance art, Lucilla, dressed in white satin, kneels before St. Valentine in sumptuous vestments as he drops water on her head from a silver bowl; her father, St. Nemesius, stands near her; in the sky, against a burst of light, two angels display a palm branch, alluding to the martyrdom that awaits both Lucilla and Nemesius.

Baptism has continued to provide a theme, although rarely, for art of more recent times, when the subject is apt to appear in a secular framework. A series of eight paintings, commissioned during the early and mid-nineteenth century for the rotunda of the Capitol in Washington, D.C., includes John G. Chapman's *Baptism of Pocahontas*, a romantic vision of that event, which took place at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1613.

Within a large dark church, the maiden kneels before a stone baptismal font; standing over her is the minister Alexander Whiteaker, one hand on the font, the other raised in an oratorical gesture; prominent nearby are Sir Thomas Dale, governor of Virginia, and John Rolfe, whom Pocahontas is to marry upon her conversion to Christianity; also present are many other Virginia colonists and members of Pocahontas's tribe (*Compilation of Works*, p. 117).

Baptism provides a theme for regionalist genre in John Steuart Curry's 1928 painting *Baptism in Kansas* in the Whitney Museum of American Art in New York. A large water tank in the midst of a farmyard on a vast prairie offers a place for the ritual; a white-clad young woman is held by a black-clad minister as they both stand knee-deep in the water; about to be immersed, the woman clasps her hands in rapt prayer; country folk in their best clothes, singing from hymnals, surround the central couple; at the top of the painting, beams of sunlight break through the clouds (Czestochowski, p. 18). A modernist interpretation of the rite is given in Romare Bearden's collage *The Prevalence of Ritual: Baptism* (1964) in the Williams College Art Museum in Williamstown, Massachusetts. African American figures, ambiguously represented by fragments of cut-and-pasted photographs, are closely grouped together, perhaps as if standing in water; at some points their faces become African masks, suggesting a fusion of American fundamentalist baptismal practice and African tribal ritual (Washington, pl. 7).

In addition to images that explicitly illustrate baptismal activity, many works allude to baptism in a symbolic or analogical way. On the Klosterneuburg altarpiece, the baptism of Christ is shown next to two Old Testament antetypes: Solomon's "molten sea . . . on twelve oxen," which, as mentioned above, had earlier been represented on Renier of Huy's baptismal font, and *Moses Leading His People Through the Red Sea*, a picture of a passage through water as a means of salvation. In the late Middle Ages, *Biblia Pauperum* manuscripts presented elaborate typological programs as part of which Christ's baptism was joined to the crossing of the Red Sea (Exodus 14), and, in a more subtle analogy, the return of Moses' spies from Canaan with a huge bunch of grapes (Numbers 13), signifying, with Eucharistic symbolism, that a land of promise and salvation lay beyond the River Jordan, the stream where Christ would be baptized. The event is depicted in a manuscript (circa 1320) in Vienna in the National Library (Cornell, pl. 5).

During the Renaissance a strong interest in ancient classical mythology created new analogs of baptism. A well-known instance is Sandro Botticelli's painting *The Birth of Venus* (circa 1480) in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, the composition of which—with Venus standing nude in the water of the sea, an attendant approaching from one side with a hand raised toward Venus' head, and, on the opposite side, winged personifications of the winds, looking much like angels—is clearly patterned after the traditional representation of Christ's baptism. The graphic similarity was no doubt intended to imply a conceptual similarity, supplied by the sophisticated exegesis of the Florentine Neoplatonic academy of Botticelli's day, according to which the birth from water of Venus, the pagan love goddess here understood as a manifestation of divine love, was likened to the new birth of Christ, or any Christian believer, from baptismal water.

One of the most widely repeated of indirect allusions to baptism is the motif of the bathing of the Christ Child, frequently included in Nativity scenes. In many of these images, as the baby is gently placed in a water basin by a midwife, the motif may, to be sure, be intended as no more than a naturalistic detail; but in many other images, where the basin has the recognizable form of a baptismal font and the Christ Child stands upright in the water in a manner impossible for a newborn infant, the reference to his baptism—or, more generally, to the entire tradition of Christian baptism—is quite clear. An important example of the latter type is in the relief of the *Nativity of Christ* on Nicola Pisano's marble pulpit (circa 1260) in the baptistery at Pisa, Italy.

A subject in Asian art somewhat comparable to the bathing of the Christ Child is the bathing of the infant Buddha, although it must be recognized that no rite exists in Buddhism that could properly be designated as baptism, and the deeper meanings of the Buddhist bathing narrative are not easily interpreted. There are several versions of the story. In one of the most common tellings, the newborn infant is placed on a lotus stand and two water spirits (*naga*) pour water on him in two streams, one warm and one cold. A stone relief of the Kushan period from Gandhara, Pakistan, in the Peshawar Museum shows the nude infant standing on a small platform, supported on both sides by young attendants; the symmetry of that group is continued above in the two *naga*, standing figures in handsome human guise, who pour water from round jugs onto the head of the child. Essentially the same scheme appears with a very different character in an eighteenth-century Japanese colored woodblock print in Harvard University's Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Here the infant Buddha stands on a lotus blossom without attendant support, the two *naga* have become fierce dragons from whose mouths the two streams of water gush forth liberally over the child's body; his richly dressed parents are seated nearby; at the bottom of the composition, and at another level of reality, kneeling devotees surround a ceremonial basin as they prepare the purification ceremony performed annually to celebrate the birth of Buddha. Those ceremonies have given rise to a special art type, small Japanese bronze sculptures of the infant Buddha standing erect in the center of a broad basin; in the ritual called *Kambutsu*, apparently known only in Japanese tradition, water or tea is poured over the sculpted figure. An eighth-century example of the type, at about 20 inches high thought to be the largest extant, is in the Todai-ji at Nara (Mino, pp. 77–78).

See also Bath/Bathing; Communion

Selected Works of Art

Egyptian

Funerary Baptism of the Vizier Ramose, eighteenth dynasty, circa 1500–1300 B.C., Thebes, Egypt, tomb of Ramose

Baptism of Christ

Mosaic, tenth century, Church of Hosios Lukas, near Delphi, Greece

Renier of Huy, *Baptismal Font*, bronze, 1107–1118, Liège, Belgium, St. Barthélemy

Pisano, Andrea, *Baptism of Christ*, bronze, 1330s, Florence, Italy, Baptistery, South door

Ghiberti, Lorenzo, *Baptism*, bronze, 1403–1424, Florence, Italy, Baptistery, North doors

Masolino, *Baptism of Christ*, fresco, 1435, Castiglione Olona, Italy

Piero della Francesca, *Baptism of Christ*, circa 1450, London, National Gallery

Verrocchio, Andrea del, and Leonardo da Vinci, *Baptism of Christ*, panel, circa 1470, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Juan de Flandes, *Baptism of Christ*, oil on panel, circa 1510, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Bordone, Paris, *Baptism of Christ*, oil on canvas, circa 1535–1540, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Tintoretto, *Baptism of Christ*, circa 1580, Madrid, Prado

Crespi, Daniele, *Baptism of Christ*, circa 1624(?), Milan, Pinacoteca di Brera

Sirani, Elizabeth, *The Baptism of Christ*, 1658, Bologna, Italy, Certosi

West, Benjamin, *The Baptism*, oil on canvas, 1794, Greenville, South Carolina, Bob Jones University

Other Christian Baptisms

Baptism of Clovis, thirteenth century, Calixtus Portal, Reims Cathedral

Mantegna, Andrea, *Baptism of Hermogenes*, fresco, 1454–1457, Padua, Italy, Eremitani Church, Ovetari Chapel

Master of St. Giles, *Baptism of Clovis*, oil on panel, circa 1500, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Bassano, Jacopo, *Baptism of Saint Lucilla*, circa 1575, Bassano, Italy, Museo Civico

Bibiena, Francesco da, *Saint Peter Baptizing*, before 1739, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery

Camassei, Andrea, *Baptism of the Centurion*, mid-seventeenth century, Rome, Vatican

Rosa, Salvatore, *Saint Philip the Deacon Baptizes the Ethiopian Eunuch of Queen Candace*, before 1673, Norfolk, Virginia, Chrysler Museum

Ellenrieder, Marie, *The Baptism of Lydia*, oil on canvas, 1861, Zurich, Switzerland, Fred and Meg Licht Collection

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Symbolic References to Baptism

Pisano, Nicola, *Nativity (Bathing of the Christ Child)*, circa 1260, Pisa, Italy, Baptistery

Botticelli, *Birth of Venus*, 1477–1478, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Baptism in Non-Christian Cultures

Bathing of the Infant Buddha, relief from Gandhara, Kushan period, Peshawar, Pakistan

Bathing of Buddha, colored wood-block print, eighteenth century, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum

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BATH/BATHING

Alicia Craig Faxon

The following motifs and iconographic narratives are included in the discussion of the theme Bath/Bathing:

MYTHOLOGICAL THEMES

SUSANNA

BATHSHEBA

BATHING THE NEWBORN
CHILD

WASHING OF FEET

HISTORICAL THEMES

WOMEN BATHING

MEN BATHING

AMERICAN REALISM



Mary Cassatt, *The Bath*, 1891, drypoint and aquatint, gift of William Emerson and from the Charles Henry Hayden Fund, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. (Courtesy of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts)

Although the theme of the bath and bathing has been a popular subject in art and has had a number of meanings attached to it, the most common usage of the term refers to ablution, cleanliness, and the act of washing in water. This essay will first discuss depictions of the theme of bathing as cleansing, then turn to the association of the bath with death, with voyeurism, with fertility, with renewal and purification, with rainfall, with healing, with birth, with tears, and with resorts and architecture.

In Greek and Roman sculpture the theme of Aphrodite (Venus) at her bath appears to have originated in the fourth century b.c. with Praxiteles; the female figure had been shown clothed until that time. Roman copies of the *Aphrodite of Knidos* (sculpted before 350 b.c.), a standing figure coming from her bath, exist in the Vatican Museum and in the Louvre in Paris, among others. Another version of the bathing goddess depicts Venus crouching, such as the Roman copy of a Hellenistic bronze statue (Doidalsas type) in the British Museum in London. This representation of Venus bathing was disseminated during the Renaissance by a Marcantonio Raimondi engraving of the figure (Barsch, XIV, no. 313). Another type of Venus at her bath, *The Mazarin Venus*, a Roman copy of a late Hellenistic variant of the fourth-century Greek type, is in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, California.

Bathing women in medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque painting were usually depicted in the guise of mythological and biblical personages—the prominent themes will be discussed below. In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century art, however, the theme of bathers, especially female ones, was used as a strategy to show the nude in a naturalistic rather than an academic or mythological setting. Exotic settings for Eugène Delacroix in the *Turkish Women Bathing* (1854), now in Hartford, Connecticut, and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres in *The Turkish Bath* (1864), in the Musée d'Orsay in Paris, were the mark of the Romantic interest in oriental scenes. Later nineteenth-century artists such as Gustave Courbet in *The Bathers* (1853), in the Musée Fabre in Montpellier, France, and Pierre-Auguste Renoir in his innumerable nudes as bathers, such as *The Great Bathers* (1884–1887) in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, tried to create a plausible setting in which to show nude figures out of doors, as part of a natural mode of bathing or swimming. Paul Cézanne in his numerous studies of bathers, culminating in *Les Grandes Baigneuses* (1898–1906), in Philadelphia, and Georges Seurat in *Bathers at Asnières* (1883–1884), in the Tate Gallery in London, as well as many other artists, followed this same course. As art historian Linda Nochlin has pointed out, however, the nude bather out of doors was as much a construct as the harem bath, because nineteenth-century women and men did not bathe nude in country streams. Honoré Daumier, in his *Les Baigneurs* series of litho-

graphs in *Le Charivari* (1841–1842), depicted bathing in a more realistic setting. The reality of nineteenth-century bathing in Paris was more likely to be men and women with less than perfect physiognomies, not to mention bodies. The women especially were far from the nude bathers depicted in paintings, wearing garments that covered them from neck to ankle, in comic rather than graceful fashion.

Daumier also tackled the subject of bathing in classical mythology in his “Histoire Ancienne” series in *Le Charivari* of August 28, 1842. In *The Baptism of Achilles* he showed the nymph Thetis dipping her baby Achilles in the River Styx to make him immortal. Unfortunately she held him by the heel, which was not immersed, and thus rendered him vulnerable in this spot; hence, an “Achilles heel” became a term for a vulnerable area in a person’s makeup. The following verse was published with the lithograph:

As a weapon of war is quenched,
Thetis, of her brat wishing to make a hero,
Dipped him in the Styx as soon as he was born;
Which proves that a bath is good for everything.
(Vigier, *On the Influence of Baths*)

The simple act of bathing is illustrated in Mary Cassatt’s *The Bath* (or *The Tub*, 1891), a color print with drypoint and soft ground, in its eleventh and final state in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Here we see an everyday scene of a mother or nurse washing a slightly reluctant child. *The Bath* is one of a series of color prints Cassatt made in 1891 after seeing the 1890 Great Japanese Exhibition at the École des Beaux Arts in Paris, which included a number of color woodcut prints. She was especially interested in the color woodcuts of eighteenth-century artist Kitagawa Utamaro, among them *Woman Bathing a Baby in a Tub*, and owned a number of Japanese woodcut prints herself. Cassatt also created a color print of a *Woman Bathing* (circa 1891), a subject that appeared in Japanese woodcut prints by Utamaro, Kiyonaga, Toyokuni Utagawa, and a number of other artists. Cassatt’s print of *The Bath* is also related to an oil painting *The Bath* (1891) at the Art Institute of Chicago, which shows a woman giving a sponge bath to a slightly older girl. These very natural views of mother or nurse and child are typical of the unsentimental representations of women and children by Cassatt, forming a matter-of-fact record of bathing a child who has probably gotten dirty during a normal day’s activities.

Cassatt’s contemporary, Edgar Degas, was also interested in the theme of bathing as cleansing. Rather than the bathing of a child, he wanted to show a naturalistic unposed picture of women taking baths, unconscious of the viewer, as if seen “through a keyhole” as he put it. He, too, was a great devotee of Japanese prints, and their influence is obvious in such works as two pastels entitled *The Tub* (circa 1885–1886), at the

Musée d'Orsay in Paris and at the Hillstead Museum in Farmington, Connecticut, and the lithograph *Standing Nude at her Toilette* (circa 1890–1892).

Male bathers as well as female are subjects in art, the most famous being Michelangelo's bathers in the *Battle of Cascina* (1505). The original fresco was destroyed, but studies of Michelangelo's figures exist in drawings, such as those in the British Museum in London. Artists such as Aristotle da Sangallo copied the central bather figures; his drawing of 1542 is now in the collection of the Earl of Leicester at Holkham Hall in England. The bathers scramble out of the Arno, struggling to clothe and arm themselves, in answer to the sudden call to battle. Marcantonio Raimondi also engraved three of these figures in 1510. Masculine bathers also appear in Albrecht Dürer's woodcut *The Men's Bath House* (circa 1498), in Cézanne's groups of male bathers, and in Edvard Munch's *The Bathers* (1907), now in the Museum of Art in Oslo, Norway.

In the twentieth century the Fauves and German Expressionists favored themes of nude female bathers as well as men and women bathing. In these themes they saw liberation between the sexes and union with nature in a return to the primitive. Such views occur in the Fauve paintings of Henri Matisse, as in the *Three Bathers, Collioure* (1907) at the Minneapolis Institute of Art in Minnesota; in the works of Maurice de Vlaminck; and in André Derain's *Bathers* (1908). The theme of bathing also occurs in paintings and color woodcuts of bathers in outdoor settings by Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Erich Heckel, and Otto Müller, among others.

Although the female nude in a natural setting was a frequent theme for Paul Cézanne throughout his career, some of his paintings of the 1870s and 1880s were of men bathing, as a group and singly. These paintings may recall Cézanne's boyhood days in Aix-en-Provence, when he and his friends Baptistin Baille and Émile Zola bathed in the Arc River on hot summer days. His later paintings, particularly the several versions of the monumental *Bathers* (*Les Grandes Baigneuses*), at the Barnes Foundation in Merion, Pennsylvania, the National Gallery in London, and the Philadelphia Museum of Art, were of groups of women. His desire to show nudes in a *plein air* setting created particular problems for Cézanne; he could not pose groups of nude women by the Arc River, as Aix-en-Provence was an extremely conservative community and would not have countenanced such scandalous exposure. In his first *Les Grandes Baigneuses*, now in Philadelphia, on which he was probably still working at the time of his death in 1906, it appears he used a variety of sources for his figures: life sketches from models, sketches of sculpture in the Louvre, and photographs of sculptures from Armand Sylvestre's *Le Nu au Louvre* (1891), including for the figure on the right in front of a bending tree, *Venus de Milo* with added arms.

In the twentieth century the theme of bathing occurs in several paintings by Henri Matisse, notably *Bathers with a Turtle* (1908) and the monumental *Bathers by a River* (1909–1916). Both works refer to Cézanne's *Three Bathers* (circa 1879–1882), which Matisse bought from art dealer Ambroise Vollard in 1899. *Bathers by a River*, one of Matisse's largest paintings, shows simplified forms of four bathers separated into four different zones by black and gray panels against lush green foliage. Where Cézanne unified his bathers by a structure of overarching tree forms in *Les Grandes Baigneuses*, the

composition of Matisse's *Bathers by a River* divides the figures into individual entities, almost sculptural in their poses—a concept he would explore in the four versions of the relief *Le Dos* (*The Back*).

Pablo Picasso also experimented with bathers, both nude and in gaily striped bathing suits, on beaches at such resorts as Juan-les-Pins and Biarritz. These experiments start in 1918 and continue until 1971 or so, two years before his death. He also did a wood sculpture group, *Bathers*, cast in bronze in 1956.

In American art of the twentieth century, the main trend has been to put the nude bathing figure into a nonidealized, realistic setting, as in John Sloan's *South Beach Bathers* (1907–1908), George Bellows's *Forty-two Kids*, depicting boys bathing in a river, and William Glackens's bathing figures, very much in the Ashcan school tradition. In the 1930s and 1940s, artists such as Paul Cadmus, Reginald Marsh, and George Tooker, coming out of a social realism tradition, put their bathers in the populist setting of the beach at Coney Island, crammed with humanity in all its vulgarity and vitality.

English artist David Hockney put male figures bathing in the shower. In the 1960s his series of nude males, either separate or in pairs in showers, introduced a strong element of homoeroticism into bathing scenes.

Some ancient representations of bathing interpret the theme not merely as a cleansing activity but also as something more ominous. One of the earliest is *The Death of Agamemnon* by the Dokimasia Painter on an Attic red-figured krater (circa 460 B.C.), in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which shows Clytemnestra and her lover, Aegisthus, killing Clytemnestra's husband, Agamemnon, in a bath on his return from the Trojan War. The opposite side of the vase shows Orestes, Agamemnon's son, killing Aegisthus in revenge. The story of Agamemnon's death is told in Homer's *Odyssey* (book XI), when Odysseus visits the House of the Dead and encounters his comrade at arms. Although this account does not mention that Agamemnon's murder occurred in his bath, act 1 of Aeschylus's *Agamemnon* names the setting.

The morbid association of death with bathing emerges in Jacques-Louis David's *Death of Marat* (1793), in the Musées Royaux in Brussels, Belgium, which shows the journalist dead in his bath, having been stabbed by Charlotte Corday. A bath-connected death recurs with the nineteenth-century murderer William Crippen, who killed a succession of brides in their baths.

In classical mythology, as recorded in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, voyeurism accompanies death and bathing. When the hunter Actaeon sees Diana (Artemis) bathing, she transforms him into a stag, which is then eaten by his own dogs. The story of Diana's revenge on Actaeon is depicted as early as about 460 B.C., by the Pan Painter on an Attic red-figured vase, in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and also by Titian in his *Death of Actaeon* (1570–1575), in the National Gallery in London. Paintings showing Diana at her bath with only the viewer of the painting as a voyeur are more common. Examples of such paintings include those by Jan Vermeer, François Boucher, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, and many others; an example of sculpture includes the relief *Bath of Diana* by François Girardon at Versailles. Nineteenth-century artists also represented the bathing habits of goddesses and mythic figures, as in Frederic Leighton's *The Bath of Psyche* (1890), in the Tate Gallery in London, and in William Blake Richmond's *The Bath of Venus* (1891), in the Aberdeen

Art Gallery in Scotland. One suspects that surrounding her with classical trappings offered a respectable and acceptable way of showing a female nude.

The biblical story of Susanna and the elders in the Apocrypha also joins bathing and voyeurism. Two elders see Susanna bathing in her garden and proposition her. She refuses them, and they accuse her in the religious court of improper solicitation. She is about to be stoned to death when the prophet Daniel shows discrepancies in their story, and they, instead of she, are stoned to death.

This biblical story (even if apocryphal) gave artists an excellent opportunity to show a nude female bathing, as in Heinrich Aldegrever's sixteenth-century engraving *Story of Susanna*; Tintoretto's painting *Susanna and the Elders* (1555–1556), in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria; Artemisia Gentileschi's *Susanna and the Elders* (1610), in the collection of Dr. Karl Graf von Schonborn of Pommersfelden, Germany; Anthony van Dyck's painting of 1622–1623 in Munich, Germany; Peter Paul Rubens's *Susanna and the Elders* (1636–1640), also in Munich, at the Alte Pinakothek, and Rembrandt's *Susanna and the Elders* in Berlin. Here the theme of a bathing woman exposes the charge of voyeurism within the painting (and possibly outside it) and also the ultimate punishment of lust and the vindication of the woman. The distress of the woman propositioned is made clear only in the painting by the woman artist, Artemisia Gentileschi, in which Susanna is visibly resisting the elders' suggestions.

Even more spectacular in biblical presentations is the story of Bathsheba (II Samuel 11). King David saw from the roof a woman bathing, Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah the Hittite. He sent her a note (really a command from the king) to come and see him, and he made love to her. She became pregnant, and David tried to get her husband to justify the pregnancy. But Uriah did not fall in with the plot, so David arranged to have him killed in battle. After Uriah's death David married Bathsheba. Their first child died, but the second became King Solomon, David's successor. Here again bathing inspires desire in the viewer, with unfortunate consequences. This story, too, was popular with artists, as evidenced by such examples as Peter Paul Rubens's painting of 1636, in Dresden, Germany; Artemisia Gentileschi's *David and Bathsheba* (circa 1640–1645), in Columbus, Ohio; and Rembrandt's *Bathsheba* (1654) in the Louvre. The Rembrandt painting had Hendrickje Stoeffels, the artist's common-law wife, as its model and shows Bathsheba with a note, presumably from David, pondering the consequences of the king's command. We never learn whether she loved her husband and mourned his death, or whether she wanted to go to David at all. Rembrandt's version suggests the tragedy of the situation, not the titillating circumstance of a nude woman bathing.

In ancient Greek lore, according to Sir James George Frazer's *Golden Bough*, bathing was connected with fertility, with maidens bathing in rivers to lose their virginity, and with brides and grooms taking baths before the marriage to have their union blessed by the fecundity of water nymphs. This meaning may be connected with the river bathing of images of earth goddesses, such as Cybele, as part of a fertility rite at the beginning of spring, possibly to ensure rain for growing crops.

Another attribute of bathing is regeneration or renewal. Hera and Venus, who renewed their virginity by bathing, may

also be connected with purification. The bathing of goddesses is also associated with ceremonial purification of the bride. The theme of purification relates to the bath of initiation, including the Sun King's lustral bath before his sacrifice, or the ceremonial bath at a coronation. Such an interpretation of Agamemnon's death in a bath, his wife holding the double-ax, symbol of the Great Mother Goddess, identifies Agamemnon as a sacrificial victim, his term of reign over, supplanted by a new lover chosen by the reigning queen.

The theme of purification by bathing is also present in Japanese literature in a story in the *Nihongi* in which Izanaga, after returning from Yomi, the land of gloom, purifies himself by bathing in water. The same idea of purification by bathing is present in the rites of Attis, where a bath in bull's blood at the time of the vernal equinox washed away sins. Attis's killing of the bull represents his higher nature triumphing over bestiality and animal passions.

Again according to Frazer, bathing was practiced in Russia to produce rain, possibly in an analogy of sympathetic magic. Sometimes women bathed on the day of St. John the Baptist to encourage a good rainfall. In another water-inducing rite, North African holy men were thrown into a spring to end a drought.

Another Old Testament reference to bathing is the story of Naaman the Leper (II Kings 5). In it, a messenger of the prophet Elisha tells Naaman, a famous warrior, to wash in the garden seven times. At first Naaman refuses, as it seems too easy, but he is persuaded, and after bathing in the River Jordan seven times he is cured of leprosy. The story stresses curative powers of bathing as well as the power of the prophet. Not as popular a subject as Bathsheba or Susanna, only one painting by Esias van de Velde, in a private collection, shows Naaman actually bathing in the Jordan. The healing power of bathing also occurs in the New Testament in the Gospel according to St. John (5:1–17) in the story of the Pool of Bethesda, which cured the first sick person to enter it after an angel stirred up the waters.

From the New Testament also comes a bathing scene in the Nativity of the Christ Child. The scene was not described in the Gospels, but it is a customary natal event for babies. The bathing of the Christ Child appears in several pulpit relief panels of the *Nativity* by Nicola Pisano and his son Giovanni in the cathedral and baptistery in Pisa, Italy, and in paintings by Lorenzo Lotto in the Academy in Siena, Italy, and Antonio Veneziano in the Courtauld Institute in London, as well as many Italian School paintings of the medieval and Renaissance periods. The bathing of a newborn baby also occurs in scenes from the life of the Virgin Mary, most notably in a fresco by Ghirlandaio in the Church of S. Maria Novella in Florence.

Occasionally bathing is associated with tears, as in the expression "bathed in tears." A biblical story recounts the story of a woman who bathed Jesus' feet in tears and dried them with her hair while he was dining in the house of a Pharisee; she was forgiven her sins (Luke 7:36–50). This scene is depicted in paintings by Francesco Bassano the Younger, Carlo Dolci, Giulio Romano, and Bernardo Strozzi, among others, and in a fresco by Santi di Tito in the Church of SS. Annunziata in Florence. Dirck Bouts's *Christ in the House of Simon the Pharisee*, in Berlin, shows the woman wiping Christ's feet with her hair. In "The Pool of Tears," from *Alice's Adventures in*

Wonderland by Lewis Carroll, Alice's tears become a bath or pool in which a much shrunken Alice swims.

Jesus' act of bathing the feet of the apostles before the Last Supper in order to show his service to humanity is depicted in many paintings, including Tintoretto's *Christ Washing His Disciples' Feet* (1566), in the National Gallery in London; Aurelio Lomi's *Christ Washing Saint Peter's Feet* (early 1590s), in Harvard University's Fogg Art Museum, in Cambridge, Massachusetts; Ford Madox Brown's *Jesus Washing Peter's Feet* (1851–1852), in the Tate Gallery in London; and Stanley Spencer's *Washing Peter's Feet* (1922), in the Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery.

Another meaning of bath is a resort or spa, most notably that of Bath, England, which was famous for its mineral baths in Roman times and became a popular Regency resort. Jane Austen lived there at one time, and scenes from her novels *Persuasion* and *Northanger Abbey* take place in Bath.

Bath is also associated with a building or rooms for bathing. In this connection the Roman baths or *thermae* built by various emperors are significant. These elaborate vaulted structures had rooms for each kind of bath: hot (*calidarium*), warm (*tepidarium*), and cold (*frigidarium*). Most famous are the Baths of Caracalla (A.D. 211–217), the ruins of which still stand in Rome. The earlier baths of Agrippa and Trajan have all but vanished. In the sixteenth century, Michelangelo converted the *tepidarium* of the Baths of Diocletian, built in Rome in A.D. 302, into the Church of S. Maria degli Angeli. The public bathhouse appears in Albrecht Dürer's *The Men's Bath House* woodcut print (1498) and survives in so-called Turkish bath establishments.

The meanings attached to the bath and bathing are manifold, from simple ablution and hygiene to purification rites, fertility and rain, sympathetic magic, healing power, union with nature and natural impulses, voyeurism both within and without the episode shown or described, and to public bathing and the spa. Recent feminist scholarship has examined closely the scene of the female nude bathing in nature and concluded that it, too, is a product of a male-dominated discourse objectifying and commodifying women who are subject to the male gaze and its power. It is only in more natural subjects like a mother bathing her child that the subject is returned to its most human meanings and associations.

See also Baptism; Humors; Voyeurism

Selected Works of Art

Mythological Themes

Dokimasia Painter, *Death of Agamemnon*, Attic red-figured krater, circa 460 B.C., Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Pan Painter, *Artemis Shooting Actaeon*, Attic red-figured krater, circa 470 B.C., Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Aphrodite of Knidos, Roman copy of sculpture by Praxiteles, fourth century B.C., Paris, Louvre

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BEHEADING/DECAPITATION

Diane Apostolos-Cappadona

The following motifs are included in the discussion of the theme Beheading/Decapitation:

MALE DECAPITATOR WITH
FEMALE HEAD

MALE DECAPITATOR WITH
MALE HEAD

MALE DECAPITATOR WITH
ANIMAL HEAD

FEMALE DECAPITATOR WITH
MALE HEAD

SEVERED HEADS

ORACULAR HEADS

ACHEIROPAIEC HEADS



Benvenuto Cellini, *Perseus with the Head of Medusa*, 1545, bronze sculpture, Florence, Italy, Loggia dei Lanzi. (Courtesy of Alinari/Art Resource, New York)

More than a simple and expedient form of execution, the symbolic and ritual connotations of beheading/decapitation distinguish it from other forms of corporal punishment. A story of the beheading of an enemy (human, animal, or symbolic) is found in all world mythologies. The fundamental symbolism of beheading/decapitation involves both the symbolism of the head and the presence of the decapitator. Both mythic and visual images of beheading/decapitation are dependent upon classical models. The primary Western model is the story of Perseus beheading Medusa.

As the illegitimate, and thereby impoverished, son of the human Danaë and the god Zeus, Perseus is unable to participate in the traditional ritual initiation into manhood. In an attempt to gain recognition as an adult male, he attempts to pass the “impossible” test King Polydektes foists upon him: Perseus must bring the head of the monstrous Gorgon Medusa back to the king and his court. Once a beautiful young woman, Medusa was transformed into the death-giving monster as her punishment for defiling the Temple of Athena. In his quest, Perseus receives aid from the goddess Athena, who counsels him to hold a mirror before Medusa because her gaze is so powerful that human beings are immediately turned to stone before her. As Perseus holds the mirror before Medusa, she gazes upon her own reflection and is turned into stone, and he is able to sever the offending, powerful head and carefully place it in a bag. He returns to the court of King Polydektes, opens the bag, and offers the head of Medusa to the king and his court, who are all turned to stone when they look upon the head. In return for her counsel and aide in his initiation into manhood, Perseus gives the head of Medusa to Athena who has it inscribed for all eternity upon her shield (thereby making Athena’s city of Athens impenetrable to its enemies).

The basic and necessary elements of all mythic and artistic depictions of beheading are present in the story of Perseus and Medusa: the decapitated body, the severed head, the decapitator, and the instrument of decapitation. First and foremost, there is the enemy who must be destroyed and for whom destruction must involve decapitation, not any other form of execution. The symbolism of the head is critical to the rationale for beheading/decapitation. In most classical societies, Eastern and Western, the head was understood to be the seat of the life force and the soul. As that part of the human body through which one saw, spoke, listened, thought, and ate, the head was interpreted as a source of life. Since many of these same classical cultures practiced either ritual sacrifice or war, they were familiar with the visual similarities between the brains and semen, and they believed that the male ejaculate was a fluid from the brain. This significant connection between the head and the male sexual organ suggests both the psychological rela-

tionship between decapitation and castration and the source of interpreting the head as the seat of the life force. Further, it was believed among many classical Western cultures that the head was also the site of the soul and the human emotions. Since hair—a universal symbol for energy and power—was a part of the head, the symbolic significance of the head becomes more apparent. Therefore, to decapitate one’s enemy was more than simply killing him or her; rather, this act allowed the decapitator, like Perseus, to have control over the severed head, which signified the power, vitality, generative force, soul, vision, and speech of the now-headless individual.

The decapitator is usually a youthful individual (male or female) on the threshold of a real or symbolic new stage of life. More often than not the action of locating, decapitating, and displaying the severed head of the enemy is a part of the decapitator’s initiation into this new life stage (e.g., manhood or marriage). In the case of Perseus, his quest for Medusa became a metaphor for his initiation into manhood. Here again the importance of the head as a source of the life force and the soul is significant, especially when the decapitator is a woman and the decapitated a man. Normally, the decapitator is represented as beheading the enemy by holding the instrument of death, usually a sword or lance, with the right hand and the newly severed head by its hair with the left hand. The right hand signified power, justice, reason, the sun, and, thereby, the male, and the left hand signified passivity, emotion, irrationality, the moon, and the female. Furthermore, in many cultures the right hand was used for eating and the left hand for cleansing the body, especially after urination or defecation. Thus, there are multiple implications for the hand by which the decapitator holds the instrument of death and the severed head.

The severed head—a source of energy, power, and wisdom for the now-defunct victim—may itself become a powerful symbol for the decapitator or his or her people. For example, in the case of Medusa, the severed head was incised onto the shield of Athena, thereby proclaiming Athena’s support for Perseus, the ritual purification of her defiled temple, and that the death-giving power of Medusa had been transformed to protect the people of Athens. In a similar fashion the severed heads of Goliath and Holofernes routed the enemies of Israel. On the other hand, the oracular head of Orpheus initiated a new category of severed heads, as he was not an enemy killed by a hero/heroine but a victim of unjust punishment. His severed head was magically placed by Apollo in a cave at Antissa (on the island of Lesbos) and became a source of prophecy and wisdom; so, too, with the heads of many of the Christian cephalophoric saints such as St. Denis. This variation on the severed head as a source of prophecy and wisdom is a significant element to the symbolism of the skull in later Christian art

as a signifier of meditation, penance, and the transitory quality of human life.

Depictions in written or visual sources on beheading/decapitation stories emphasize one of three moments: the young hero/heroine with the severed head, the action of the decapitation, or the moments before the decapitation. The most common representation is that of the young hero/heroine with the severed head because this scene can be both a model of proper action (without the elements of obscenity) and a source of contemplation upon the meaning of this event. Similarly, the artistic and mythic variations of the theme of beheading/decapitation may be identified through one of four motifs of gender identity of the decapitator and of the victim: a male decapitator with a male victim, a male decapitator with a female victim, a male decapitator with an animal victim, or a female decapitator with a male victim. Few if any visual or literary examples of a female decapitator with either a female or animal victim exist. An overview of these motifs suggests cultural variations and transformations of the symbolism of beheading/decapitation in Western iconography.

As the primary (generic) model of beheading/decapitation for Western iconography, the myth and image of Perseus with the head of Medusa also represent the motif of a male decapitator with a female victim in the classical (Mediterranean) tradition. The biblical story of Jephthah and his daughter (Judges 11:4–39) was misinterpreted as a transformation of the motif of beheading and decapitation from that of hero/heroine with enemy to that of parent and child. A pious Jew, Jephthah must fulfill his vow to God to destroy the first person he saw upon returning home if his army was victorious. Unfortunately for Jephthah, the first person he saw was his beloved daughter. Unlike Abraham who was spared from sacrificing his son Isaac to God, Jephthah offered his daughter as a sacrifice to God after allowing her two months to withdraw and to mourn her virginity. Although the scriptural text indicates that Jephthah's daughter was sacrificed, the actual method of her death is disputed. Nonetheless, medieval artisans represented Jephthah beheading his daughter (perhaps as metaphor for the loss of her life instead of the loss of her virginity). In the history of the early and medieval Christian tradition, many young female virgin saints were martyred like Jephthah's daughter, in an inversion of the Perseus-Medusa theme. These Christian martyrs usually underwent lengthy and bizarre physical tortures such as St. Agatha's having her breasts pinched off or St. Barbara's being boiled in oil, neither action resulting in their physical deaths. The only form of execution that "worked" was decapitation—again suggesting the critical symbolism of the head (especially in terms of the virgin martyrs and the Western Christian emphasis on relics and cults). The medieval tale of the Mandagora continues this mythic and visual tradition.

In the Renaissance, a renewed interest in classical art and mythology evoked new interpretations of the Perseus-Medusa story that inspired later artistic depictions, such as that of Benvenuto Cellini. In this image of male decapitator with female victim, the artist has indicated the victor by his dynamic and powerful stance, which is highlighted by the triumphant gesture of the raised left hand displaying the severed head of Medusa as the right hand calmly retreats with the instrument

of destruction. The youthful decapitator's strength is emphasized by the representation of the classical nude male body, which stands both regal and aloof from the decapitated head and the implied onlookers.

The motif of a male decapitator with a male victim in Western iconography has its classical model in the death of Troilus during the Trojan War. According to legend and tradition, in revenge for the death of Patroclus, Achilles decapitates Troilus, whose death (prior to his twentieth birthday) is also an oracular requirement for the victory of the Greek forces. The scriptural story of David and Goliath is the most popular model of the male versus male decapitation motif in Western iconography. Premised upon the story of Troilus and Achilles, and a parallel to the apocryphal story of Judith and Holofernes, the topic of David and Goliath is found regularly throughout the history of Western Christian art. The youthful and victorious David is most often represented standing (in a classical pose of victory) over the decapitated body of his enemy, signifying his initiation into manhood. The young victor holds the head by the hair with his left hand and the sword with his right. Donatello's depiction of a nude David exacerbates the viewer's recognition of inherent homoeroticism in what is usually interpreted as an elder male versus younger male struggle. Michelangelo's *David* is an iconographic innovation as Goliath's presence is only implied and David is depicted before the battle or decapitation occurs. Gian Lorenzo Bernini's Baroque interpretation of this theme initiates the iconography of David in the act of hurling the slingshot as opposed to the meditative "before" of Michelangelo and the victorious "after" of Donatello. As in the depictions of the Perseus-Medusa story, the majority of visualizations of David and Goliath focus upon the "after"—that is, the victorious youth holding the severed head of his enemy.

The inversion of this male versus male decapitation motif is the many male Christian saints and martyrs who were beheaded, the most prominent of whom was St. Paul, who sets the iconographic standard. As a Roman citizen, he was allowed the "privilege" of decapitation as opposed to other more painful and less dignified modes of execution. Representations of the decollation or death of St. Paul abound, in which the Roman (read "pagan") male executioner stands large and swarthy over the emaciated body of the Christian saint, whose humility is signified by the loss of his head (with all the inherent symbolism thereto attached). Later, male Christian saints and martyrs, most notably St. Denis, are depicted either having just been beheaded or as a revived headless body holding the severed head as an emblem of martyrdom. The medieval legend of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight revives this motif of male versus male decapitation in both text and image.

A third motif of beheading found in Western iconography is that of a male decapitator with an animal victim. The primary classical model is that of Hercules and the Hydra. Again a variant on the theme of initiation into manhood, Hercules is required to meet the test of twelve labors in order to prove himself worthy of kingship. One of these labors includes the Hydra—a nine-headed mythological serpent that regenerates each head as quickly as Hercules can sever it. Finally, Hercules recognizes that one of the heads is in fact the immortal head,

which, once identified and cut off, terminates the regeneration process. He tricks the Hydra by having Iolaus sear the stem of each neck as the head is severed, thus successfully destroying the immortal head. In Christian art and legend, there are several heroic or warrior saints who are tested with the challenge of an animal monster that must be destroyed to save either a village, a church, or a maiden in distress. As with Hercules and the Hydra, or the early Christian martyrs, physical death is only possible through decapitation, not by a simple sword thrust or a boiling in oil. The most famous and popular of these heroic or warrior saints was St. George, as in the classical depiction by Raphael, in which the youthful saint rescues the prayerful maiden from the monster/dragon. The saint's physical strength and invincibility are signaled by his armored body, and his rapidity of movement by his flowing cape. He sits astride his powerful white charger in a position of action and authority. With a sense of careful control, St. George handles the horse with the reins in his left hand while with his right hand dramatically thrusts a lance into the dragon. The medieval legend of Tristan slaying the dragon is a transformation of this earlier Christian model of the male saint beheading an animal (monster).

The fourth motif is that of a female decapitator with a male victim. The classical model is the historical but little-known story of Cyrus and Tomyris. This motif of female versus male is best represented in the apocryphal story and ensuing visual tradition of Judith and Holofernes. As with other variations on the theme of beheading/decapitation, there are elements of initiatory trials and sexuality indicated through the heroine's conquest of the enemy general. The implicit male fear of castration during sexual intercourse and the explicit mythic (psychic) analogy of decapitation as castration abound from the earliest representations of Judith in Hebrew and Christian art. The pious but beautiful widow Judith exchanges her widow's weeds for more feminine adornments in an attempt to defend God's people from total (read sexual) destruction by the Assyrian general Holofernes and his army. Although the apocryphal story carefully avoids mention of Judith's total seduction of Holofernes, and just as carefully offers symbolic allusions that sexual consummation was never achieved, the story of Judith and Holofernes becomes a classical mode of depicting female lust, and Judith becomes by the mid-nineteenth century one of Western art's leading femmes fatales. As with the Perseus-Medusa and David-Goliath stories, the majority of representations of Judith-Holofernes emphasize the image of the victorious Judith displaying the severed head of Holofernes held with her left hand and his sword—the instrument of his death—with her right. In an effort to defend Judith's sexual purity, her maid-servant enters the scene in Renaissance art, and most often stands between Judith and the decapitated body of Holofernes, as in Andrea Mantegna's classically inspired representation of *Judith and Holofernes*. Mantegna's Judith is clearly depicted in the pose, garments, and posture of a Greek goddess, ostensibly Athena (the goddess of wisdom and war), and also takes on the aura of a Hellenistic sculpture. The ghastly deed of decapitation is referred to only symbolically by the background presence of the decapitated body, the severed head, and the grimace on the face of the maidservant.

As every symbol has both a positive and a negative side, it should be noted that the inclusion of the maid may also be read and in fact is used in later Western art as a sign of the lasciviousness of Judith, who comes to Holofernes' tent with her own procuress. The inversion of this motif of virtuous female decapitator versus dishonorable male victim is found in the biblical story of Salome and John the Baptist. In this scriptural account of martyrdom, the beautiful young daughter of Herodias dances to please the king at his birthday banquet and is rewarded with whatever she wishes up to half of his kingdom. At her mother's request, the daughter asks for the head of the saintly Baptist on a platter. Again the fundamental relationship of these varied stories of beheadings/decapitations as premised upon primal understandings of the headhunt as a rite of passage into adulthood or marriage, and of the symbolism of the head as the site of generative powers, wisdom, and the soul, becomes apparent as the young daughter dances (another symbolic rite for sexual initiation) and receives the head of a man on a platter, as in the panel representing the beheading of St. John the Baptist from Rogier van der Weyden's *St. John the Baptist Altarpiece*. In this variant, however, the young woman is not the actual executioner, but the vehicle by which the decapitation occurs. In Christian art, Salome becomes symbolic of both uncontrollable female lust and of woman's evil nature, which seeks to destroy man. The symbolic inversion of the Judith-Holofernes story into that of Salome and John the Baptist leads to a conflation of these two female decapitators into one model for the femme fatale in Western iconography, as in Gustav Klimt's *Judith II/Salome*.

The motif of the severed head develops into a series of important variants of the theme of beheading/decapitation in Western art. The first variant is the use of the enemy's severed head as trophy. The primary example of this variant is the severed head of Medusa, which is employed initially by Perseus and later by Athena as both a trophy of victory and as a deterrent to attack. The severed heads of Goliath and Holofernes are similarly used by the Hebrews to ward off further attack (invasion). The inversion of this variant that is the display of the severed head of a good and just person is suggested by the acheiropaic images of Jesus Christ, especially the Veil of Veronica and the Mandyion of Edessa, which are displayed both as trophies of his victory over death and as healing/curative images. The Mandyion of Edessa continues the initial motif as it was reputedly employed by the citizens of Edessa, Greece, and later Constantinople to ward off invaders.

The second variant of the motif of the severed head is that originated with the oracular head of Orpheus, which became a source of prophecy and wisdom once it was situated in a cave at Antissa. In a similar manner, images of the severed heads of Christian saints, most prominently St. John the Baptist and St. Denis, become symbols of wisdom and prophecy and also are reputed to heal illnesses, hopeless diseases, and injuries. The third variant of this motif is the iconography of Adam's skull in depictions of the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ as a sign of the transitory nature of human existence (and by implication, of the human body). This variant eventually becomes commonly recognized as a sign of penance, meditation, and the transitory nature of life in Renaissance and Baroque art and literature.

See also Death; Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale; Hanging; Martyrdom

Selected Works of Art

Male Decapitator with Female Head

- Perseus Beheading Medusa*, Boetian terra-cotta amphora, early seventh century B.C., Paris, Louvre
- Headless Mandragora*, manuscript illustration, from *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, by Honorius of Autun, 1301, Sankt Florian, Germany, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift St. Florian Monastery (Ms. Codex XI.80)
- Sacrifice of Jephthah's Daughter*, manuscript illumination, from *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Ms.lat. 512, fol. 7r)
- Peruzzi, Baldassare, *Perseus and Medusa*, ceiling fresco, circa 1511, Rome, Villa Farnesina, Sala di Galatea
- Cellini, Benvenuto, *Perseus*, bronze sculpture, 1545, Florence, Italy, Loggia dei Lanzi
- Canova, Antonio, *Perseus Carrying the Head of Medusa*, Carrara marble, 1804–1808, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Delaroche, Paul, *The Execution of the Lady Jane Grey*, oil on canvas, 1834, London, National Gallery
- Herdman, Robert, *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots*, 1867, Glasgow, Scotland, Glasgow City Art Gallery and Museum
- Burne-Jones, Edward Coley, *The Escape of Perseus*, from *Perseus* series, 1876–1888, Stuttgart, Germany, Staatsgalerie

Male Decapitator with Male Head

- Hector and Achilles Fighting Over the Body of Troilus*, Attic terra-cotta amphora, circa 570–560 B.C., Munich, Germany, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek
- Kleitias Painter and Ergotimos Potter, *Achilles' Ambush of Troilus*, terra-cotta volute krater, circa 560 B.C., Florence, Italy, Museo Archeologico
- Gawain and the Green Knight*, manuscript illumination, circa 1390–1400, London, British Museum (Cotton Nero A.X. fol. 94v)
- Donatello, *David*, marble, 1408–1409, Florence, Italy, Museo Nazionale, Bargello
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- Michelangelo, *David*, marble, 1501–1504, Florence, Italy, Accademia
- Caravaggio, *David with the Head of Goliath*, oil on canvas, circa 1603–1604, Madrid, Prado
- Caravaggio, *David with the Head of Goliath*, oil on wood, early seventeenth century, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

- Caravaggio, *David with the Head of Goliath*, oil on canvas, circa 1605–1606, Rome, Borghese Gallery
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- Reni, Guido, *David with the Head of Goliath*, oil on canvas, circa 1605–1606, Paris, Louvre
- Gentileschi, Orazio, *David in Contemplation After the Defeat of Goliath*, oil on canvas, circa 1607–1608, Rome, Galleria Spada
- Bernini, Gianlorenzo, *David*, marble, 1623, Rome, Borghese Gallery
- Delaroche, Paul, *Cromwell Gazing at the Body of Charles I*, 1931, Nîmes, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Male Decapitator with Animal Head

- Herakles Slaying the Lernean Hydra*, middle Corinthian terra-cotta skyphos, circa 580 B.C., Paris, Louvre
- Saint Michael and His Angels Defeat the Seven-Headed Dragon*, illuminated manuscript, from *Apocalypse*, circa 1250, Los Angeles, California, J. Paul Getty Museum
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- Raphael, *Saint George and the Dragon*, oil on wood, circa 1506, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *The Wedding of Saint George and the Princess Sabra*, watercolor, 1857, London, Tate Gallery

Female Decapitator with Male Head

- Judith Slaying Holofernes*, manuscript illumination from *Bible of Charles the Bald*, circa 870, Rome, San Paolo Fuori le Mura
- Dance of Salome*, mosaic, 1342–1554, Venice, Baptistry, Basilica of St. Mark
- Judith and Holofernes*, manuscript illumination from *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (lat. 512, fol. 31v)
- Weyden, Rogier van der, *Beheading of Saint John the Baptist*, oil on panel, from *Saint John Altarpiece*, fifteenth century, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie
- Donatello, *Feast of Herod*, gilded bronze panel on Baptismal font, circa 1425, Siena, Italy, Cathedral
- Donatello, *Judith and Holofernes*, bronze, circa 1455–1460, Florence, Italy, Palazzo Vecchio
- Botticelli, *Judith's Return to Bethulia*, oil on wood, circa 1470, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
- Mantegna, *Judith and Holofernes*, oil on wood, circa 1495, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Giorgione, *Judith*, oil on canvas, circa 1500–1504, St. Petersburg, Russia, State Hermitage Museum
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- Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *Salome*, oil on panel, 1509–1510, Lisbon, Portugal, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga

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Master of St. Veronica, *Saint Veronica with the Sudarium*, oil on wood, early fifteenth century, London, National Gallery

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BETRAYAL

Gina Strumwasser

The following iconographic narratives are included in the discussion of the theme Betrayal:

ADAM AND EVE

LOT AND HIS DAUGHTERS

STORY OF JACOB

JUDAH AND TAMAR

JOSEPH AND THE WIFE OF
POTIPHAR

JAEL

SAMSON AND DELILAH

BATHSHEBA

SUSANNA

JUDITH

PACT OF JUDAS

LAST SUPPER

DENIAL OF ST. PETER

KISS OF JUDAS

ST. BARBARA

ST. LUCY

SCHOOLMASTER OF FALERII

PHOCION

LUCRETIA

DIDO

MEDEA

VENUS AND CUPID

THE DOCTOR'S VISIT



Peter Paul Rubens, *Samson and Delilah*, 1609–1610, painting, London, National Gallery.
(Courtesy of the National Gallery, London)

Commonly considered synonymous with infidelity, betrayal is related to dishonesty and deceit and is consequently connected to secular love and loyalty to one's country. Some acts of betrayal are accomplished with evil intent, and others, even though the results are as disastrous, occur through the good intent of the betrayer. When understood as a source of revenge for wrongdoing, betrayal is perceived as a stimulus for further activity and sometimes tragic action injuring or mortally wounding the parties involved. Betrayal is linked to passion and sexuality and is as relevant today in popular novels and in motion pictures as it was in early history. For example, contemporary film has revitalized the Old Testament image of the deceitful female by routinely focusing on women's seductive power over men.

In art, the iconographic term *betrayal* is most commonly associated with the New Testament personage Judas, the betrayer of Jesus Christ. Painterly accounts of other biblical betrayals are conveyed as moral illustration that dictates human behavior, and for this reason the betrayer receives an appropriate reward or punishment. In addition to sacred writing, the theme of betrayal is woven into stories from classical literature and ancient history. Unlike scriptural text, mythological tales of love occasionally introduce the theme of betrayal in a humorous manner.

The primary betrayal of the New Testament is often presented in a narrative series that includes three consequential events: an introduction or Pact of Judas, in which the apostle Judas receives 30 pieces of silver in return for the promise to identify Jesus for the soldiers; the proclamation at the Last Supper, in which Jesus announces his knowledge that he will be betrayed; and the conclusion or Arrest of Christ, also known as the Kiss of Judas, in which Judas identifies Christ for the soldiers with his kiss. These themes of betrayal are portrayed in art from the Middle Ages, particularly in fresco cycles and altarpieces, to the modern time.

The Pact of Judas generally introduces the betrayal of Christ. This is true in fresco programs as well as in panel painting. Giotto proposes the Pact of Judas as a prelude to the Last Supper in the Scrovegni Chapel (Arena Chapel) frescoes in Padua, Italy. On the back of the *Maestà Altarpiece*, preceding the *Betrayal of Christ*, Duccio di Buoninsegna presents this episode in an arched building where Judas receives the 30 silver coins. Following Duccio's interpretation, Barna da Siena paints the *Pact of Judas* as a precursor to the *Betrayal* in San Gimignano. The tranquillity depicted in the *Pact* explodes in the consequent scene in the *Betrayal*. With the soldiers encircling, Judas identifies Christ with a kiss and just below him, advancing on the left, St. Peter cuts off the ear of Malchus, the servant of the high priest. This secondary incident often accompanies the betrayal.

According to the Bible, Christ was betrayed by his disciple Judas Iscariot. The communication of betrayal is popularly expressed by Christ's announcement at the Last Supper, "Verily, one of you will betray me" (Mark 14:18), and conveyed in slightly different accounts in all four gospels (Matthew 26:21-26; Mark 14:18-21; Luke 22:21-23; and John 13:21-30).

Fourteenth-century representations of the Last Supper subtly explain Christ's acknowledgment of betrayal. Giotto painted the scene with the apostles grouped in a circular arrangement around a large rectangular table. Although it is not easily apprehended, Giotto located Christ on the compositional left with St. John reclining on his bosom. One apostle, presumably Judas, dips his hand into the same dish as Christ (Matthew 26:23; Mark 14:20). Affirming the ritual, Judas's role as betrayer is also emphasized. In contrast to the Florentine Giotto, the Sienese painter Duccio rendered Christ as readily identifiable in the center of the table facing the viewer. Characteristically, Duccio concentrated on the signifying details of the eventual sacrifice that includes the paschal lamb and the bread and wine, rather than the historical narrative of the betrayal. Pietro Lorenzetti's fresco in Assisi, Italy, also relies on the mundane elements of the service rather than the biblical assertion of Judas's betrayal. Taddeo Gaddi was unique in sitting Judas on the opposite side of the table from Christ and the remaining apostles. Emphasizing his treacherous role in the history of Christianity, Judas's lone figure would become a model for most fifteenth-century depictions of the Last Supper.

In the early Renaissance, the announcement of betrayal is reinforced by the positioning of Judas. Christ's emphatic declaration of betrayal dominates the Jewish celebration of Passover in Andrea del Castagno's pictured treatment of the Last Supper. Although a quiet and calm occurrence, the isolated image of Judas is rendered alone on the contrary side of the elongated table, signifying his crucial role in bringing Christ's earthly demise to fruition. The dynamic marble patterns of the room reinforce the turbulent nature of Judas's forthcoming betrayal. In anticipation, he seems to contemplate both his reward in silver as well as the dramatic consequence of the insidious transaction. Similar in his composition, Domenico Ghirlandaio places Judas to Christ's left, on the contrasting side of the ceremonial table. In opposition to the benevolent and passive St. John, Judas seems to acquire a more menacing and active role. In fact, Christ speaks directly to Judas, clearly recognizing his earthly betrayer. The temporal beauty of the fruit and fowl behind the disciples appears as a stark contrast to the contemptuous betrayer.

The proclamation of the betrayal of Christ is forever etched in history through Leonardo da Vinci's painterly announce-

ment. As a freethinker, Leonardo was perhaps better able to render the Last Supper objectively, and as a result he produced an image that has become a visual documentation of the occasion rather than a mere artistic representation. For Leonardo, the announcement comes to pass in a large hall because, as required by the Bible, Christ requested a suitable location for the ritual Seder. In the fresco, emphasis is placed on the betrayer, whom Leonardo interprets as the only figure that neglects to react to the words of Christ. Judas is neither surprised nor agitated but sits quietly in the shadow of the apostles Peter and John. He grasps a bag that presumably contains the pieces of silver, an easily recognizable attribute of his betrayal. Although traditionally Judas is presented in profile with an exaggerated Jewish nose, Leonardo chose not to make this distinction and created a universal exemplar rather than a specific man. Observing Western custom, he portrayed each apostle with a unique personality and individual physiognomy, as he depicted the response of the aggravated disciples. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, Judas becomes the paradigm of betrayer and the model of the malevolent Jew.

There are two circumstances of betrayal that are established at the Last Supper. Although St. Peter pledges his loyalty to Christ at the conclusion of the Last Supper, Jesus says: "I tell you this: today, this very night, before the cock crows twice, you yourself will disown me three times" (Mark 14:30–31). By denying Christ, St. Peter also betrays him, but unlike Judas, St. Peter asks to be forgiven. While this second acknowledgment of betrayal is an integral part of Christ's message on the eve of his arrest, it is not as often rendered in art.

Particularly in Italy, the Last Supper is depicted as a historical event with emphasis on the betrayal of Christ. For the northerners, especially in Flanders, it is revealed rather as a solemn ceremony and the foundation for the sacrifice of the Mass. In the *Altarpiece of the Blessed Sacrament* by Dirck Bouts, in Sint Pieters Kerk in Louvain, Belgium, Judas seems to have a less important role than in the narrative rendering. This is equally true of the *Holy Communion of the Apostles* by Joos van Ghent in the Galleria Nazionale delle Marche in Urbino, Italy, in which Christ is presented as the high priest distributing the consecrated host to his devout disciples.

The betrayal of Christ by Judas to the Romans for 30 silver coins occurs after the Agony in the Garden and moments before the Arrest of Christ, who is identified by the Kiss of Judas. The subject is especially popular in the fourteenth century and can be found in fresco and panel painting as well as in illuminated manuscripts. By the fifteenth century and into the High Renaissance, the theme of the betrayal diminishes in depiction. Two of the most important and dramatic scenes were painted by the Gothic innovators Duccio and Giotto, geographically separated and chronologically distanced by less than a decade. Duccio's *Betrayal* is emotionally designed in a friezelike composition on the back of the *Maestà Altarpiece*. Depicted directly below the large *Crucifixion*, the *Betrayal* was planned in three stages that include St. Peter on the left, the Kiss of Judas in the center, and the departure of the apostles on the right. Capturing a moment in time, all events occur simultaneously. The apostles abandon Christ and appear to flee the scene, leaving him isolated and alone with the soldiers of Rome

and Judas, his betrayer. Paralleling Christ's pose, St. Peter takes an active stance rather than echoing Christ's more submissive response to Judas's betrayal. Action is the paramount motif of Duccio's interpretation, which subordinates psychological activity to physical action.

In Giotto's fresco of the *Kiss of Judas* in the Scrovegni Chapel (Arena Chapel), Judas is presented as the focal point of the painting, draped in yellow, with his arms encircling Christ. Associated with medieval depictions of Old Testament personalities, yellow is the color of deceit and treason. During World War II, European Jews were considered betrayers by the Nazis and were forced to wear the identifying yellow Star of David. In addition to color, Giotto employs dramatic gestures, expressions, and narrative details to convey a sense of urgency in the prospective arrest. Central to the account, Christ confronts his accuser, looking directly at Judas as if anticipating the kiss of revelation. This psychological link between Christ and Judas creates an intimacy that reassures the viewer of Christ's foreknowledge of the betrayal, as prescribed at the Last Supper. Giotto's unique frankness and Christ's pervasive calm complement the painterly interpretation, making the scene a precisely human performance, mirroring this most negative of earthly enterprises. A group of men holding triumphant lances heighten the impassioned instant by creating a natural enclosure for the two protagonists. Just behind Christ and to the left of the composition, an angry St. Peter cuts off Malchus's ear.

Dependent upon the iconographic precedent of Duccio, French illuminator Jean Pucelle borrowed dramatic symbols of despair from the Italians. Meant to be closely scrutinized in a much smaller format, the *Kiss of Judas* is accomplished against an ambiguous background. The betrayal is represented as a dominant image on the upper half of a four-inch page from the *Book of Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*. Similar to the earlier paintings by Giotto and Duccio, Christ stands in the physical and psychological center of the composition. Judas identifies Christ by a kiss while another man grabs his clothing. To the right of Christ, Malchus, whose ear is sliced by St. Peter, is reduced to a childlike form seated on the ground. St. Peter's posture imitates Christ as they stand in a traditional Gothic sculptural sway. Roman soldiers emerge on Christ's left, the sinister side, to emphasize their negative role in this drama. The theme of betrayal was a popular addition to the books of hours because it signified the matins, or morning prayer. For this reason, it was included in the hours of the Passion as the first scene followed by other events leading up to the death of Christ.

While Christ's announcement of the betrayal at the Last Supper is more persistently depicted than the Kiss of Judas, perhaps because of the prototypical association with the Mass, the theme is seldom executed by a substantial artist subsequent to Leonardo da Vinci. One notable example was painted by Emil Nolde during the first decade of the twentieth century. In contrast to Leonardo's quiet and solemn occasion, Nolde's *Last Supper* is enticing in approach to color and intense in condensed emotion. The masklike disciples are crowded into the foreground and respond vividly to the words of Christ. A directness and intimacy is established with the viewer, who is forced to become, like Christ, a respondent betrayed. Other twentieth-century versions of the *Betrayal* and the *Last Supper*

by Stanley Spencer emphasize different aspects of the narrative. In the first version of the *Betrayal*, Spencer tries to incorporate all aspects of the narrative: on the right, soldiers roughly grasp Jesus by the arm and the foot; on the left, Peter, brandishing a large knife, pulls at Malchus's ear; in the background, the apostles flee behind a wall, looking backward in fear and guilt; while running through the center of the composition, the naked figure dropping his garment completes the diffuse scene. The naked figure is a usually neglected part of Mark's narrative, "And there followed him a certain young man, having a linen cloth cast about his naked body: and the young men laid hold on him; and he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked" (Mark 15:51–52). Spencer's second version (1923) pays more attention to pattern, detail, and rhythm but loses dramatic intensity. Peter and Malchus become the center and the focus of the composition, while the setting, the back gardens of Spencer's native Cookham, England, overwhelms the action of the narrative.

Betrothed virgin saints were also betrayed by their beloveds once their faith was publicly revealed. Such was the case of St. Lucy who, according to the *Golden Legend*, converted her mother to Christianity by proving her curative powers and persuaded her to donate the family riches to the poor. Learning of this deed, her fiancé became furious and betrayed her as a Christian to the consul Paschasius, saying that she refused to obey the law. In an attempt to punish her, Paschasius tried various tortures, but she could be neither lifted by a thousand men nor burned with pitch, resin, or boiling oil. St. Lucy was at last slain by a sword thrust into her throat. In Domenico Veneziano's *Madonna Enthroned with Saints*, St. Lucy is presented with her eyes on a plate in the company of the Virgin Mary and the Christ Child. It was said that she pulled out her own eyes upon learning that a suitor found them alluring. They were miraculously restored by the Virgin Mary.

Other sacred devotees had similar experiences to St. Lucy that convinced them that a good heavenly life was reward enough for their earthly betrayal and suffering. Upon discovering St. Barbara's conversion to Christianity, her father, Dioscorus, betrayed her to the Romans. He was miraculously hit by lightning after volunteering to decapitate his daughter. In an unusual work by Jan van Eyck, St. Barbara is represented on a single panel without color that is meticulously detailed. The saint is seated before her attribute, a monumental Gothic tower that is displayed in the process of construction. The activities of medieval cathedral fabrication are historically documented and provide an appropriate setting for the young woman. The tower was built by St. Barbara's father to ensure her isolation from male admirers and preclude her falling in love. Although St. Barbara is easy to distinguish in Jan van Eyck's painting, it is difficult to determine whether the panel was meant to be applied with pigment or completed as a finished drawing. The intent of the artist remains somewhat of a mystery.

Often, holy women representing a patron's namesake accompanied biblical scenes on commissioned Flemish altarpieces. In Italy, feminine martyrs were more commonly venerated in fresco cycles illustrating their lives. While these women were esteemed for their piety, they were also understood as models for secular women. Encouraged by masculine taste and

desire, saintly attributes of chastity, obedience, and silence were considered essential for members of the female gender.

Events from the life of Adam and Eve, especially the temptation, illustrate the popularity of the theme of betrayal and its consequences. The serpent betrayed Eve, and Eve betrayed Adam. Adam and Eve betrayed God by eating the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Retribution for their infidelity resulted in serious punishment for all involved. The serpent was meant to go upon its belly, Eve to bear children in pain, Adam to work the land, and all to face death. Adam and Eve experienced banishment from paradise. Their transgression signifies the reason for Christ's incarnation and eventual Passion. Hugo van der Goes makes this point explicit in the *Vienna Diptych*, which treats the temptation and lamentation on two separate panels side by side. In the temptation, Adam and Eve are represented in the middle of a manicured garden of paradise. Eve is generally given greater responsibility for the fall, and her central position in the composition reinforces her role as betrayer. Adam is portrayed to her right, and the upright serpent, in the form of a salamander, is depicted on her left. The Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil behind them creates an umbrellalike frame for the wrongdoers. According to Jewish legend, the serpent who betrayed Eve was punished by the removal of his limbs, and his cries were heard throughout the heavens (Ginzberg, vol. I, p. 78). On the opposite side, Adam stands inertly with his left arm extended, about to receive the fruit that Eve has just plucked from the forbidden tree. Unable to move from a robotlike stance, he is clearly pictured as a victim of Eve's sinfulness. Empowered by her deceptive feminine charm, Eve is understood as an inherently negative ancestor to all women.

Expressed through lofty ideals associated with family or country, but illustrated by mundane or commonplace tales, stories of love in the Old Testament provided the artists with the opportunity to treat themes of betrayal. For example, after the disaster of Sodom and Gomorrah, the daughters of Lot betrayed their father with intent to create offspring and to preserve the human race. Believing that they were the only women left on Earth, they plied their father with wine, seduced him, and eventually produced heirs. In early examples of the theme, such as Lucas van Leyden's *Lot and His Daughters*, in the Louvre, the burning cities of Sodom and Gomorrah are emphasized in the background as a symbol of hell. Although the moral of the story conveys the dangers of incest, the tale was manipulated by masculine artist and patron to accommodate only the daughters' blatant sexuality and deceit. This is true in the titillating *Lot and His Daughters* by Frans Floris, in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, Russia, in which the narrative is reduced to nothing more than the seduction of an old man by a young woman.

Similar in plot to Lot and his daughters, the Old Testament patriarch Judah betrayed Tamar, his daughter-in-law, and was likewise deceived by her. Their progeny became the direct ancestors of Christ. After two childless marriages to Judah's elder sons, Tamar was promised the youngest when he achieved adulthood. According to the Hebrew tradition and in observation of the Levirate law, the widow could produce an offspring of her dead husband through union with his brother. Since

Judah did not live up to his original agreement, Tamar disguised herself as a prostitute and seduced her husband's father. She required a pledge, which Judah presented to her in the form of a staff, ring, and bracelet. In due time, Tamar gave birth to twin sons. The complicated story, like Lot and his daughters, is transformed into a scene of simple deception. Maerten van Heemskerck's *Judah and Tamar* (now destroyed) demonstrates this idea. In the painting, Judah is rendered with his left hand upon the exposed breast of Tamar, while Tamar's leg is draped over his. Despite the voluptuous gestures, Tamar seems emotionally removed from the scene. Rembrandt's drawing (also attributed to Willem Drost) of *Judah and Tamar* takes exception to the more traditional depiction. With a certain implicit tenderness but without explicit sexuality, Rembrandt depends upon illustrative ambiguity to separate his art from other representations. Introduced during the period of the Reformation, Luther employed the theme of Judah and Tamar to remind the worshiper that even Christ had a sinful heritage. But unlike the daughters of Lot, Tamar is remembered by name.

Another lesson of betrayal in the Bible is conveyed through an account of Joseph and the wife of Potiphar. After deceiving their father, Jacob, with their sibling's bloodied coat, Joseph's brothers betrayed him by selling him into slavery for 20 pieces of silver. Sold again in Egypt, Joseph eventually found work in the house of Potiphar, an officer in the pharaoh's army and captain of the guard. Joseph proved to be a loyal servant and trusted member of the household, but the situation changed when he attempted to avoid the lascivious invitation of the wife of Potiphar. It is this narrative passage that is most frequently treated in art. In the painting of *Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar* by Orazio Gentileschi, the theme is displayed in a simple but sumptuous environment. Potiphar's wife is portrayed in a most uncomfortable position, precariously balanced on the bed. As Joseph escapes from the scene of the alleged crime, Potiphar's wife grabs his cloak that she will present to her husband as evidence of the presumed illicit act. Pulling the drapery of the enclosure, Joseph looks backward for a moment before he retreats, seemingly cognizant of her intent. The serious interpretation of the painting and the formal treatment of the story by Orazio contrast with the comedic rendering by Rembrandt van Rijn. In the etching of *Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar* (1634), Rembrandt hinders the viewer from perceiving the more serious concept of betrayal. His unabashedly sexual interpretation of the narrative does, however, emphasize Joseph's virtue and naïveté. Despite the punishment of imprisonment, Joseph eventually succeeds financially and is reunited in Egypt with his father and brothers. Because he resisted temptation, Joseph is considered an image of chastity, and like the Old Testament heroine Susanna, he also symbolizes the innocent victim falsely accused of a crime he did not commit.

Even some of the matriarchs of the Bible were adept at deceiving or betraying their husbands and children. Rebecca preferred that her younger son, Jacob, inherit the spiritual blessing normally reserved for the eldest, Esau. According to the narrative, Rebecca betrays her spouse as well as Esau, robbing him of his birthright. Lorenzo Ghiberti rendered the *Story of Jacob and Esau* in bronze on the east doors of the cathedral baptistery in Florence, Italy. In the upper right corner of

Ghiberti's panel, Rebecca confronts the angel, who suggests that she commit a sacred transgression. In order to trick her husband, she dresses Jacob in animal skins, imitating the hirsute Esau. Her betrayal unfolds in the foreground, where the blessing is bestowed, unknowingly, by Jacob's father, Isaac.

Later in life, Jacob's future father-in-law, Laban, betrays him on his wedding night. Thinking he had received Rachel's hand in marriage, Jacob found Leah, her older sister, in the nuptial bed. He was forced to work another seven years for the privilege of marrying Rachel.

Not such a happy ending for the husband of Bathsheba. Uriah the Hittite was sent into the heat of the battle and slain when King David learned that his adulterous lover, Bathsheba, was with child. Because marriage is a relationship that is dependent upon trust, adultery may be understood as a trust betrayed. Without the foundation of trust, betrayal cannot occur. While the theme of Bathsheba at her bath is a popular one and in fact anticipates her betrayal, it is only Rembrandt's *Bathsheba*, in the Louvre, that emphasizes the difficulty of the decision for the married woman. In the painting, Bathsheba is depicted with her head bent downward, giving the impression of substantial thought. While her intent was to follow the king's summons, she harmed her husband in the process. With or without conscious choice, Bathsheba betrayed her spouse for the king.

One of the most famous treatments of betrayal in the Old Testament is the account of Samson and Delilah. One of the many women of the Old Testament presented as an incarnation of the Eve who caused the fall of man, Delilah was encouraged by the Philistines to find the source of Samson's strength. Unlike Bathsheba, whose intent was not to injure her husband, Delilah betrayed her lover for money. The event is generally represented in art as an excuse to render an erotic, partially clothed or nude image of Delilah. Rarely is the character of Delilah displayed with intellectual or emotional depth. In pictorial depictions, Delilah appears synonymous with a femme fatale, a vacuous image not capable of serious contemplation, but of great seductive power. Peter Paul Rubens interpreted the event in his *Samson and Delilah* as the aftermath of the scene of seduction, with Samson lying on the lap of Delilah and the soldiers waiting at the door to capture their prisoner. Delilah's exposed breasts and Samson's spent body remind the viewer of the event of physical love that preceded the painterly illustration. With the exception of an earlier engraving of *Samson and Delilah* by Lucas van Leyden, the theme is rarely depicted demurely.

The act of betrayal can also be recognized in a more positive light. For example, in order to save her nation, the biblical heroine from the apocryphal Book of Judith betrays the enemy of her people, the Assyrian general Holofernes. Disguising her true intentions, Judith meets Holofernes at the Assyrian encampment and proclaims herself to be a spy who could lead him to victory at the cost of only one life. Holofernes, much enamored with the young widow, trusted her, and believed her tale. The general requested Judith's presence at an intimate feast in his quarters, and when he lay asleep, dead drunk, she took his sword and beheaded him. Because of the sensuous potential of the narrative, Judith is commonly treated as less of

a national heroine than a betrayer of men. In most painterly examples, Judith is pictured at the bloody moment of decapitation looking seductive in demeanor and reluctantly incapable of slaying Holofernes. Artemisia Gentileschi, however, painted one of the most powerful depictions of the story. As a young artist she was personally betrayed and raped by her father's trusted friend and teacher, Agostino Tassi. After spending several months in jail, Tassi was acquitted. By painting the Judith theme, Artemisia Gentileschi may have taken artistic revenge for the unpunished crime. In her *Judith Slaying Holofernes*, in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, the heroine struggles in an attempt to slice through the neck of her adversary. Judith places her right leg on the heavy torso of Holofernes and seems physically and emotionally proficient to achieve her goal. Although the presence of a servant is not mentioned in the apocryphal account, Artemisia exercises pictorial license by including a maidservant assisting Judith with her deadly chore. In an earlier fresco of *Judith* on the Sistine Chapel ceiling, Michelangelo employed the head of Holofernes as a vehicle for self-portrait, and subsequent artists reinforced the tradition. Cristofano Allori used his own facial features for the severed head of Holofernes in *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, in the Pitti Palace in Florence. Perhaps Artemisia painted a self-portrait as Judith and depicted Holofernes as Agostino Tassi. Since the personification of Justice was traditionally depicted as a woman with a sword, the allegory was commonly associated with the image of Judith. The Old Testament heroine may have served as a personal symbol for Artemisia who secured justice for the crime of rape, a vicious betrayal, by painting an acceptable reprisal.

Judith was also represented in the medieval *Speculum humanae salvationis* (as a prototype for the Virgin Mary, who crushed the head of the serpent) with Tomyris, whose soldiers murdered King Cyrus, and Jael, who portrayed herself as a friend of another enemy of the Israelites, Sisera, and then killed him by pounding a nail through his skull. In addition, Jael and Judith are included in prints displaying the power of women. Hans Burgkmair, for example, included Judith, Jael, Esther, three Christian saints (Helen, Bridget, and Elizabeth), and celebrated women from antiquity (Lucretia, Veturia, and Virginia) in the 1519 woodcut series of *Eighteen Worthies*. Accompanied by such distinguished women, Judith's act of betrayal is elevated to a status comparable to that of these other notable heroines. Honored for her courage, Judith is paired as well with David at Hanukkah, when the duo often appear on ritual menorahs.

In ancient history, betrayal was associated with national pride as well as treason. For example, the devout Lucretia was betrayed by Tarquinius, a friend of her husband's who found her celebrated virtue alluring. According to Livy in the *Early History of Rome*, Lucretia refused the advances of this lustful admirer, and, despite her desperate appeal, Tarquinius raped her. In a plight analogous to those of Joseph and Susanna, Lucretia defended her honor but then felt compelled to take her own life. In painterly translations of the literature, Lucretia is usually rendered about to put a knife to her chest. Generally in art, when the story of the rape is illustrated, it is made "heroic" (Wolfthal, p. 39). Lucretia is depicted, particularly in prints,

as a femme fatale rather than a woman honored for her marital fidelity. In a print of *Tarquin and Lucretia* by Heinrich Aldegrever, Lucretia attempts to stop the rape by throwing up one of her arms but in the effort turns toward the viewer. The result is a most lascivious view of her opened body. Pictorial freedom allowed the artist to transform Lucretia, the chaste victim, into the seducer ultimately responsible for the rape. In a similar manner, as inheritor of Eve, Lucretia was to ancient history what Judith was to the Bible. The German painter and engraver Lucas Cranach painted the two heroines as companion pieces.

Another model of treason can be found in the story of Antenor, a Trojan prince who betrayed his country. As a man of peace, Antenor graciously welcomed Menelaus and Odysseus despite their demand for the surrender of Helen. This was regarded as an act of treason by Antenor. Other tales about Antenor convey his kindness to the enemy for sparing his wife, Theano (a sibling of Hecuba and a priestess of Athena), as well as his family and his home.

Nicolas Poussin painted several themes from classical history that depend upon the idea of betrayal and are understood in conjunction with the virtue of national pride. For example, *Camillus and the Schoolmaster of Falerii* represents the story of a teacher who presented his students of noble birth as hostages to the town's enemy, Camillus, general of the Roman forces. Camillus rejects the schoolmaster's offer, and the teacher is finally punished for his immoral deed. In Poussin's painting, Camillus is depicted seated upon a throne. After having ascertained his judgment, he dramatically points to the guilty man. Camillus refuses the schoolmaster, who is seen attacked with dirt thrown by the children and led away by the Roman soldiers. Poussin also illustrated scenes from the end of the life of Phocion, an ancient Greek hero who was executed as a traitor. Because of the presumed treason, his burial was not permitted inside the city of Athens. In one of the most moving paintings, Poussin portrays the widow of Phocion collecting her husband's ashes. She is rendered in the foreground against an idealized pastoral landscape inspired by the work of Annibale Carracci and perhaps Domenichino. The theme of national betrayal appears insignificant in comparison to the personal anguish experienced by the loyal wife who gathers the earthly remains of her husband.

Sometimes the stories of betrayal from classical mythology are more humorously told. Although the actions of the gods and goddesses were meant to echo elevated human behavior, little was done to manifest propriety. Psyche betrayed Cupid when she could wait no longer to identify her lover. Vulcan was betrayed by his spouse, Venus, the goddess of love. Although she is the only goddess who was given any sexual freedom in ancient literature, Venus was shamed by her husband when he caught her making love with Mars. The exploits of Jupiter, the king of the gods, continued to anger his betrayed queen, Juno. Poor Juno was forever punishing the mortal women with whom her husband became involved (frequently to the point of rape), instead of the culprit himself. Later writers such as Ovid softened the impact of rape by condoning it in terms of "love." This disguise or deception must also be considered a component of the term betrayal. In other stories, betrayal proved to

have correspondingly tragic consequences. Saddened by the sudden and unexpected departure of Aeneas, Dido sacrificed her life for a love betrayed that she could not live without.

Unlike Dido, Medea sought revenge for Jason's betrayal, and their story elucidates the concept of disloyalty. According to the myth, Jason meets Medea, the daughter of the king of Colchis, during his attempt to procure the Golden Fleece. In a plot to ensure Jason's success, Cupid sends an arrow that penetrates the heart of Medea, and she falls in love with the leader of the Argonauts. Medea, known for her sorcery, assists Jason in his pursuit by lulling the guardian serpent that protects the Golden Fleece. Jason promises to marry her, and eventually the two return safely to Greece. After sons are born to them, Jason chooses to wed the daughter of the king of Corinth. Medea is exiled from Greece but not before she plans to revenge Jason's ingratitude by killing their two sons and his new wife. The story of Jason and Medea is commonly illustrated in ancient Greek painting. For example, representing the tragic account of the legend by Euripides, the conclusive moment of the narrative is depicted on a fourth-century hydria. Jason is portrayed with sword in hand, attempting to protect his sons from their mother, but Medea has already slain her children and departs the violent scene in a serpent-driven chariot. Jason blames Medea for his personal tragedy, never acknowledging his own role in the treachery.

Seventeenth-century Dutch images of lovesick maidens appear to be riddled with deceit. The women in the paintings suffer from pregnancy or lovesickness (although it has been suggested more recently that they suffer instead from being "love starved," Dixon, p. 32), a disease that afflicts only the feminine gender. In the painting by Jan Steen entitled *The Doctor's Visit*, the charlatan physician takes the pulse of an obviously young and unhappy woman while an older and perhaps wiser one witnesses the examination. Apparently engaged in mischievous activity, a little boy in the foreground plays with arrows. A painting of Venus and Adonis exhibited on the wall reinforces an explicit connection between the child and Cupid. Furthermore, the medieval attribute of lust, a dog, is quietly depicted lying on a pillow near the young woman's chair. Invested in the painting humorously, these symbols are imbued with the idea of love. Conspicuously and consistently missing, however, is a masculine lover or husband. Have these women, "sick in love," been betrayed by a man?

With the exception of the Last Supper and the Kiss of Judas, the painterly rendering of betrayal is repeatedly manifested in Old Testament narrative. The earthiness of these stories portray life and death, love and hate, youth and old age. For Jacob, betrayal resulted in an undeserved punishment. Lot's daughters and Tamar engaged in the act of betrayal in order to ensure the survival of their race. Judith saved her nation by betraying the enemy of her people. The married mother of King Solomon, Bathsheba, was convinced by a king to betray her husband. Delilah betrayed Samson, her paramour, for money. Today, the popular image of betrayal is demonstrated in the ubiquitous soap opera. Appearing as a form of regression from Old Testament tales of love and lust but without the biblically required moral lessons, modern-day television drama reinforces the survival of this iconographic theme.

The concept of betrayal also provided the artist with the opportunity to experiment with exaggerated emotion. Because the act of betrayal is commonly dependent upon passion in the form of power, money, or love, it requires a dramatic response. This is especially true in pictorial depiction in which spent passion is illustrated as a prelude to deceptive love. Often maximized by the artist, perhaps at the request of the male patron, these themes appealed to their masculine taste. In fact, the favored stories painted in the guise of betrayal can be explained by the attraction of sexually explicit scenes. Worthy women from the Bible, mythology, and history are characterized as prototypes of the femme fatale, capable of undoing even the strongest men with a charm uniquely feminine.

In the most extreme circumstance, betrayal resulted in death. The virgin saints, for example, who were betrayed by loving family or trusted friends, died for their faith in God. Virtuous heroines sacrificed their own lives for a love betrayed. Others unjustly accused of disloyalty accepted death courageously as a symbol of individual honor or national pride. Ultimately, personal betrayal by a treasonous disciple of Christ changed the course of history and art.

See also Adultery; Calumny; Penitence/Repentance; Temptation

Selected Works of Art

Adam and Eve

Original Sin, sculpture, thirteenth century, Reims, France, Cathedral

Annunciation with the Fall of Eve and Gideon's Fleece, woodcut from *Biblia Pauperum*

Goes, Hugo van der, *Vienna Diptych (Temptation and Lamentation)*, 1467–1468, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Uccello, Paolo, *Adam and Eve*, early 1430s, Florence, Italy, Santa Maria Novella, Chiostro Verde

Gossaert, Jan, *Adam and Eve*, drawing, circa 1500, Providence, Rhode Island School of Design

Baldung, Hans, *Adam and Eve*, woodcut

Hering, Loy, *Adam and Eve*, sculpture, early sixteenth century, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Klinger, Max, *Eve and the Future: The Serpent*, circa 1880, New York, Carus Gallery

Beckmann, Max, *Adam and Eve*, 1917, private collection

Chagall, Marc, *Adam and Eve in Paradise*, 1930–1935, Nice, France, Musée National Message Biblique Marc Chagall

Lot and His Daughters

Leyden, Lucas van, *Lot and His Daughters*, circa 1509, Paris, Louvre

Floris, Frans, *Lot and His Daughters*, 1550s, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Floris, Frans, *Lot and His Daughters*, 1550s, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage
 Gentileschi, Artemisia, *Lot and His Daughters*, 1640s, Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art
 Chagall, Marc, *Daughters of Lot*, 1930–1935, Nice, France, Musée National Message Biblique Marc Chagall

Story of Jacob

Ghiberti, Lorenzo, *Jacob and Esau Panel*, sculpture, circa 1435, Florence, Italy, Baptistry, East doors
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jacob Being Shown Joseph's Coat*, drawing, circa 1560s, Berlin-Dahlem, Kupfestichkabinett, Staatliche Museen
 Flinck, Govaert, *Isaac Blessing Jacob*, drawing, 1650s, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Museum Boymans-Van Beunigen
 Velázquez, Diego, *Jacob Being Shown Joseph's Coat*, before 1660, Sierra Guadarrama, Spain, El Escorial, Nuevos Museos
 Strozzi, Bernardo, *Isaac Blessing Jacob*, seventeenth century, Pisa, Italy, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo
 Backer, Jacob, *Jacob, Rachel and Leah*, drawing, early seventeenth century, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Museums Boymans-Van Beunigen
 Chagall, Marc, *Jacob Crying Over Joseph's Coat*, 1630–1635, Nice, France
 Ferrari, Giovanni Andrea, *Joseph's Brothers Bring His Bloody Coat to Jacob*, before 1669, El Paso, Texas, Art Museum
 Overbeck, Johann Friedrich, *Sale of Joseph to the Ishmaelites*, fresco, 1816, Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Judah and Tamar

Heemskerck, Maerten van, *Judah and Tamar*, before 1574, destroyed
 Muller, Herman Jansz., *Judah and Tamar*, engraving
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Judah and Tamar*, drawing, 1640s, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Museum Boymans-Van Beunigen

Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar

Joseph and Potiphar's Wife, illuminated manuscript, *Queen Mary's Psalter*, 1310–1320, London, British Library (MS Royal 2.B, VII, fol. 16)
 Rossi, Properzia de', *Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar*, sculpture, early sixteenth century, Bologna, Italy, St. Petronio
 Gentileschi, Orazio, *Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar*, circa 1625, East Molesey, Surrey, Hampton Court Palace
 Lanfranco, Giovanni, *Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar*, seventeenth century, Rome, Borghese Gallery
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar*, etching, 1634
 Chagall, Marc, *Joseph and the Wife of Potiphar*, 1930–1935, Nice, France, Musée National Message Biblique Marc Chagall

Jael

Burgkmair, Hans, *Judith, Jael and Esther*, woodcut series, *Eighteen Worthies*, before 1531
 Grammatica, Antiveduto, *Jael*, before 1626, Rome, Pallavicini Collection

Samson and Delilah

The Story of Samson, illuminated manuscript, *The Old Testament Picture Book*, thirteenth century, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (MS 638, fol. 15)
 Leyden, Lucas van, *Samson and Delilah*, woodcut, before 1533
 Peter Paul Rubens, *Samson and Delilah*, 1609–1610, painting, London, National Gallery
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Samson and Delilah*, 1628, Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Bathsheba

Memling, Hans, *Bathsheba*, circa 1485, Stuttgart, Germany, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart
 Burgkmair, Hans the Elder, *Bathsheba at Her Bath*, woodcut, before 1531
 Massys, Jan, *Bathsheba Bathing*, before 1575, Paris, Louvre
 Gentileschi, Artemisia, *David and Bathsheba*, early 1640s, Columbus, Ohio, Museum of Art
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Bathsheba*, 1654, Paris, Louvre

Susanna

Massys, Jan, *Susanna and the Elders*, before 1575, Brussels, Belgium, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique
 Gentileschi, Artemisia, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1610, Pommersfelden, Germany, Schloss Weissenstein
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1647, Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Judith

Donatello, *Judith Slaying Holofernes*, sculpture, 1455–1457, Florence, Italy, Palazzo Vecchio
 Michelangelo, *Judith*, 1503–1508, Rome, Sistine Chapel
 Meit, Conrad, *Judith*, sculpture, 1515, Munich, Germany, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum
 Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, 1530s, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Massys, Jan, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, before 1575, Antwerp, Belgium, Koninklijk voor Schone Kunsten
 Gentileschi, Artemisia, *Judith Slaying Holofernes*, 1620, Florence, Uffizi Gallery
 Allori, Cristofano, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, 1630s, Florence, Italy, Galleria de' Arte Moderna di Palazzo Pitti
 Klimt, Gustav, *Judith and Holofernes I*, 1901, Vienna, Austria, Österreichische Galerie

Pact of Judas

Barna da Siena, *Pact of Judas*, fresco, 1350s, San Gimignano, Collegiate Church

Last Supper

- Lorenzetti, Pietro, *Last Supper*, fresco, circa 1320s–1330s, Assisi, Italy, Lower Church of San Francesco
- Siena, Barna da, *Betrayal*, fresco, 1350s, San Gimignano, Collegiate Church
- Gaddi, Taddeo, *Last Supper*, fresco, *The Tree of Life*, circa 1355–1360, Florence, Italy, Santa Croce, Refectory
- Last Supper*, woodcut, *Speculum Humanae Salvationis*
- Castagno, Andrea del, *Last Supper*, fresco, 1447, Florence, Italy, Sant' Appollonia, Cenacolo
- Ghirlandaio, Domenico del, *Last Supper*, fresco, 1480, Florence, Italy, Ognissanti, Refectory
- Leonardo da Vinci, *The Last Supper*, 1495–1497, Milan, Italy, Santa Maria delle Grazie
- Coecke van Aelst, Pieter, *Last Supper*, 1531, Brussels, Belgium, Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts
- Schidone, Bartolomeo, *Last Supper*, Parma, Italy, Pinacoteca Nazionale
- Nolde, Emil, *Last Supper*, 1909, Copenhagen, Denmark, Statens Museum for Kunst
- Spencer, Stanley, *The Last Supper*, 1920, Cookham, England, Stanley Spencer Gallery

Denial of St. Peter

- Saraceni, Pensionante del, *The Denial of Saint Peter*, early seventeenth century, Douai, France, Musée de la Chartreuse
- Rembrandt van Rijn, *Denial of Saint Peter*, 1660, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Kiss of Judas

- Pucelle, Jean, *Kiss of Judas*, manuscript, circa 1325–1328, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cloisters Collection
- Giotto, *Kiss of Judas*, circa 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
- Duccio, di Buoninsegna, *Betrayal*, panel, *Maestà Altarpiece*, circa 1308–1311, Siena, Italy, Museo dell' Opera del Duomo
- Rembrandt, School of, *Kiss of Judas*, drawing, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Museum Boymans-Van Beunigen
- Spencer, Stanley, *The Betrayal* (first version), oil on canvas, 1914, private collection
- Spencer, Stanley, *The Betrayal* (second version), oil on canvas, 1923, Belfast, Northern Ireland, Ulster Museum

St. Barbara

- Saint Barbara*, illuminated manuscript, *A Book of Hours*, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery (MS 170, fol. 172v)
- Christus, Petrus, *Madonna with a Carthusian Monk and Saint Barbara*, mid-fifteenth century, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie
- Van Eyck, Jan, *Saint Barbara*, before 1441, Antwerp, Belgium, Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten
- Schongauer, Martin, *Saint Barbara*, engraving, before 1491

Master of the Barbara Legend, *The Baptism of Barbara by John the Baptist*, before 1500, Brussels, Belgium, Koninklijke Museum Voor Schone Kunsten

St. Lucy

- Lorenzetti, Pietro, *Saint Lucy*, circa 1332, Florence, Italy, Santa Lucia Frole Rovinante
- Veneziano, Domenico, *Saint Lucy Altarpiece*, circa 1445, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
- Caravaggio, *Burial of Saint Lucy*, circa 1608, Syracuse, Italy, Santa Lucia
- Zurburán, Francisco, *Saint Lucy*, 1636, Chartres, France, Musée
- Cossa, Francesco del, *St. Lucy*, before 1777, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Schoolmaster of Falerii

- Poussin, Nicolas, *Camillus and the Schoolmaster of Falerii*, 1637, Paris, Louvre
- Poussin, Nicolas, *Camillus and the Schoolmaster of Falerii*, drawing, 1640s, London, British Museum
- Poussin, Nicolas, *Camillus and the Schoolmaster of Falerii*, 1640s, Paris, private collection

Phocion

- Poussin, Nicolas, *Landscape with the Funeral of Phocion*, 1648, Oakly Park, Shropshire, England, collection of the Earl of Plymouth
- Poussin, Nicolas, *Landscape with the Funeral of Phocion*, Paris, Louvre
- Poussin, Nicolas, *Landscape with the Ashes of Phocion Collected by His Widow*, 1648, Lancashire, England, Knowsley Hall, collection of the Earl of Derby

Lucretia

- Botticelli, *The Tragedy of Lucretia*, before 1510, Boston, Massachusetts, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum
- Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *Lucretia*, 1533, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
- Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *Lucretia and Judith*, before 1553, destroyed
- Aldegrever, Heinrich, *Tarquin and Lucretia*, engraving, before 1560, Munich, Germany, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung
- Meit, Conrad, *Lucretia*, sculpture, early 1500s, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
- Reni, Guido, *Lucretia*, before 1642, Potsdam, Germany, Neues Palais
- Scorel, Jan van, *Lucretia*, version of *Portrait of a Man*, before 1562, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
- Titian, *Tarquin and Lucretia*, circa 1571, Cambridge, England, Fitzwilliam Museum

Dido

- Raimondi, Marcantonio, *Dido*, engraving, before 1534

Medea

- Medea, Apulian volute krater, vase painting, mid-fourth century B.C., Munich, Germany, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek
 Policoro Painter, *Medea*, vase painting, fourth century B.C., Policoro, Italy, Museo Nazionale della Siritide

Venus and Cupid

- Reverdy, Georges, *Mars and Venus Surprised by Vulcan*, engraving, before 1570
 LeLorrain, Claude, *Landscape with Psyche Outside the Palace of Cupid*, oil on canvas, 1664, London, National Gallery
 Fragonard, Jean-Honoré, *Psyche Showing Her Sisters Her Gifts from Cupid*, oil on canvas, 1753, London, National Gallery

The Doctor's Visit

- Mieris, Frans van, the Elder, *The Doctor's Visit*, 1657, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Dou, Gerrit, *The Doctor's Visit*, 1663, Paris, Louvre
 Steen, Jan, *The Doctor's Visit*, 1665, London, Wellington Museum
 Metsu, Gabriel, *The Doctor's Visit*, before 1667, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage
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BIRTH/CHILDBIRTH

Beth S. Gersh-Nešić

The following motifs and iconographic narratives are included in the discussion of the theme Birth/Childbirth:

BIRTHS OF GODS AND
GODDESSES

MORTAL BIRTHS

POSTPARTUM SCENES

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

BIRTH OF CHRIST

BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN MARY

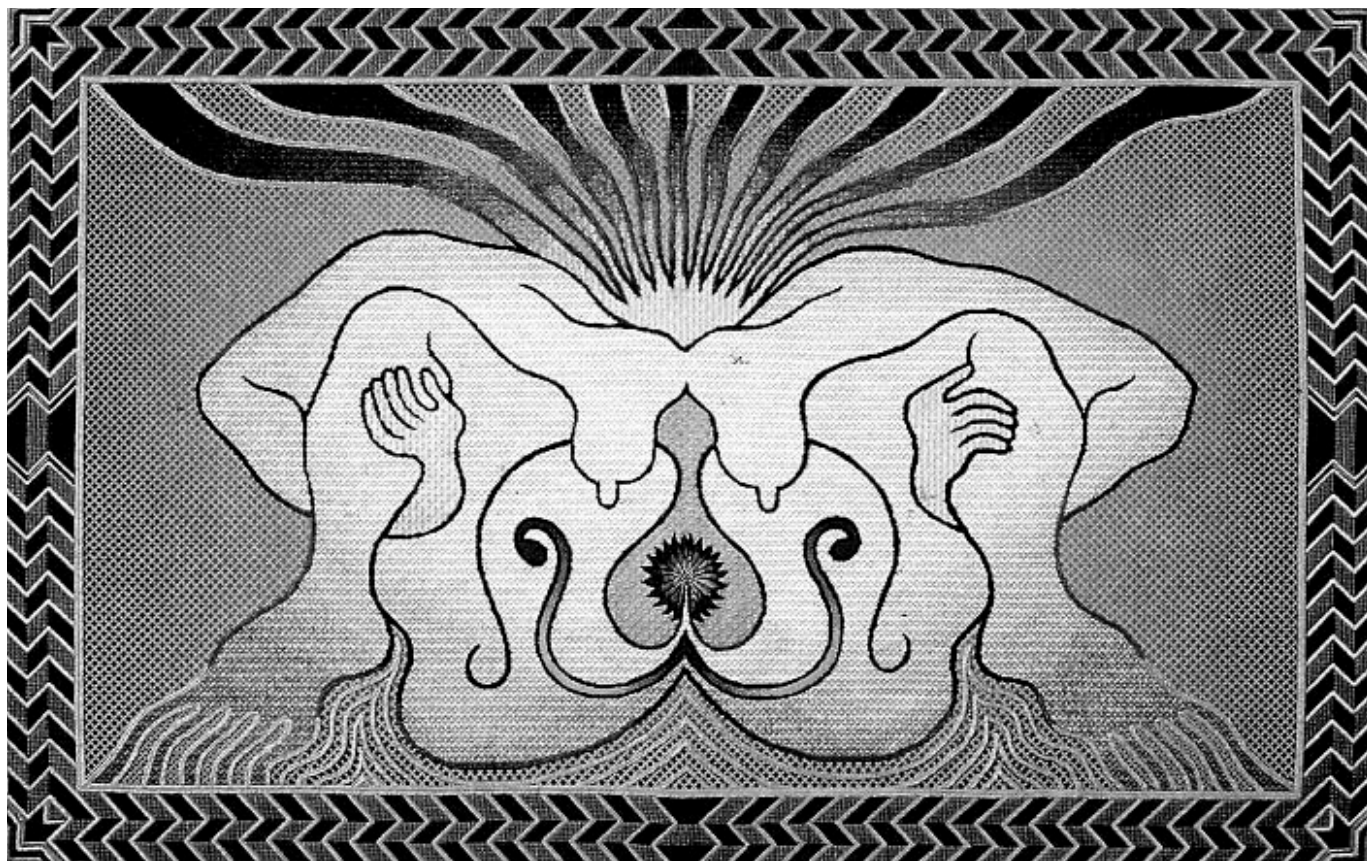
ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

BUDDHA

CESAREAN BIRTHS

BIRTH IN LEGENDS

TWENTIETH-CENTURY
INTERPRETATIONS OF
BIRTH



The Crowning: Needlepoint 5, from *The Birth Project*, 1984, needlepoint over painted canvas, needlework by Lo Biondo family. (Copyright, Judy Chicago; photograph by Michele Maier; courtesy of Judy Chicago)

Depictions of birth and childbirth may symbolize fertility or herald a new beginning. They may also be illustrations of contemporary birthing techniques, postpartum rituals, or unusual circumstances surrounding a particular birth. In this essay the subject of childbirth in art is divided into the following categories: birth among gods and goddesses, mortal births, postpartum scenes, multiple births, sacred births, cesarean births, births in legends, and contemporary interpretations of birth.

Birth Among Gods and Goddesses

One of the earliest known depictions of childbirth comes from the Dordogne region of France. It is a Paleolithic stone relief (circa 32,000–15,000 B.C.) found in Laussel. In this picture of a birth in progress, the mother squats as the child's head emerges. Holding the child's torso to help it out of the birth canal, the mother's arms form a circle around her body, the head of the child symmetrically opposite the mother's. This illustration of childbirth seems to represent birth, fertility, or a cosmological narrative. Another possibility may be that, as in the case of the hunt, the depiction of an event cast magical powers that would ensure a successful outcome.

In a later work, from the Neolithic period, an eight-inch sculpture (7000–5000 B.C.) from Çatal Hüyük, Turkey, shows a woman sitting on angular stones awaiting the birth of a child. Here, the lone, laboring female depicted in the statuette may relate to the older tradition of pregnant fertility goddesses, such as the Paleolithic *Venus of Willendorf*. The stones upon which the woman sits represent an early kind of birth stool, as we know from this passage in Genesis: "When ye do the office of a midwife to the Hebrew women, ye shall look upon the *obnayim* . . ." *Obnayim* means stones and birth stools (Speert, p. 265). Harold Speert explains in his book on the history of obstetrics and gynecology that "to sit on stones" was synonymous in Egyptian hieroglyphics with "to give birth" (Ibid.). Another Egyptian hieroglyphic that signifies "to give birth" is an illustration of the birth of Ra, the sun god. In a drawing of a lost relief, the goddess Ritho kneels left of center, supported by three midwives behind her, while three midwives in front receive the god-child. A similar composition in reverse was carved on a wall of the first-century B.C. Temple of Esna to illustrate Cleopatra's labor. A Ptolemaic relief (circa A.D. 323–330) from Dendera shows Queen Ahmes giving birth to the sun god, attended on both sides by the goddess Hathor, successor of the king.

In a birth scene carved on the head of a silver brooch found in Luristan, Iran, and dating from the first millennium B.C., a

woman gives birth to her child as animals and rosettes flank the event. The symmetry of the mother's and child's heads is reminiscent of the symmetry of the Laussel wall carving, suggesting that this scene may also be that of a fertility goddess or a cosmological event. The pin may be an amulet to ensure fertility or protect the mother giving birth.

The goddess of childbirth in Aztec culture was Tlazoltéotl, mother of the gods, redeemer of sins, "eater of dirt." She was able to take on the sins of humankind and absolve them, and the priest of her cult could forgive the sins of those who confessed and repented. In an eight-inch statuette, sprinkled with garnets, Tlazoltéotl gives birth to her son Centéotl, the god of maize. In order to give birth anew to Centéotl, a priest put on the skin of a female victim who personified Tlazoltéotl and then acted out the birth process. A statuette illustrates the scene (Disselhoff and Linne, pp. 80–81).

In a painting from Australia, an ancient Aboriginal Earth Mother squats to give birth to a myriad of baby spirits. A mirror image that is symmetrical and flat, the painting illustrates the notion that children come from preexisting spirits or souls. In a detail on a sculpture from Uitsa, Niger, a woman kneels while giving birth to her child. She also supports (with other figures) a large statue of a god. Perhaps the woman functions as a fertility goddess or as a sign for fertility that emanates from the male deity. A wooden sculpture from Bali, Indonesia, shows a seated woman giving birth while her husband, an older child (tweaking her breast), and a *leyek* (a demon who waits to devour the newborn) look on. Here, the work is meant to protect the unborn child.

Common to the aforementioned works was the artists' decisions to illustrate divine births in a manner that imitates human birth. In the Greco-Roman world of gods and mythology, some divine births occur in extraordinary ways to denote the difference between deities and mortals. The birth of Athena, the virgin goddess of wisdom and Zeus's favorite child, took place after Zeus swallowed his pregnant paramour, Metis, fearing that her next child would overthrow him, as prophesied. When Metis's pregnancy was at full term, Zeus gave birth to their daughter, Athena, through his head, which in some versions is chopped open by the god Hephaestus (Carpenter, p. 71). The birth scene has been painted on many vases. Typical of this group are two similar black-figure amphorae (both mid-sixth century B.C.) from the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Massachusetts, and the art collection at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. On each vase, Zeus sits in profile on a throne or birth stool holding a scepter while a miniature, fully clothed adult Athena hops from his head, corresponding to the description found in Homeric hymns. On the Boston vase, the newborn Athena wears her armor and carries her shield and

spear, but on the Yale vase, she appears to be unarmed. On both vases, Athena is greeted by the birth goddess, Eileithyia (standing in front of Zeus), Apollo (playing his kithara), Poseidon, and Ares. More extensive in its audience of gods and goddesses, the birth of Athena that was on the east pediment of the Parthenon in Athens (circa 438–432 B.C.), and now in fragments in the British Museum in London, included the tiny Athena popping out of her father's head, greeted by Helios, Hercules, Hestia, Dione, Aphrodite, Demeter, Kore, and Artemis, among others.

Aphrodite, whose name means “risen from foam,” was the goddess of beauty, sexual vigor, marriage, and prosperity. In Homer's *Iliad*, she was the daughter of Zeus and Dione, but later poems describe how she arose from the Aegean, born from the sperm/foam of Uranus whose castrated genitals had been cast upon the sea by his mutilator and son, Cronus (Saturn). Venus came from Cythera to Cyprus, two islands that are sacred to her (thus she is also known as Cytherea, or the Cyprian). In a sixth-century Greek red-figure pelike, she appears in a mandorla of radiant foam, and on the Greek Ludovisi throne (circa 470–460 B.C.), she clasps the arms of two women who pull her from the depths. It is believed that Venus rising from the sea and wringing her hair derives from a lost painting by Apelles (Hall, p. 320). Titian painted a colossal *Venus Anadyomene* (Venus rising from the sea and wringing her wet hair, circa 1525). A tiny scallop shell floats at her side. In a dreamlike image from 1912, Odilon Redon renders the birth of Venus as an apparition, with the goddess encircled by a mandorla of pastel colors, a more mystical interpretation of the blessed event.

Art historian Ronald Lightbown (pp. 85–90) writes that Sandro Botticelli's celebrated painting *Birth of Venus* (circa 1480) is not about the birth of the goddess but her arrival at Paphos in Cyprus. The standing nude goddess floats on a scallop shell as a winged spring zephyr blows her to shore. Chloris (Flora) wraps around the wind's body, her mouth parted in awe as she looks at the goddess. The Hour of Spring, clothed in white embroidered with spring flowers, stands on the shore, ready to enfold Venus in a cape embroidered with cornflowers and daisies. The myrtle arranged around Spring's neck and the rose upon her girdle are sacred to Venus, the goddess of love and beauty. Gazing ahead, Venus modestly covers her breast and pubis (*Venus pudica*) with her long golden hair, windswept and caught up in a white ribbon. Her face is that of a contemporary patrician lady, her pose is reminiscent of the *Aphrodite* in the Capitoline Museum in Rome (circa 320–280 B.C.). Botticelli may have based his Venus on an antique bas-relief in the Borghese Gallery in Rome and/or the poem *Stanze per la giostra* by Politian (Lightbown, p. 88). Art historian Frederick Hartt interprets the painting as “an allegory of the birth of beauty in the mind of man through the fertilization of matter by divinity” (p. 291).

Dionysus, the god of wine, was the only god conceived by one mortal parent, his mother, Semele, daughter of the Theban king Cadmus, and a god. His father was Zeus, who promised to grant Semele any wish. Her wish was to see Zeus in his full divine glory, which then killed her. At her death, Zeus rescued their unborn child and sewed him into his thigh to hide him

from his jealous wife, Hera. After the birth, Hermes took the newborn to the nymphs of Nysa, the loveliest place on Earth. Brought forth from fire and nursed with water, Dionysus's birth and upbringing resembled the grapes that produce his wine. Several vases show the birth of Dionysus from Zeus's thigh with many gods and goddesses in attendance. One such vase is a fifth-century pelike in the Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg, Russia.

Pollux and Helen were the offspring of Leda, wife of Tyndareus, and Zeus, who came to Leda as a swan. In a copy of Leonardo da Vinci's lost painting *Leda and the Swan* (1506), Leda stands enfolded in the wings of the swan Zeus, modestly casting her eyes down upon two eggs that have hatched the twins Castor and Pollux (the Dioscuri) and the twins Helen and Clytemnestra (the Deianeira). It is noteworthy that Leonardo characterizes Leda as a demure mother, corresponding to the notion that she could be seen as “the female aspect of creation . . . a fertility goddess, Diana of Ephesus . . .” (Clark, p. 186) or the universal mother (Knight, p. 451).

Erichthonius was born from the union of Gaia and Hephaestus, who in an attempt to rape Athena, spilled his semen all over the ground. On a red-figure stamnos from about 500 B.C., Gaia is shown rising from the earth and handing the infant Erichthonius to Athena, as a bearded Hephaestus leans on his staff observing the event. Athena then entrusted the child to the three daughters of Cecrops, presenting him in a basket or coffer that she forbids them to open. Curiosity drove them to open the container, however, and inside they found either a boy with a snake's tail in place of legs or a boy and a snake. In either case, the revelation drove them mad, causing them to jump off the Acropolis to their deaths. Erichthonius became king of Athens.

Mortal Births

In the human world, Greek women needed devices to aide their labor, and the birth stool, in existence since prehistoric time, remained a popular aid for the laboring woman. This information is borne out on a late fifth-century B.C. Greek bas-relief that shows a frontal composition where the mother squats over a stool or chair supported on both sides by two midwives. Below the mother two other midwives respond to the crowning of the child's head by placing a basin on the ground below the gaping vagina.

From first-century B.C. Pompeii, an ivory carving depicts a scene similar to the earlier Greek depiction, with the mother sitting on the stool and the midwife in front of the mother, leaning forward to receive the child's head. The functions of these Greek and Roman reliefs are not known. The birthing chair continued to be a common device in medieval times, evidenced in manuscripts and incunabula on life, medicine, or related subject matter from that period. Two such instances, Jacob Rueff's *De conceptu et generatione hominis* (1580) and Guillaume Alexis's *Passe-temps de tout homme* (1505), show woodcut images of midwives surrounding the woman who labors on the chair next to the conjugal bed. And in Eucharius Rösslin's *Rosengarten* (1513), the mother, supported by one midwife behind, sits daintily upon her chair, barely lifting her gown as

another midwife gropes for the child emerging beneath the mother's clothing.

In a seventeenth-century etching by Abraham Brosse (1633), a noblewoman gives birth atop a table placed in front of a warm, glowing fire. Propped up in a semireclining position, the mother pushes forth her child amid an audience of midwives, women friends, ladies-in-waiting, and her husband. Two centuries later in Japan, a similar position appears in Yoshihiro Mizuhara's atlas *Sanka zushiki* (1837). In this example, a male physician is in the process of delivering the child by discreetly maneuvering his hands under the garments of the mother. By the nineteenth century, male obstetricians were replacing midwives in the urban centers of Western countries. French artist George Lacombe reflects this prevalent situation in *La Naissance de l'Homme* (1892), a panel from a carved wooden bed exhibiting other phases of life (mating, aspiring, and death). Here we see a recumbent mother delivering her child into the hands of a bearded male, while a woman in a nun's habit prays beside the doctor. The style of the work resembles Paul Gauguin's Tahitian period, creating a primitive effect that emphasizes the reference to raw nature.

Postpartum Scenes

Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque depictions of a mother in her bed indicate that the postpartum period has already begun, since the delivery would have occurred on the birth stool. Examples of the postpartum period in secular contexts include a medieval Danish chalk drawing from Ondløse on the island of Zealand (where a devil exchanges the newborn with another, while the mother sleeps in the foreground), a woodcut from Johannes Lichtenberger's *Prognasticatio in Latino* (1488), and a Swabian wood carving by an unknown artist from about 1510. In the Swabian work the midwives prepare a bath for the child, while the mother looks at her astrologer, who sits at the foot of her bed. Three other women stand at the side of her bed presenting food or gifts. This scene resembles contemporary compositions for the birth of the Virgin or the birth of St. John the Baptist and may reflect the influence of such works.

Postpartum scenes were also appropriate for recording royal births. In *The Birth of Henry IV*; *The Birth of the Dauphin Louis XIV of France at Saint German, September 5, 1638*; *The Confinement of the Dauphiness, Anne-Marie-Victoire of Bavaria, at the Birth of the Duke of Bourgogne, Grandson of Louis XIV, August 6, 1682*; and *The Birth of the "King of Rome," Francis Joseph Charles, Son of Napoleon I, March 20, 1811*, relatives and guests greet the mother who convalesces in her luxurious apartment. However, for the births of Marie de' Medici and her son, Louis XIII, Peter Paul Rubens envisions the postpartum period taking place among the gods in a pastoral setting (*Marie de' Medici Cycle*, 1622–1623).

One exceptional postpartum scene was sculpted by Andrea del Verrocchio as part of a tomb monument for the wife of Francesco Tornabuoni. Dated at about 1477, this bas-relief includes more than 18 figures surrounding the dying mother propped up in bed by two midwives, the newborn twins held by two other midwives.

Multiple Births

Verrocchio's memorial sculpture also brings up the matter of multiple births, especially those in mythology and legend, such as Romulus and Remus and Leda's two sets of twins, Helen and Clytemnestra and Castor and Pollux, and the twins in the Bible, Jacob and Esau. Perhaps the extraordinary nature of multiple births seems to presage extraordinary accomplishments or events.

For the birth of twins Jacob and Esau, the thirteenth-century *Sarajevo Haggadah* illustrates an unlikely birth, with Rebecca sitting on a birth stool as a midwife supports the two heads of Jacob and Esau emerging at the same time. Fifteenth-century artist Benozzo Gozzoli chose a later moment, after the birth, when the midwives and Rebecca sit before a basin, drying the twins and preparing the swaddling clothes.

A painting by a Huichol artist (from what is now Mexico) describes the birth of triplets and the birth rituals of Huichol culture. As the mother delivers her children, she squats and holds a rope tied to the testicles of the father, who sits above in the ceiling rafters. As she experiences each contraction, she pulls on the rope, forcing her husband to participate in her pain. Meanwhile, the two midwives stand ready with arms outstretched toward triplets as they emerge one at a time. Perhaps this unusual event prompted this recording, or the painting depicts an episode from a Huichol myth.

The birth of septets from a medieval Spanish legend about Salas (or Lara) appears in Antonio Tempesta's engraving from 1612. In this work seven newborns frolic upon a draped cloth held by the midwives or nursemaids, while a wet nurse with four breasts looks on. The main plot in the legend concerns a family feud that ultimately causes the sons' ambush and death together.

Sacred Births

An extraordinary birth often begins an extraordinary life, but in Christian iconography the birth scenes of Jesus Christ, Mary, and St. John the Baptist and other saints usually mirror contemporary rituals during the postpartum period. That the artists usually confine their depictions to postpartum scenes rather than the moment of birth, unlike the *Sarajevo Haggadah's* miniature of Jacob and Esau issuing forth from Rebecca, may reflect the reverence and awe accorded these extraordinary personages from the New Testament. Another consideration is textual evidence, which often offers more description about the reception of the child than labor and delivery.

In the case of Christ's birth, the Evangelist St. Luke wrote that Joseph and Mary had traveled from Galilee to Bethlehem to return to Joseph's home in time to pay taxes. While in Bethlehem Mary "brought forth her first born son, and wrapped him in swaddling clothes and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn" (Luke 2:6–7). Matthew, however, does not describe the circumstances of the birth, but only the search for the child by the wise men (on behalf of Herod). After following a star, "and when they were come into the house, they saw the young child with Mary his mother, and fell down, and worshipped him" (Matthew 2:11).

Early works depicting the Nativity showed the manger, with Mary and Joseph outside. A fifth-century ivory book cover from northern Italy depicts Mary and Joseph sitting on opposite sides of the manger (like *repoussoir* characters), while an ox and donkey stand over the swaddled infant. The separation of the mother from her child—that is, no holding or touching—becomes standard, and often Mary and the child are represented on different planes (he above, she below), for example, in the Nativities on the throne of Maximian (circa 547), in the mosaic on the northeastern squinch of the Church of the Dormition in Daphni, Greece (circa 1080–1100), on Nicola Pisano's 1260 font in Pisa, Italy, and in Duccio di Buoninsegna's predella of the *Maestà Altarpiece* (1308–1311), where Mary lies below in an L-shape that frames one side of the cradle.

Gentile da Fabriano departs from the composition (circa 1423) on the predella of the Strozzi altarpiece. In the piece, Fabriano places the Christ Child on the ground and the Virgin at his side, kneeling with hands clasped in prayer, while Joseph sleeps by a tree on the other side of the infant, and the animals look on in the background.

The location of the Virgin's postpartum scenes vary. Early Christian Nativities take place in or near a stable (such as in the fifth-century ivory book cover), inspired by the Gospel according to Luke (2:7). However, the first-century apocryphal Protevangelium Book of James (written in the East) and the apocryphal Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew (a Latin translation of the apocryphal Book of James and Gospel According to Thomas, from around the eighth or ninth centuries) describe a cave:

[Joseph] found a cave there and brought [Mary] into it. . . . And behold a bright cloud overshadowing the cave. . . . The cloud withdrew itself out of the cave and a great light appeared in the cave so that our eyes could not endure it. And by little and little that light withdrew itself until the young child appeared: and it went and took the breast of its mother Mary. (Book of James, cited in Hall, p. 219)

And when the blessed Mary entered, the cave lit up with a resplendent glow as of the sixth hour of the day. This divine light did not diminish in splendor all day and night during Mary's sojourn there, and there she brought into the world a male child, who was surrounded from birth by adoring angels who said: "Glory to God on high and peace on earth to men of good will." (Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, cited in Speert, p. 108)

Some early Christian and Byzantine Nativities that drew upon these sources appear in the Church of Dormition in Daphni (mosaic, circa 1080–1100); the Church of the Martyrs in Palermo, Italy (mosaic, twelfth century); Cappella Palatina in Palermo (mid-twelfth century); Kahrie Cami, Church of the Redeemer at the Chora Monastery in Istanbul, Turkey (1310–1320); and Peripleptos Church in Mistra, Greece (fresco, fourteenth century).

Mary was declared a perpetual virgin at the Second Council of Constantinople in 381 and the Council of Chalcedon in 451, where she received the title *aeiparthenos* (ever virgin). In 649, the Lateran Council proclaimed the belief in her perpetual virginity as dogma. How, then, could Mary give birth to Jesus Christ as a virgin? The gospel writers do not say.

In her late fourteenth-century *Revelations*, St. Bridget of Sweden described a vision of the virgin birth of Christ:

When her time came she took off her shoes and her white cloak and undid her veil, letting her golden hair fall on her shoulders. Then she made ready the swaddling clothes which she put down beside her. When all was ready she bent her knees and began to pray. While she was thus praying with hands raised the child was suddenly born, surrounded by a light so bright that it completely eclipsed Joseph's feeble candle. (Hall, p. 220)

Pseudo-Bonaventura (Giovanni de Caulibus), also from the fourteenth century, wrote:

The Virgin arose in the night and leaned against a pillar. Joseph brought into the stable a bundle of hay which he threw down and the Son of God, issuing from his mother's belly without causing her pain, was projected instantly on to the hay at the Virgin's feet. (Hall, p. 220)

Both authors describe a sudden and painless delivery. These sources inspired such Nativities as Lorenzo Monaco's on the predella of the *Coronation of the Virgin* (1414), where the Child lies naked on the bare ground, and da Fabriano's on the Strozzi altarpiece, similar to Monaco's, although it takes place outside a cave, whereas Monaco's takes place outside a stable. During the later part of the fifteenth century, Piero della Francesca and Botticelli continue the St. Bridget description of Mary praying in a stable before her son.

In fifteenth-century Flemish Nativities, Robert Campin and Hugo van der Goes (among others) offered interpretations of St. Bridget's text that were not unlike those of their Italian contemporaries. Campin's Dijon altarpiece from the first quarter of the century shows the Christ Child on the ground, the Virgin praying, Joseph sleeping, the shepherds looking on, and Salome, the midwife, extending her hand, withered after examining Mary because she doubted her virginity. Van der Goes's *Portinari Altarpiece* (1474–1475) depicts both the Virgin and Joseph praying to the Christ Child, who lies naked and glowing on a bed of hay while several angels and shepherds join in prayer. In a slightly different interpretation, Master Francke's *Nativity* on the exterior of the *St. Thomas à Becket Altar* (1424) intimates that the Child descends in a beam of light from God the Father on high, while the Virgin kneels and prays, in keeping with contemporary versions of this episode (Cornell, pp. 8–12).

It is important to note that before St. Bridget's influence, Nativities such as that by Taddeo Gaddi in the early fourteenth century portrayed a more human contact between mother and son—in Gaddi's version the Virgin holds the Christ Child on her lap while she sits on her bed of straw in the stable. St. Bridget's text seems to have introduced a sense of transcendent

holiness that should occasion an extraordinary birth and mother-child relationship.

The birth of the Virgin and the birth of St. John the Baptist take place in domestic interiors, providing a glimpse of typical rituals performed during contemporary postpartum periods. The birth of the Virgin is described in the *Golden Legend* and the apocryphal Book of James, which relates the interchange between Anna and her midwife, who announced that the child is a female, to which Anna responds, "My soul is magnified this day," and lies down (*Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 41). Thus, in most depictions of the Virgin's birth, St. Anne lies recumbent upon her bed after the birth, with some midwives offering her the postpartum meal while other midwives prepare a bath for the infant Mary. Although the birth of the Virgin is rarely portrayed before the fourteenth century, we find an eleventh-century mosaic in the Monastery of Daphni in Attica; a mosaic by Pietro Cavallini (1291) in S. Maria in Trastevere in Rome; a painting by Pietro Lorenzetti (1342) now in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Siena, Italy; a relief by Andrea Orcagna (1350s) on the tabernacle in Or San Michele in Florence, Italy; a fresco by Giovanni da Milano (circa 1360) in the Renuccini Chapel, Church of Santa Croce in Florence; and a painting by Tintoretto (before 1595) in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. We also find Masaccio's interpretation on a *desco da parto* (birth salver) depicting a *Birth Scene* (circa 1427–1428). Although the *desco da parto* was often a platter or bowl made of ceramic and laden with food for the postpartum meal, Masaccio's circular enframed wooden panel seems to imitate the appearance of a birth platter, inspiring subsequent *desco da parto* panels, such as Domenico Veneziano's *Adoration of the Magi* (circa 1435). In Tintoretto's *Birth of the Virgin* and in Andrea del Sarto's *Birth of the Virgin* (1514) in SS. Annunziata in Florence, the interior of the birth chamber is especially sumptuous, as it is in Domenico del Ghirlandaio's *Birth of the Virgin* (1485–1490) in the Cappella Maggiore at Sta. Maria Novella in Florence, expressing the idea that Joachim, the Virgin's father, was very wealthy. In the north, the interaction of mother, midwives, and child remains the same, as in Bartholomäus Zeitblom's late fifteenth-century woodcut set in a modest bed chamber and in an anonymous Antwerp master's painting (circa 1525), set in quite the opposite atmosphere, with minute details of architectural extravagance. Albrecht Altdorfer, however, in the early sixteenth century, placed the birth in a cathedral, beneath a canopy where angels fly above, encircling the piers. Here the artist alludes to the identification of the Virgin with the Church.

The birth of St. John the Baptist is also described in the *Golden Legend*. Like the birth of the Virgin, artists depict Elizabeth in her bed attended by midwives while Mary holds St. John, in accordance with the *Golden Legend* explanation: "she lifted it from the earth with her holy hands, kindly acting as a nursemaid would" (Jacobus de Voragine, p. 330). Paintings by Lorenzo and Giacomo Salimbeni da San Severino in 1416, Jean Fouquet in the mid-fifteenth century, and an unknown late fifteenth-century artist from the Upper Rhine suggest an unpretentious interior. In the latter two versions, the mute Zacharias records the child's name (Elizabeth's choice) to confirm his agreement, and his speech is restored.

In the Buddhist tradition we witness another virgin birth, but in a completely different manner. Maya, the mother of Buddha, delivered her child from her right flank. Therefore, images of the birth of Buddha are more explicit. According to the legend, Maya (the beautiful virgin wife of Suddhodano, a rich, powerful, and wise prince), conceived in a dream, through a large white elephant who pierced her right side. She then delivered the child, Siddhartha, in 544 B.C. through the right flank while standing beneath a flowering tree. A gilded bronze sculpture from Nepal portrays Maya, her body in an S-curve and her face serene, standing beneath the tree while a tiny infant emerges from her side. In an Indian relief from the Gandhara period (second century B.C.–fifth century A.D.), Maya stands beneath a tree with a number of people, perhaps midwives or goddesses. One woman to Maya's immediate right holds the newborn in her arms. In a bronze statue from the Asuka period in Japan, Queen Maya stands alone, without the flowering tree, her right arm raised to accommodate the emergence of the baby Siddhartha from the sleeve of her kimono.

Amina, a daughter of the noble Zuhra family, gave birth to the prophet Muhammad on April 20, 571. Although the conception and birth of Muhammad were not extraordinary, it is believed that many miraculous events occurred on the day of his birth. In a 1594 Turkish copy of the 1368 Turkish manuscript *Siyer-un-Nebi* (*Progress of a Prophet*), a miniature of the postpartum period depicts the veiled Amina seated on the floor to the left of her child, who is enveloped in a mandorla of flames. To the child's right, three angels approach and kneel. The flames relate to an identification of sacred power with heat, burning, or fire (Eliade, p. 147).

Cesarean Birth

The birth of Buddha may also be classified as a cesarean birth, since the child emerges from the torso of the mother, rather than from the vagina. According to the historian of medicine Leo Oppenheim, cesarean sections date back to the second millennium in Mesopotamia. We also know that the ancient Greeks described them in their myths. Asclepius, for example, was extracted from the belly of his dead mother by his father, Apollo, illustrated in a 1549 edition of Alessandro Benedetti's *De re medica* and a 1534 majolica plate from Gubbio, Italy.

Another myth from Persia describes a cesarean section for the arrival of the hero Rustand. Illustrated in Firdawsi's (Abul Kasim's) book *King of Kings* (1010), a physician extracts the child from Queen Rudabe's abdomen. In a sixteenth-century manuscript a midwife receives the baby as it falls headfirst from the incision.

The origin of the term *cesarean section* is not certain. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski in her book on the subject states that the possible sources are many—perhaps from the days of King Numa Pompilius (circa 715 B.C.), when a law was enacted declaring it illegal to bury a dead pregnant woman without attempting to cut out the child. The law became known as the *lex caesarea*. Or the term may come from the Latin word *caedere* (to cut), as mentioned in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* in the first century A.D.

In the antique and medieval periods, it was believed that the child who survived a cesarean birth (performed only when the mother had died) was indeed a fortunate person and extraordinary from the start. Julius Caesar was considered such an extraordinary person, and illustrations of his cesarean birth appear in medieval manuscripts on the history of Rome, most often in copies of *Les Faits des Romains* from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This story is false, because we know that Caesar wrote to his mother during his foreign wars and the possibility that she survived a cesarean section at that time is unlikely.

Cesarean sections performed on unknown mothers are also illustrated in a fourteenth-century French manuscript entitled *Histoire ancienne*, a sixteenth-century Japanese woodcut, and a 1879 book on life in Kahura, Uganda, written by R. W. Felkin. In an Ethiopian manuscript, a cesarean section is performed on a deceased mother by the angels Gabriel and Michael, while a priest blesses the birth to ensure that the dying mother receives the last rites and the newborn is baptized before it too might die.

Beginning in the second half of the fifteenth century in Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Strasbourg, woodcuts depicting the birth of the Antichrist by cesarean section came into vogue. The mother usually appears in a swoon with devils as midwives or a combination of devils and mortal woman in attendance, such as in the woodcut *Entkrüst*, from the Munich Staatsbibliothek in Germany. Two mortal midwives assist in the birth of the Antichrist in *Seelwurzgarten*, in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. The Antichrist is supposed to be a Jew, heretic, or Muslim, whose life is modeled after the life of Christ. The iconography of the birth of the Antichrist comes from many sources, including illustrations in the Apocalypse and such texts as Adso of Montier-en-Der's *Libellus de ortu et de tempore Antichristi* (circa 950), which was absorbed into the spiritual encyclopedia *Elucidarium*, written by Honorius Augustodensis in the early twelfth century (with a German translation written at the end of the twelfth century). A description of the birth of the Antichrist is also in *Scrivias* (1142–1152), written by the German visionary Hildegard von Bingen (Blumenthal-Kosinski, pp. 125–142).

Births in Legends

The birth of Adonis, a mortal beloved by Aphrodite, has been illustrated in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century works of art. According to the story, Adonis's mother, Myrrha, was seduced by her father, Cinyras, who then claimed that she was dishonored and had to die. Aphrodite took pity on Myrrha and turned her into a tree from which Adonis was born. In an engraving by an unknown artist published in the seventeenth-century *Ovidius Hersheppinghe*, by Joost van den Vondel, and in a painting by an unknown artist from the same period, the child emerges from the woman-tree attended by several midwives who wear contemporary dress. In an eighteenth-century aquatint signed by Marcantonio Franceschini, putti, wood nymphs, and fauns celebrate the birth.

Perhaps the most infamous birth in art can be found in the illustrations of the legend of Pope Joan, who apparently deliv-

ered a child during a papal procession. The story of Pope Joan was invented by a French Dominican monk named Étienne de Bourdon in the mid-thirteenth century. According to his tale, Joan was born in Ingelheim or Mainz, Germany, of English parents. She fell in love with a Benedictine monk and disguised herself as a man to be with him. They fled to Athens, studied together, and Joan became a scholar. After her lover's death, Joan went to Rome, became a cardinal, and then Pope John VIII in 855, between Popes Leo IV and Benedict III. John/Joan died in childbirth, and according to Boccaccio in his book *De Claris Mulieribus* (1355–1359), the papal procession continued after the child arrived, but the retinue turned away from the shocking sight where the pope had collapsed. The birth is illustrated in a fifteenth-century French manuscript, a woodcut from Joannes Wolf's *Lectionam memorabilium et reconditurum Centenarii XVI* (1600), and on a plate in the French translation *Histoire de la Papesse Jeanne fidèlement tirée de la dissertation latine de M. de Spanheim* (1736). The legend of Pope Joan was refuted in 1863 with the publication of Joann Dollinger's *Papstfabeln des Mittelalters*.

Contemporary Interpretations of Birth

Frida Kahlo's surreal painting *My Birth* (1932), in which the artist shows a dual portrait of herself as the mother (lying dead with a piece of cloth over her face) and the newborn child (with the face of an adult Frida), demonstrates the modernist shift from mirroring the real world to reflecting the world within the psyche. Here, childbirth symbolizes a personal experience: a sense of change, renewal, or rebirth. The artist gives birth to herself. Kahlo biographer Hayden Herrera stated that the source for this painting is most likely the Aztec goddess of childbirth Tlazoltéotl (see "Birth Among Gods and Goddesses" above). The reference to Tlazoltéotl confirms Kahlo's Mexican identity.

Paul Klee's *L'Accouchement* (1944) also reaches back to older art forms, in this case to prehistoric or primitive statuary. In its flatness and symmetry, this work echoes the birth scenes from Laussel and Luristan, as well as the naïveté of children's drawings, evoking a sense of quiet joy and ritual.

With the advent of feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, women artists created female iconography based on female subject matter to experience a sense of empowerment. Nouveau réaliste Niki de Saint Phalle's *L'Accouchement blanc* (1963) combines a female experience with popular culture's detritus. Made of numerous toys applied to a sculpted female torso giving birth to a doll, this work may be seen as part of Saint Phalle's Nana series, the bloated, pinhead fertility goddesses made of papier-mâché and decorated in flashy colors. *L'Accouchement blanc* is an early monochrome version.

Monica Sjöö also invokes primeval goddess images in her painting *God Giving Birth* (1968). Here, Sjöö demonstrates her interpretation of creation in terms of a matriarchal mythology in order to provide the feminist movement with a historic and spiritual base.

Judy Chicago's series *The Birth Project* (1980–1985) contributes to feminist iconography through its focus on a quintessentially female experience. Inspired by her place setting for

Mary Wollstonecraft in a previous work, *The Dinner Party* (1979), in which she dramatized Wollstonecraft's death in childbirth on an embroidered and appliquéd runner, *The Birth Project* incorporates the many phases and emotions brought about by pregnancy, labor, and delivery, such as *Smocked Figure* (a silhouette of a pregnant woman), *The Crowning* (the first sight of the child's head), *Birth Tear* (the moment of delivery), and *Birth Trinity* (the mother aided by midwives in the spirit of ancient imagery). *The Birth Project* calls attention to creation imagery and creation mythology and, like Sjöo's work, contributes to a matriarchal orientation.

American artist Mary Kelly created a multimedia 165-piece work in six sections entitled *Post-Partum Document* over a six-year period (1973–1979), following the birth of her son in London. It is a diary composed of various baby items (such as a succession of diapers with different stains, bits of a blanket), children's scribbles, mementos (a plaster cast of a hand)—all evidence of the postpartum process shared by mother and child. But Kelly's purpose reaches far beyond the musing of a woman tracing her baby's process. Inspired by Jacques Lacan's theories linking language and sexuality and Michel Foucault's writing on sexuality as a social construct, Kelly described the psychosexual development of the child in society. Her recordings bear witness to the experience of her son's transition from identification with the mother to independence. As her child is male, she perceived that he identified with and assumed his "privileged" status in a patriarchal society. Whereas she, the mother, without a phallus, remained outside of this experience that comes about in a phallogocentric society. She, therefore, as woman, is other.

Kelly's artwork also brings to mind the death of specific maternal functions at various stages in the child's life (weaning, carrying, etc.). Postpartum experiences include several kinds of death, even the death of a woman's identity as she assumes a new role. Birth and death are often invoked as part of each other. Here, we have focused on images of the birth and its aftermath, with an emphasis on different kinds of descriptions—all pointing to the mystery and miraculousness of the process.

Images of birth come from the earliest period of human existence and continue to be part of contemporary culture. They bear witness to an ever-present sense of awe and superstition in the face of this everyday miracle and a need to set down in a permanent form the significance of this ephemeral event.

See also Annunciation; Pregnancy; Virgin/Virginity

Selected Works of Art

Births of Gods and Goddesses

Fertility Goddess, Paleolithic bas-relief, circa 32,000–15,000 B.C., Laussel, Dordogne, France

Fertility Goddess, Neolithic sculpture, circa 7000–5000 B.C., Catal Hüyük, Anatolia, Turkey

Woman Giving Birth with Animals and Rosettes, silver brooch, Luristan, circa 1000 B.C., London, Thames and Hudson Archive

Birth hieroglyph, drawing of lost relief, Egyptian (Speert, p. 97)

Cleopatra Giving Birth, bas-relief, Egyptian, first-century B.C. Temple of Esna, Egypt

Queen Ahmes Giving Birth, bas-relief, Egyptian, circa 323–330, Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Tlazoléotl, sculpture, Aztec, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Research Library

Djang 'Kawa Story, painting, Australian Aborigine, Art Gallery of New South Wales, New Zealand

God Supported by Other Figures, African sculpture, Uitsa, Niger

Mother Giving Birth with Father, Child and Leyek, sculpture, Balinese, Berlin, Museum für Völkerkunde

Birth of Athena, Greek, black-figure amphora, mid-sixth century B.C., Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Birth of Athena, Greek, black-figure amphora, mid-sixth century B.C., New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Art Gallery

Birth of Aphrodite, red-figure pelike, Greek, late sixth century B.C., Archaeological Museum of Thessaloníki, Greece

Birth of Erichthonius, red-figure stamnos, circa 500 B.C., Munich, Germany, Staatliches Antikensammlung

Birth of Dionysus, red-figure pelike, Greek, fifth century B.C., St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage

Phidias, *Birth of Athena*, bas-relief, mid-fifth century B.C., originally on the Parthenon, Athens, now in London, British Museum

Birth of Aphrodite, bas-relief from the Ludovisi Throne, Greek, circa 470 B.C., Rome, Terme Museum

Botticelli, *Birth of Venus*, circa 1480, Florence, Uffizi Gallery
Sesto, Cesare da, copy of Leonardo da Vinci's *Leda and the Swan*, 1506, Wilton House, collection of the Earl of Pembroke

Titian, *Venus Anadyomene*, circa 1525, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland

Cabanel, Alexandre, *Birth of Venus*, 1863, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Redon, Odilon, *Birth of Venus*, 1912, Paris, Stephen Higgons Collection

Mortal Births

Birth Scene, bas-relief, Greek, fifth century B.C. (Speert, p. 83)

Birth Scene, Roman ivory carving, first century B.C., from Pompeii, now in Naples, Italy, Museo Nazionale

Birth Scene, German, 1505, from Jacob Rueff's *De Conceptu et Generatione Hominis*, Frankfurt-Am-Main, Germany

Birth Scene, German, from Eucharius Rösslin's *Rosegarten*, 1513

Bosse, Abraham, *Noblewoman Giving Birth*, 1633, from Volker Lehmann's *Die Geburt in der Kunst*

Birth Scene, Japanese, 1837, from Yoshihiro Mizuhara's atlas *Sanka Zushiki*

Lacombe, Georges, *La Naissance de l'Homme*, wood carving on bed, 1892, Paris, Musée d'Orsay

Postpartum Scenes

Birth Scene, Danish, medieval, chalk drawing from Ondlose, Zealand, now in Copenhagen, Denmark, Nationalmuseum

Death of Rachel, early Christian manuscript illumination, mid-sixth century, Vienna, Austria, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Death of Rachel, German manuscript drawing, fifteenth century, Köthen, Germany, Schlossbibliothek

Verrocchio, Andrea del, *Tomb Sculpture for Giovanni Francesco Tornabuoni's Wife*, marble bas-relief, 1477, originally in the Church of Santa Maria Sopra Minerva, Rome, now in Florence, Italy, Museo Nazionale Bargello

Birth Scene, French-German, 1488, woodcut from Johannes Lichtenberger's *Prognosticatio in Latino*, Strasbourg, France

Cignaroli, Giambettino, *Death of Rachel*, seventeenth century, Venice, Italy, Accademia

Granges, David des, *The Family of Sir Richard Saltonstall*, 1637 or 1639, London, Tate Gallery

The Birth of the Dauphin Louis XIV of France, at Saint-Germain, September 5, 1638, lithograph, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Dury, G., *The Confinement of the Dauphiness, Anne-Marie-Victoire of Bavaria, at the Birth of the Duke of Bourgogne, Grandson of Louis XIV, August 6, 1682*, lithograph, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Death of Rachel, tombstone for Doña Rachel Teicheira de Mattos, circa 1716, Amstel, The Netherlands

Devéria, Eugène, *The Birth of Henry IV, 1553, 1827*, Paris, Bibliothèque de France

Multiple Births

Haggadah, illuminated manuscript, thirteenth century (Speert, p. 390)

Birth of Jacob and Esau, Spanish illuminated manuscript from *Sarajevo Haggadah*, late thirteenth century, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Zemaljsk: Muzej Bosne Hercegovina

Gozzoli, Benozzo, *Birth of Jacob and Esau*, mid-fifteenth century, Pisa, Italy, Campo Santo

Birth Scene, Huichol Indian painting, San Francisco, California, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco

Birth of Christ

Nativity, northern Italian ivory book cover, late fifth century, Milan, Italy, Cathedral Treasure

Nativity, from the throne of Maximian, early Christian ivory, circa 547, Ravenna, Italy, Archepiscopal Museum

Nativity, Byzantine mosaic, circa 1080–1100, Daphni, Greece, Church of the Dormition

Nativity, Italian mosaic, twelfth century, Palermo, Italy, Church of the Martyrs

Nativity, Byzantine mosaic, mid-twelfth century, Palermo, Italy, Capella Palatina

Birth of Christ, Byzantine mosaic, 1210–1220, Istanbul, Turkey, Kahrie Cami, Church of the Redeemer, Chora Monastery

Pisano, Nicola, *Birth of Christ*, bas-relief, 1260, Pisa, Italy, Baptistry

Nativity, Italian fresco, fourteenth century, Mistra, Peripletos Church

Duccio, *Nativity*, predella of the *Maestà Altarpiece*, 1308–1311, Washington, D.C., Gallery of Art

Gaddi, Taddeo, *Nativity*, early fifteenth century, Dijon, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Campin, Robert, *Nativity*, early fifteenth century, Dijon, France, Musée

Monaco, Lorenzo, *Nativity*, panel of *Coronation of the Virgin*, 1414, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Fabrizio, Gentile da, *Nativity*, predella of the *Strozzi Altarpiece*, finished 1423, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Master Francke, *Nativity*, from the St. Thomas à Becket Altar, 1424, Hamburg, Germany, Kunsthalle

Piero della Francesca, *Nativity*, late fifteenth century, London, National Gallery

Goes, Hugo van der, *Nativity*, from the *Portinari Altarpiece*, 1474–1475, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Botticelli, *Mystical Nativity*, 1500, London, National Gallery

Birth of the Virgin Mary

Cavallini, Pietro, *Birth of the Virgin*, mosaic, 1291, Rome, St. Maria in Trastevere

Lorenzetti, Pietro, *Birth of the Virgin*, 1342, Siena, Italy, Museo dell'opera del Duomo

Orcagna, Andrea di Cione, *Birth of the Virgin*, bas-relief on tabernacle, mid-fourteenth century

Giovanni da Milano, *Birth of the Virgin*, circa 1360, Florence, Italy, Church of Santa Croce, Renuccini Chapel

Masaccio, *Birth Scene (Birth of the Virgin)*, painted panel, 1427–1428, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

Ghirlandaio, Domenico del, *Birth of the Virgin*, fresco, 1485–1490, Florence, Italy, Museo di Santa Maria Novella, Cappella Maggiore

Zeitblom, Bartholomäus, *Birth of the Virgin*, woodcut, early fifteenth century

Altdorfer, Albrecht, *Birth of the Virgin*, fresco, 1514, Florence, S.S. Annunziata

Sarto, Andrea del, *Birth of the Virgin*, fresco, 1514, Florence, Italy, SS. Annunziata

Tintoretto, *Birth of the Virgin*, late sixteenth century, St. Petersburg, State Hermitage Museum

St. John the Baptist

Upper Rhenish Master, *Birth of Saint John the Baptist*, undated, Colmar, France, Musée Unterlinden

Fouquet, Jean, *The Birth of Saint John the Baptist*, miniature, fifteenth century, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé

Salimbeni, Lorenzo and Giacomo, *Birth of Saint John the Baptist*, fresco, 1416, Urbino, Italy, Chapel of San Giovanni Battista

Buddha

Birth of Buddha, Nepalese sculpture, undated, Versailles, France, Musée Guimet

Birth of Buddha, Indian bas-relief, Gandara period, second–fifth century A.D., Berlin, Museum für Indische Kunst

Birth of Buddha, Japanese bronze sculpture, Asuka period, Tokyo, Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan

Cesarean Births

Birth of Asclepius, Italian, in *De re Medica*, by Alessandro Benedetti, 1549

Birth of Asclepius, Italian majolica plate, from *Plastik un Medizin*, by E. Hollander, 1534

Birth of Rustand, Persian, in *King of Kings*, by Firdawsi, 1010, Naples, Italy, Biblioteca Nazionale

Birth of Rustand, Persian miniature, sixteenth century, reproduced in *Iconographia Gyniatrica: A Pictorial History of Gynecology and Obstetrics*, edited by Harold Speert

The Birth of Julius Caesar, copy of manuscript, *Les Faits des Romains*, fourteenth or fifteenth century, London, British Library (Royal MS 17 Fll, fol. 9v)

The Birth of Julius Caesar, copy of manuscript, *Les Faits des Romains*, fourteenth or fifteenth century, Venice, Italy, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana (MS Cod. Marc. Fr.Z3, fol.2r)

The Birth of Julius Caesar, copy of manuscript, *Les Faits des Romains*, fourteenth or fifteenth century, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Library (MS Garrett 128, fol. 144r)

Birth of Caesar, French miniature, fourteenth century, in *Les Anciens Histoires des Romains*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Caesarean Birth, Japanese woodcut, from a book on Kahura, Uganda

Caesarean Birth, 1879, in *Notes on Labour in Central Africa*, by R. W. Felkin, 1884

Caesarean Birth, Ethiopian, from *Lives of Maba Senon*, London, British Museum

The Birth of the Antichrist, German woodcut, from *Entkrüst*, late fifteenth century, Munich, Germany, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Xyl. I, fol.2r)

The Birth of the Antichrist, German woodcut, from *Seelenwurzgarten*, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (PML 199 ChL f490, fol.dd6v)

Birth in Legends

Birth of Adonis, Dutch engraving, seventeenth century, in *Ovidius Hersheppinghe*

Franceschini, Marcantonio, *Birth of Adonis*, aquatint, eighteenth century

The Parturition of Pope Joan, woodcut, from the German edition *De Claris Mulieribus*, by Boccaccio, Ulm, Germany

The Parturition of Pope Joan, miniature, fifteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris

The Parturition of Pope Joan, German woodcut, 1600, from *Lectionum Memorabilium et Reconditarum Centenarii XVI*, by Joannes Wolf

The Parturition of Pope Joan, French illustration, 1736, from *Histoire de la Papesse Jeanne Fidèlement Tirée de la Dissertation Latine de Mr. de Spanheim*

Twentieth-Century Interpretations of Birth

Kahlo, Frida, *My Birth*, oil on sheet metal, 1932, private collection

Klee, Paul, *L'Accouchement*, oil on canvas, 1944, New York, Pierre Matisse Gallery

Niki de Saint Phalle, *L'Accouchement Blanc*, mixed media, 1963, collection of the artist

Sjöö, Monica, *God Giving Birth*, oil on hardboard, 1968, collection of the artist

Chicago, Judy, *The Birth Project*, mixed media, 1980–1985, collection of the artist

Chicago, Judy, *Mary Wollstonecraft, The Dinner Party*, mixed media, 1979, collection of the artist

Kelly, Mary, *Post-Partum Document*, mixed media, 1973–1979, London, Arts Council Collection

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CALUMNY

Claire Lindgren

The following motifs are included in the discussion of the theme Calumny:

CALUMNY OF APELLES

SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS

JOSEPH AND POTIPHAR'S
WIFE

OTHER EXAMPLES OF
CALUMNY



Botticelli, *Calumny of Apelles* 1485–1490, painting, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery.
(Courtesy of Alinari/Art Resource, New York)

Calumny, or deliberate malicious slander, is infrequently used as subject matter for major works of art; it is found most often in political flyers and editorial cartoons. This is not true of the past, when for a variety of reasons artists chose to depict slanderous events in what could be described as elaborate visual indictments. An excellent example of the depiction of a maliciously false tale is found in a work by Botticelli, who attempted to reconstruct an ancient Greek painting called *The Calumny* by Apelles, the most renowned of the ancient Greek painters, who was active in the late fourth century B.C. The work is described in the writing of the second century A.D. Greek rhetorician and satirist Lucian:

Apelles, mindful of the dangers which surrounded him, defended himself against the slander with a picture of the following sort. On the right is a man with huge ears, which are only just short of being like those of Midas, stretching out one hand from afar to "Calumny" who is still coming forward. Flanking him stand two women, who seem to me to be "Ignorance" and "Suspicion." On the other side "Calumny" comes forward, a small woman of extreme beauty, heated with passion and in a state of great excitement, the sort of woman who puts madness and rage on display; in her left hand she holds a lighted torch and in her right she drags along a certain youth by the hair who stretches out his hands to heaven and bears witness before the gods. A man who is sallow and ugly leads them, glancing around sharply and wearing that look which people get when they have been withered by a long disease. One could suppose that this was "Jealousy." There are two other female figures who accompany "Calumny" and are in the act of exhorting, protecting and adorning her. According to the guide who explained the features of the picture to me, one of these women was "Treachery" and the other was "Deception." Behind them comes another figure, represented as if in mourning, and dressed in black raiment which is torn in shreds; she I think, is said to be "Repentance." She turns around in tears and with a great sense of shame toward "Truth" who looks up to heaven as she approaches. Thus did Apelles reproduce his own danger in the painting. (Lucian, *Calumniae Non Temere Credendum*, p. 4)

According to the literature, the incident that caused Apelles to paint this allegorical work was the accusation by his rival, Antipholos, that he, Apelles, was an active participant in a plot to overthrow Ptolemy I. The work was painted to express the predicament in which Apelles had been placed by the calumny from which he was later exonerated.

This passage became the basis for Botticelli's *Calumny of Apelles*, painted for his own pleasure and later given to his friend Fabio Segni. Ostensibly, the work was done to follow a suggestion of Leon Battista Alberti given in *De Pictura* to recreate the ancient painting of Apelles from Lucian's description. Botticelli appears to have followed Alberti's advice: Ignorance and Suspicion whisper into the ears of the judge (man on right with hand outstretched); Hatred (Jealousy), Deceit (Deception), and Fraud (Treachery) surround Calumny, who drags her victim, an almost naked youth, toward the judge, while behind them Penitence (Repentance) stands looking at Truth, who points heavenward. Yet, Botticelli has made several changes; for example, he transformed one character from simply having "huge ears" to being an unjust judge with the ears of a donkey, and he clothed Penitence not just in tattered black, but in the torn habit of a Dominican. It has been suggested that Botticelli's work was his attempt to visually defend the memory of the late monk Savonarola, who had been excommunicated and executed. In this work Botticelli implied that the persons involved in Savonarola's judgment were as evil and weak as those in his painting. In view of the deviations from the ancient literary description, the architectural setting that is clearly reminiscent of Renaissance Florence, and what is known of Botticelli's moralistic fervor, this interpretation of the painting is quite likely. Both the Renaissance painting and its now-lost inspiration were deliberate attempts to depict and define visually the act of defamation of character, and both were apparently painted and titled with that purpose in mind.

Another example of an event aimed at damaging another's reputation is from the apocryphal story of the attempted seduction of Susanna, Joachim's wife, by two elders of the Babylonian Jewish community. One finds this subject popular in post-Renaissance times. It is the story of a calumny exposed and the perpetrators punished. Many well-known, and not so well-known, artists used this theme: Nicolaes Rosendael (*Susanna before the Judges*), Antoine Coypel (*Susanna Accused of Adultery*), Franz Anton Maulbertsch (*Susanna and the Elders* and *Susanna Before the Judges*), and the Master of the Apollo and Daphne Legend (six paintings on the story of Susanna). The prominent artists who chose this subject matter, including Peter Paul Rubens, Rembrandt van Rijn, and those of the Carracci circle, presented the work in such a manner as to nullify the ending of the tale as given in the ancient writings and continue the slander by depicting Susanna as a temptress. In actuality, according to the text, Susanna was trapped in the garden of her home while bathing. She refused to yield to the lecherous desires of the two elders, who had entered uninvited. Because of this refusal, the elders concocted a lie accusing Susanna of adultery with a young man. The elders were

believed, and Susanna was condemned to death. On her way to execution, Daniel interceded, the lies of the elders were exposed, and they, instead of Susanna, were executed. This aspect of the tale has also been chosen as subject matter by Lucas van Leyden (*Daniel as Judge*) and Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (*Daniel Proving the Innocence of Susanna*).

It is interesting to contrast two renditions of the initial incident of the Susanna story, that of Jacopo Tintoretto and Artemisia Gentileschi. Tintoretto's work is similar in intent to that of other male artists, while Gentileschi's work expresses a totally different attitude. In the work by Tintoretto, Susanna is slandered by the subtle manipulation of the setting, her body position, and drapery. She appears to be provocative and anxious for sexual activity, while in the Gentileschi version she is frightened and awkward. Gentileschi accomplishes this visually by isolating the figure of Susanna and compressing it into the rigid geometry of the shallow space of a frieze on the garden wall far from the blooms and foliage, which were understood as metaphors for bounteous femininity, as well as by emphasizing the conspiratorial attitude of the elders. The artist depicts Susanna as a victim, and the slanderous implications about her implicit in other representations are missing; consequently the calumny is confined to the actions of the elders, as stated in the text.

The dichotomy between the two works presents an excellent example of how subject matter may be altered by the iconography of a particular artist, which in turn is a reflection of the attitude of the period or the artist, or both. For example, Artemisia Gentileschi's seduction and rape at the hands of Agostino Tassi, which probably had occurred about the time of her *Susanna* painting, contrasts with the general attitude toward women prevalent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as expressed in Tintoretto's work. Tintoretto's manipulation of the actual story by stylistic and iconographic means was successful because it reflected the mores of his time. His painting was, in itself, a calumny against women.

Another slanderous story used as a subject by post-Renaissance artists such as Tintoretto and Rembrandt is found in Genesis 39:7–20, the attempted seduction of Joseph by Potiphar's wife. According to the biblical story, in this instance the calumny resulted in Joseph's imprisonment. Potiphar's wife, who had failed in her seduction attempt, falsely accused Joseph of rape. She was believed, and he was imprisoned: an extreme example of the result of slander.

A nonvisual but telling example of an artist's jealousy of the success of another artist and the calumny that resulted was an act by Jacques-Louis David with respect to Marie-Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun. Before the French Revolution Vigée-Lebrun was highly favored by the French aristocracy and was a successful rival of David for commissioned portraits. As she explains in her *Memoirs*, David, probably out of jealousy and in an attempt to increase his own prestige, prominently displayed in his studio an open book that contained slanderous remarks about her.

In the time of the absolute monarchs, written slander about royalty could result in death, but Francisco Goya managed to insinuate his feelings concerning his king in his painting *The Family of Charles IV*, in which the costumes of the king and

family members sparkle with the wealth and ostentation of their position, yet their faces betray a surprising lack of intelligence, making them seem, as was frequently remarked, as if they were peasants dressed for a holiday. It was a malicious group portrait, the intent of which appears to have been missed by those depicted because the painting was accepted by the court.

Perhaps the most famous suggestion of calumny in the arts is not an artwork itself but a courtroom allegation in the case of Whistler versus Ruskin. Art critic John Ruskin published an attack on one of James Abbott McNeill Whistler's works, *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket*. In his attack, the critic accused the artist of "flinging a pot of paint in the public's face." Because Ruskin had earlier defended the free style of the later works of Joseph Mallord William Turner, Whistler chose to sue Ruskin for libel. Whistler won a token victory for this defense against calumny, but in no way was he compensated for the enormous court costs. Others learned a bitter lesson from Whistler's experience, and critics could, and did, slander with virtual immunity from prosecution.

The visual artists and the free world of the twentieth century accept, although not with any pleasure, slanderous remarks and depictions that would have been unthinkable earlier. Calumny occurs in works such as political cartoons that regularly attempt to injure reputations in order to advance a specific agenda. Calumny that formerly could have been labeled libel is now considered free expression. The truth and action suggested in Tacitus's expression "Neglected calumny soon expires" seems to have been adopted by the world. Calumny as subject matter and iconographic statement in major works seemingly has expired as well.

See also Bath/Bathing; Betrayal; Caricature/Cartoon

Selected Works of Art

Calumny of Apelles

Apelles of Kos, *The Calumny*, fourth century B.C., destroyed
Botticelli, *Calumny of Apelles*, 1485–1490, Florence, Italy,
Uffizi Gallery

Susanna and the Elders

Altdorfer, Albrecht, *Susanna at Her Bath*, 1526, Munich,
Germany, Alte Pinakothek
Tintoretto, *Susanna and the Elders*, before 1594, Munich,
Germany, Alte Pinakothek
Gentileschi, Artemisia, *Susanna and the Elders*, 1610,
Pommersfelden, Germany, Schloss Weissenstein
Carracci, Ludovico, *Susanna and the Elders in the Garden of
Joachim*, oil on canvas, 1616, London, National Gallery
Rembrandt van Rijn, *Susanna at Her Bath*, 1637, The Hague,
The Netherlands, Royal Gallery
Rubens, Peter Paul, *Susanna and the Elders*, before 1640,
Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
Veronese, Paolo, *Susanna and the Elders*, circa 1648, Paris,
Louvre

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- Rosendael, Nicolas, *Susanna Before the Judges*, 1673, Cologne, Germany, Wallraf Richartz-Museum
- Coytel, Antoine, *Susanna Accused of Adultery*, early eighteenth century, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Maulbertsch, Franz Anton, *Susanna Before the Judges*, circa 1750–1752, Vienna, Austria, Österreichische Galerie
- Mater of the Apollo and Daphne Legend, *Susanna and the Elders: The Crime; Condemnation of Susanna; Susanna Led to Execution; The Judgment*, before 1510, Chicago, Illinois, Art Institute
- Leyden, Lucas van, *Daniel as Judge*, before 1533, Bremen, Germany, Kunsthalle Bremen
- Eeckhout, Gerbrandt van den, *Daniel Proving the Innocence of Susanna*, before 1674, Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum

Joseph and Potiphar's Wife

- Tintoretto, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, 1555, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Rembrandt van Rijn, *Joseph Accused by Potiphar's Wife*, 1655, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Cignani, Carlo, *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*, late seventeenth century, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Other Examples of Calumny

- Goya, Francisco, *Family of Charles IV*, 1800, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Whistler, James Abbott McNeill, *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket*, oil on panel, 1875, Detroit, Michigan, Detroit Art Institute

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CARICATURE/CARTOON

Margaret A. Sullivan

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Caricature/Cartoon:

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

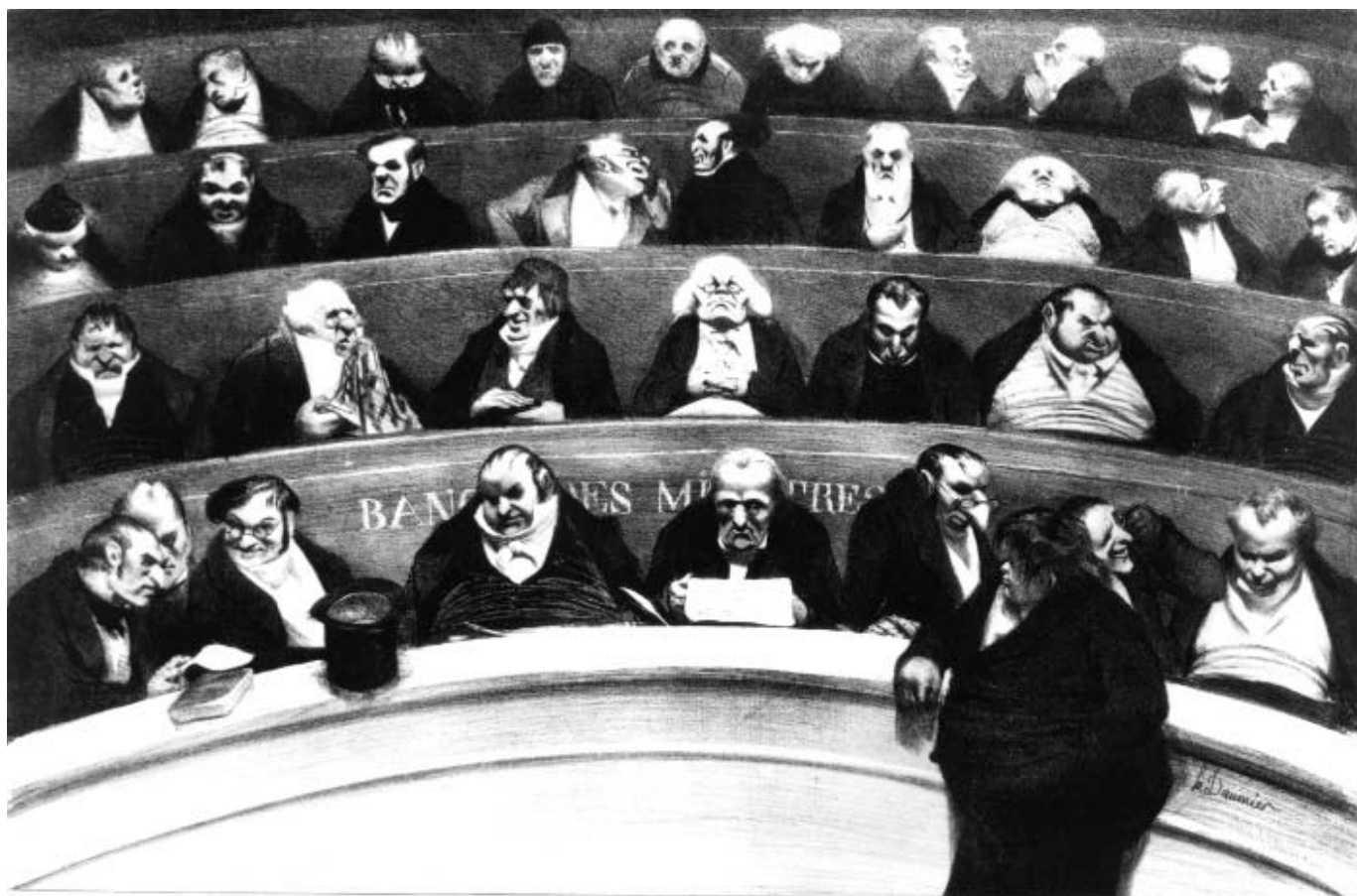
RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Honoré Daumier, *The Legislative Belly*, 1834, lithograph from *L'Association Mensuelle*, private collection. (Courtesy of Art Resource, New York)

Claude Monet recalled that as a bored 17-year-old student he passed his time filling “the margins of my notebooks . . . in the most irreverent way, distorting as much as possible the faces and profiles of my teachers.” Although Monet’s fame rests on his impressionist paintings, he began his artistic career as a caricaturist, and although caricature and the cartoon are often considered peripheral arts, outside the mainstream, they are psychologically powerful, with a long and venerable history, and both have played an important role in the development of modern art.

Definitions

Caricature can be described as an opinionated, often defamatory summation of those characteristics uniquely associated with an individual or group. It employs distortion and exaggeration to create an image that deviates from the norm, either as a departure from the “normal” features of an individual, as when Monet amused himself by caricaturing his teachers, or as a violation of the physiognomic norms considered admirable in a particular society. In England in the nineteenth century, the Irish were portrayed with simian features, a caricature that equated them with monkeys and implied that they were less than human and closer to the beasts. When a patron commissions a portrait, the results tend to reflect the values, wishes, and aspirations of the sitter. In caricature the personal bias of the artist dominates. The motivation is to amuse or attack, the artist’s strategies include wit, humor, and, not infrequently, obscenity and scurrility, and the effect may range from the ridiculous and irreverent to the ribald and scatological.

Cartoons are more complex. Although caricature is often an element in the cartoon, it is only one strategy among many. Cartoons usually have a language referent, thus combining the verbal and visual. The cartoonist relies on the viewer’s knowledge of proverbs, myths, and other shared cultural information to create a narrative and make a point. In Thomas Nast’s *Jewels Among Swine* (1874), the biblical proverb is given an ironic turn when applied to the police (portrayed as uniformed pigs) taking the “jewels” (beautiful young lady temperance workers) to jail. The story may be complete in one frame (as in Nast’s cartoon) or require a multiple sequence (as in the comic strip or picture stories that were developed in the nineteenth century by Roldophe Töpffer and Wilhelm Busch); the images may be animated or static; they may or may not include a caption or the use of “balloons” to enclose dialogue, sound effects, or exclamations; they may be amusing, satirical, or simply entertaining. In all, however, a narrative component is present in the cartoon.

The relationship between cartoon and caricature is illustrated by the concentrated and prolonged attack that Honoré Daumier launched against the deputies of the French Chamber. Daumier visited the Chamber to study the faces of the deputies and then sculpted in clay caricatures of their heads, distorting eyebrows and noses, exaggerating hair and its arrangement, and capturing characteristic expressions and postures. Using these three-dimensional busts as a guide, Daumier created 50 lithographic caricatures of individual deputies that were published as separate sheets. Finally, Daumier combined these caricatures in a cartoon format. The most famous, *Legislative Belly* (1834), is a compendium of all these caricatures of the legislators, organized to form a complex, visual story about the greed and inertia of a governmental body. The composition—a repetition of curves with one tier of deputies rising above another—echoes the fat paunch of Prunelle, leaning on the rail in the foreground, his dark shock of hair flopping over a broad forehead, and repeats visually the fat figures and well-fed faces of this assembly. Daumier has given the governmental “body” the characteristics of a grossly overfed human body, and the visual pun is underscored by the title—*Le Vente législatif* (The Legislative Belly).

Method in Caricature

When caricaturing an individual, the artist usually begins by exaggerating and distorting the permanent aspects of face and figure—the size of a nose, the distance between the eyes, the shape of the face and body and other relatively stable features. The most successful caricatures, however, capture the impermanent, the characteristic expression and posture of the subject and the costume and setting associated with them. In Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec’s caricature of Yvette Guilbert, he emphasizes the narrow lips and wide mouth of the music hall entertainer, a genetic feature the singer made prominent with cosmetics in order to set herself apart from her competitors who favored the tiny, bow-shaped mouth fashionable in the 1890s. Pose, costume, and setting are typical. The entertainer is on stage, wearing her trademark black gloves, extending well above her elbows, and she is taking a curtain call, one arm stretched above her head as she holds onto the edge of the scenery. The singer could hardly fault the caricature, since the artist emphasized and exaggerated features she herself chose to dramatize.

Caricatures can be innocuous, but usually they are witty at the expense of the subject, expressions of aggression rather than admiration, although Al Hirschfeld, best known for his clever caricatures of stage personalities, laments that “it is much more difficult nowadays to reach the nerve ends.” When

Hirschfeld tried to insult producer David Merrick by depicting him as a tiptoeing “sniveling druid” dressed in a Santa Claus suit. Merrick used his caricature as a Christmas card, adding for good measure a burning Christmas tree in the background. In a publicity-minded age, an insult may be better than no attention, and notoriety more desirable than neglect. Less welcome, the caricatures of Thomas Nast and his campaign against corruption in government and the Tammany ring in the 1870s resulted in Boss Tweed’s conviction and a 12-year term in prison. Acknowledging the power of Nast’s caricatures, Tweed said, “I don’t care a straw for your newspaper articles, my constituents don’t know how to read, but they can’t help seeing them damn pictures.”

In attacking Boss Tweed and the Tammany ring, Nast used many of the strategies that are standard in the repertoire of the caricaturist. Nast exaggerates Tweed’s features so that he is immediately recognizable, but in *A Group of Vultures Waiting for the Storm to “Blow Over”*—“*Let Us Prey*,” he departs even more radically from Tweed’s normal appearance by placing his head on the body of a fat, rapacious vulture. The vultures, Tweed and his cronies, are perched high in a storm-swept aerie surrounded by the bones of the “New York City Treasury,” “Liberty,” “Law,” and “Justice” that they have picked clean. Using the same technique, James Gillray made the head of William Pitt recognizable in his *An Excrescence: A Fungus: Alias a Toadstool upon a Dunghill* (1791) but transformed his body into vegetation. Claude Monet satirized a competitor, artist Jules Didier, by placing his head on the body of a butterfly. Some of the most devastating of these dehumanized bodies are the creation of Francesco Goya. In his drawing *There They Go, Plucked*, Goya attacks gullible men and greedy women. Pathetic, naked little birds with the faces of men, their feathers plucked, are driven out the door by a group of ferocious, broom-wielding women.

Likening the face to another species—a bird, fish, or insect—is another device for dehumanizing the subject. This was particularly effective in the nineteenth century, when physiognomic theories were at the height of their popularity and judgments about character were formed on the basis of the resemblance between humans and animals. French artist Grandville (Jean-Ignace-Isidore Gérard) made these resemblances a specialty, carrying them to an extreme by substituting the entire head of an animal for the victim’s face—a proud man in a frock coat has the head of a peacock, while the man groveling before him is transformed into a frog in a suit and holding a top hat; bugs become dancers in tutus; and clerics are satirized in a ritual procession of beetles.

Dehumanization is even more extreme when the artist substitutes an inanimate object for the victim’s face. In a caricature entitled *The Brains*, Nast portrayed Boss Tweed with a huge paunch, elaborate tie clasp, and striped pants as symbols of Tweed’s ill-gotten wealth as the boss of Tammany Hall, but a bag of money serves as Tweed’s head, the huge dollar sign on the bag a substitute for his facial features. In this context, the inanimate money bag with all its negative associations replaces the animate, just as in Daumier’s *Nightmare* (1832) the pear sitting on the chest of the sleeper and causing his nightmares stands for King Louis-Philippe who had a pear-shaped head. In

an equally extreme strategy, the face and head may be composed of images symbolizing the subject’s evil deeds, as when the head of Napoleon is made up of the naked bodies of his victims. This ingenious and damning device goes back to the images created by Giuseppe Arcimboldi in the sixteenth century and early caricatures, such as that of John Calvin (or perhaps, a lawyer) composed of a frog, a fish, and a chicken leg.

In caricaturing a type rather than an individual, the artist often relies on stereotype and the prejudices of his audience. In Germany in the 1930s, Nazi propagandists caricatured Jews with a standardized set of features—large nose, thick lips, heavy dark brows—that deliberately contrasted with the blond, blue-eyed Aryan type they promoted as the ideal. During the same period, George Grosz expressed an opposing point of view with his vitriolic caricatures of a socioeconomic type. Grosz’s paunchy German businessmen count their money bags, ruthlessly trample the vulnerable, or engage in sordid sexual encounters, and the German middle-class family is portrayed as smug and morally bankrupt. In Grosz’s cartoon *A Little Child Shall Lead Them*, a well-fed, cigar-smoking father reads the newspaper, his grim-mouthed wife is knitting, and in the foreground, the son of this bourgeois couple frowns in concentration as he sights down his toy machine gun—an action in ironic contrast to the biblical title. On occasion, an artist develops a type to encapsulate the social ills he wishes to attack. Among the most successful are Henry Bonaventure Monnier’s *Joseph Prudhomme*, the archetype of bourgeois pettiness; Daumier’s Ratapoi, with his rakish hat, self-assured swagger, handlebar mustache, and long cudgel—the devious villain who epitomizes the political bully and demagogue; and *Robert Macaire*, Daumier’s arch-swindler, promoter, and confidence man.

Early History

Used to identify art that exaggerates and distorts, the words *cartoon* and *caricature* are relatively recent inventions, although the art they describe is as old as the impulse to scratch graffiti on a wall or exaggerate and distort the image of an opponent. The desire to humiliate and wreak psychic destruction by violating the dignity of the victim is all too human and has a long history. Derogatory images animate Egyptian papyrus with human beings depicted as animals, as in the hieroglyph on a chest from the tomb of Tutankhamen, where a lion and a gazelle match wits over a game board. In the ancient theaters of Greece and Rome, distortion was used for comic and satiric effects, and the padded stomachs, grotesque masks, and over-size phalli of comedy—the exaggerations of mime—all helped to establish a visual vocabulary that was irreverent, deflationary, and charged with negative meanings. Gods and heroes are ugly and distorted on Attic vases, with images abbreviated, humorous, and often complete with a story line.

Christians are denigrated in the early Roman graffiti uncovered in a narrow street near the Forum in Rome. A figure on a cross is given an ass’s head, a man stands nearby, and underneath the legend is scrawled: “Alexamenos worshiping his God.” There are caricatures of defeated iconoclasts in the ninth-century Byzantine *Khludov Psalter*, such as the illumina-

tion showing the last iconoclastic patriarch, John the Grammarian, with a shock of white hair standing on end. In the medieval period, Isaac of Norwich and other Jews are caricatured on an exchequer roll of 1233. In fourteenth-century manuscripts, a king is an ape carried by two rabbits, and an ape doctor ministers to an owl. Attacks on heretics, satires aimed at the powerful (a wolf wearing a bishop's miter, for example), and a caustic view of the relation between the sexes are established themes in the marginal drawings that enliven Gothic manuscripts.

Sixteenth Century

By the sixteenth century the availability of paper, invention of the printing press, accessibility of large urban audiences, and the animosities generated by the Reformation conspired to unleash *infamatrixes picturae* (pictures of the infamous) as one of the most potent and popular weapons with which to attack the opposition. The Protestants satirized the Roman Catholics, as in Lucas Cranach the Younger's series in which the pope is portrayed as the Antichrist and the Devil defecates monks. The Roman Catholics responded with derogatory images, as in Erhard Schön's woodcut from around 1520 attacking Martin Luther as an instrument of the Devil. A grotesque devil blows into Luther's ear, and "plays" his nose as if Luther's head were a bagpipe. Even those favoring a moderate position in the Reformation controversy found caricature and the cartoon useful for attacking their enemies. In his painting *Thin People Eating the Fat* (circa 1566), Pieter Bruegel the Elder attacked the extremists on both sides and the greed and avarice that fueled many of their excesses. Two thin and ravenous hags take enormous bites from the cheek of a gluttonous, grossly obese man whose tiny eyes are almost lost in the vast expanse of his fat face. One of the most devastating caricatures of the period, the painting can be considered a forerunner of the modern cartoon as well, since there is a potential narrative in Bruegel's painting—the eternal and evil struggle between the haves and the have-nots.

Much of the derogatory imagery generated by the Reformation controversy is recognizable as caricature, and caricature has a place, albeit a minor one, in the work of many Renaissance artists. When Michelangelo drew a caricature of himself in the margin of one of his notebooks, he was clearly expressing his frustration at being forced by Pope Julius II to finish painting the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, but the so-called grotesques of Leonardo da Vinci cannot be so easily categorized. They illustrate a problem that often arises in a discussion of caricature—the ambiguous line between the exaggerated and the real, the "normal" and the distorted. Leonardo's drawings deviate from the type of physiognomy considered ideal in the Renaissance, but it is not known whether he was depicting real people, conducting physiognomic studies, creating derogatory satires, expressing his own psychic obsessions, or simply exploring a range of artistic possibilities and broadening his formal repertoire. The line between caricature and either the realistic portrait or the physiognomic study can be ambiguous, but whatever their original purpose,

Leonardo's drawings helped to make distortion and exaggeration a legitimate artistic enterprise.

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Before caricature came to be the preferred term for this kind of summary image, there was Cicero's *depravata imitatio* (imitations of depravity) and, in the Renaissance, Erasmus's *infamatrixes picturae*, but the word *caricature* itself is a semantic innovation from the early years of the seventeenth century, when it was first used to describe the abbreviated and distorted images of individuals drawn by the Carracci brothers, Annibale and Agostino. These caricatures, as in *A Group of Priests* (circa 1590), appear to have been casual and informal sketches created in the workshop as an amusing, recreational diversion in which the subject's physical features were exaggerated. The word itself is derived etymologically from the Italian *carico* (loaded) and *caricare* (to load, to charge), and when phrases such as *ritrattino carico* (little exaggerated portrait) begin to appear around 1646, they convey the idea that while the number of lines or strokes in a caricature may be minimal and the scale small, the results are loaded with meaning. The caricatures of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, the first that are well documented, follow the example of the Carracci. They are simplified, rapid sketches of individuals, as in his pen-and-ink drawing *Caricature of a Gentleman* (after 1632) and his caricature of the collector and student of the natural sciences *Cassiano del Pozzo* (circa 1640). This abbreviated style remained the norm in Rome to the end of the century and then was popularized by Pier Leone Ghezzi. Ghezzi, probably the first professional caricaturist, supported himself with his pen drawings of Romans and visitors to Rome, such as his caricatures of the *Chevalier de Pacqueville* (1725) and *Cardinal Granacci* (after 1740). The dissemination of these Italian models led to the popularity of the genre in France, with caricature becoming a significant political factor in the bitter controversies of the French Revolution, and they laid the foundation for the golden age of British caricature in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that saw the emergence of such important and prolific artists as William Hogarth, James Gillray, Thomas Rowlandson, and George Cruikshank.

In his most important contribution to the subject of caricature, the print *Characters and Caricatura* (1743), Hogarth addressed, with economy and wit, the issue Leonardo's drawings raised. At the bottom of the print, a row of heads illustrates two categories. The faces at the far left under "Characters" include an idealized image from a painting by Raphael and, at the far right, as an example of "Caricatura," Hogarth copied one of Leonardo's most deformed faces. Then Hogarth created a montage of dozens of profiles that fall somewhere between the extremes. Hogarth said he wanted to create "characters," that is, stay within the limits of the probable and the plausible. At the same time, however, the print is evidence of Hogarth's desire to extend the understanding of what constitutes "character" in real life. The point made in Hogarth's print is that in nature "normal" covers a wide range, a broad spectrum between the extremes of ideal beauty and the truly grotesque

and deformed. The faces and figures are not idealized in Hogarth's series of prints *Marriage à la Mode* or *The Rake's Progress*, but neither are they violent distortions. The situation serves to establish the satire instead of the exaggerations normally associated with caricature, and a narrative that develops is more important than dehumanized bodies and faces.

Hogarth's print did not resolve the problem of character versus caricature, but its existence and the reception of his own engravings—his picture-stories such as *The Rake's Progress*, precursor of the comic strip—are signs that genres, traditionally peripheral, were moving up in the artistic hierarchy. Other English artists after Hogarth could make caricature central to their art. A gifted artist especially admired for his watercolors, Thomas Rowlandson was highly successful with his social satires such as *Vauxhall Gardens* (1784) and *Box Lobby Loungers* (1785). James Gillray was the first to make a career of political cartooning, creating etchings such as *Plum Pudding in Danger* (1805) with its caricature of Napoleon as "Little Boney." George Cruikshank, a full-time caricaturist lampooned the fashions of the time, as in his series of eight plates entitled *Monstrosities* (circa 1816).

It is also in England that the term *cartoon* took on a new meaning and became closely allied with caricature. In its original sense, a cartoon was a full-scale drawing on paper, a design to be followed for painting a mural or weaving a tapestry, but it was given a new application in the 1840s when *Punch*, an English humor magazine, made fun of a competition for designs, or "cartoons," for the proposed decoration of the new Houses of Parliament. The new usage was apt. It retains a sense of the provisional, unfinished quality of the original meaning; the modern cartoon tends to fall somewhere between the casual preparatory sketch and the polished and detailed work of art. Yet the context in which the new use of the word first appeared (a mock competition) signals an irreverent approach to a serious subject, a point of view congenial to most cartoonists.

Caricature and the Cartoon in the Modern Era

The history of caricature and the cartoon since the Renaissance has been determined, in large part, by technological innovations, shifts in marketing and audience composition, the impact of the political climate, and the relation between distorted imagery and the dominant aesthetic, or in more materialistic terms, the relation between caricature/cartoon and art that is more prestigious and commands the highest prices.

The impact of these factors is evident in the career and art of Honoré Daumier. Lithography, a new printing technique invented in 1798, allowed Daumier to express himself with immediacy, drawing directly on the stone rather than relying on an engraver as intermediary. The existence of publications devoted solely to caricature and the cartoon provided an outlet, and Daumier's gifted publisher, Charles Philipon, was instrumental in developing a large urban audience for caricature with his journal *La Caricature*. Philipon was himself a caricaturist and created the famous image of metamorphosis in which the portrait of the king is gradually transformed into a pear. As *poire*, the word for *pear*, is also French slang for *fat-*

head, both the publisher and his artists became the targets of hostile governmental action, with Daumier imprisoned in 1832 for satirizing Louis-Philippe as Gargantua, a giant figure defecating titles and honors. For 13 years after the censorship laws of 1835 were passed and the punishment for caricaturing the king became too severe, political caricature went underground. Philipon ordered *La Caricature* to be liquidated but continued with a new publication, *Le Charivari*, in which politics ostensibly played no part. In actuality, the new journal satirized by indirection, with the whole society under attack, if not Louis-Philippe himself.

The relation between caricature/cartoon and the dominant art style is evident in Daumier's lithograph *Fight Between Schools: Idealism and Realism*. In this cartoon confrontation, "Realism" is portrayed as a sturdy looking painter with a stubborn expression. He wears workman's clothes and plain wooden shoes and brandishes a large, utilitarian-looking paintbrush as his weapon. "Idealism," his lanky and bespectacled opponent, is naked like a Greek statue, wears a pseudoantique helmet on his head, and uses his maulstick as a spear and his palette as a shield. Caricature and the cartoon were at odds with the academic standards that dominated in the official Salon in France, and as a countermovement they played a significant role in breaking its hold on artists. Writing as a participant in this period, Guillaume Apollinaire said, "You will realize later that the spirit of caricature has played an important part in the development of modern art." And in 1882, Vincent van Gogh wrote to his brother Theo, "Daumier may be the father of us all."

The freedom to distort and exaggerate, to break with convention, were old options kept alive by the cartoonist and the caricaturist throughout the long period when the idealized art of the academy was dominant. Daumier's lithographs demonstrated the artistic and communicative power of distortion and exaggeration. Furthermore, the enthusiastic response of important writers such as Charles Beaudelaire and the historical perspective supplied by Jules Champfleury in his volumes on caricature, in which he demonstrated that these less prestigious arts have a history that goes back to antiquity and illustrious forebears such as Bruegel, all served to loosen the bonds of academic art and encouraged artists to move in new directions.

Many artists benefited from this liberating influence, and Claude Monet was not alone in creating caricatures at an early stage in his career. At age 23, Swiss artist Paul Klee also profited from the experience of using caricature to violate stylistic norms. Klee devoted the years 1903–1905 to executing a group of 15 prints that he referred to in his diary as "sour" or "severe." In these prints Klee used the standard weapons of caricature—exaggeration and distortion—to attack the bourgeois sensibility and puritanical smugness he found in his hometown, Bern, and to come to terms with the "great humiliation of the apprenticeship in Rome," his overwhelming and troubling exposure to classical art during 11 months in Italy. Commenting on his print *Virgin in a Tree*, with its naked woman, her emaciation and exaggerated angles echoed in the barren, twisted tree where she is perched, Klee wrote, "the lady wants to be something special through virginity, but doesn't cut

an attractive figure—critique of bourgeois society.” Looking for “consolation” for his own inferior social position, Klee caricatured two men, naked except for mustache and mutton-chops, exchanging low and obsequious bows in a print entitled *Two Men Meet, Each Presuming the Other to be of Higher Rank*. Responding with distortion and exaggeration to his artistic humiliation in Italy, Klee caricatured classical figures, and as one of the most innovative artists of the twentieth century, a master at integrating the visual and verbal, Klee used the license of caricature to free himself from social and artistic conventions. Eventually he would write, “I am my own style.”

At the same time that Klee was creating his “sour” prints, Pablo Picasso portrayed himself as a naked, hairy monkey with a brush stuck behind one ear, a pen behind the other, writing below his self-caricature, “Picasso par lui meme, 1903.” In another example, one without text or title, the narrative of the cartoon is generated by the studio situation and the cast of characters. A buxom lady painter, palette in hand, her head thrown back and her brush held meditatively to her mouth, is joined by three male visitors who peer at the abstract painting on her easel, responding with a variety of postures and expressions to this unrecognizable version of the voluptuous nude model lying on the couch behind them. Art and reality, different styles and their reception, the smug artist and the pompous audience, are all targeted in Picasso’s cartoon.

Although the labels *caricature* and *cartoon* clearly apply to these two examples by Picasso, they become problematic terms when applied to his portrait *Dora Marr Sitting* (1939). The artist is expressing his personal point of view, and the face is clearly distorted and exaggerated—Dora’s portrait differs radically from her appearance in a 1936 photograph by Man Ray—but new artistic categories are available to describe the distorted and exaggerated, and in the twentieth century these characteristics are no longer the exclusive province of caricature and cartoon. In the modern era, deviation from perceptual norms has moved from the periphery to the mainstream. Cubism, Expressionism, and Dadaism invaded the traditional territory of the caricaturist and cartoonist early in the century, and in the years after 1963, pop art appropriated specific images, as in Roy Lichtenstein’s painting *Whaam!* (1963).

Traditionally, caricature and cartoon have served the valuable function of keeping artistic options open, preserving distortion and exaggeration as essential elements in the artistic vocabulary even when they are out of favor for “high” art, functioning as a countermovement to the dominant artistic style and keeping the words “in,” for example, when they were “out” during the dominance of abstract expressionism. Saul Steinberg did not simply integrate words and images in his cartoons, the word becomes the image in such witty examples as *WE* and *THEY*, with *WE* composed of thin, anemic letters and *THEY* solid and formidable in letters, big, dark, and bold. The art of social criticism is kept alive in caricature and cartoon when it is out of style artistically and under attack politically. The exaggerations and distortions of Mexican muralists José Clemente Orozco and Diego Rivera or an ironic painting such as Jack Levine’s *Homecoming*, with its caricatures of decadent, ribbon-encrusted generals and pinched socialites, were rarities at a time when social criticism was off-limits for the fine arts

and left to the graphic artist, the newspaper, and the magazine.

Caricature and cartoon tend to be identified with the topical and transitory, quick to produce and reproduce, illustration anchored at the level of the particular, rather than a demanding art capable of communicating a universal and profound meaning. It is true that the need to compress and reduce ideas into readily grasped images makes it difficult to represent both sides of an issue or deal with complexities, but this challenge does not prevent caricature and the cartoon from communicating a philosophical position or commenting on profound human problems.

The history of caricature and the cartoon includes Bruegel’s *Thin People Eating the Fat*, a striking and enduring image of a universal relationship. Klee’s satire of two men bowing in response to social status is as acute an observation now as it was in 1903. Galileo returning to Earth and tiptoeing gingerly through the dozens of bayonets that break through the Earth’s crust is one of Daumier’s most striking inventions, and, like his *Dream of the Inventor*, with the ghoulish figure of the inventor of the needle gun grinning as he surveys with pride a field of dead stretching to the horizon, it has lost none of its power. The possibility of new wars and the invention of new weapons remains. In a cartoon by Saul Steinberg, a tiny knight in armor, lance at the ready and flag bravely waving, sits astride his galloping horse, flying down a steep slope (indicated with a single, well-placed and precipitous line). This gallant hero is on the verge of success, about to overtake and dispatch a miniature dragon, but behind and above him on the same steep slope, a huge dark ball created with an ominous maelstrom of criss-crossing black lines rolls relentlessly down upon him. Steinberg’s drawing uses the devices of the caricaturist and generates the narrative of cartoon, but the result is a profound and disquieting comment on the hubris of mortals and the precarious human condition.

See also Calumny; Comic; Fools/Folly; Laughter; Physiognomy

Selected Works of Art

Ancient and Medieval

Hieroglyph of a Lion and a Gazelle Playing a Game, tomb of Tutankhamen, Eighteenth Dynasty, Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Alexamenos Worshipping His God, anti-Christian graffiti, Rome

John the Grammarian, the Last Patriarch, illuminated manuscript, *Khudov Psalter*, ninth century, Moscow, Russia, Historical Museum (Codex 129, fol. 51v)

King as an Ape Being Carried by Two Rabbits, manuscript illumination, circa 1302, London, British Museum (Yates Thompson MS 8, fol. 295v)

Ape Doctor Ministering to an Owl, manuscript illumination, early fourteenth century, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé (MS 62, fol. 36v)

Isaac of Norwich and Other Jews, Exchequer Roll, A.D. 1233, London, The Public Record Office

Renaissance

- Michelangelo, *Self-Caricature Painting the Sistine Ceiling*, pen and ink, 1510, Florence, Italy, Casa Buonarroti
- Schön, Erhard, *Martin Luther as Bagpipe Being Played by the Devil*, woodcut, 1521, London, British Museum
- Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *Thin People Eating Fat*, oil on wood, circa 1567, Copenhagen, Denmark, Nationalmuseum
- Carracci, Agostino, *A Group of Priests*, drawing, circa 1590, Windsor Castle, England

Seventeenth Century

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- Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, *Cassiano del Posso*, pen and ink drawing, circa 1640, private collection
- Ghezzi, Pierleone, *Chevalier de Bacqueville*, pen and ink drawing, 1725, private collection
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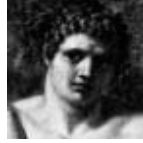
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CHOICE/CHOOSING

Elizabeth Powers

The following iconographic narratives and subjects are included in the discussion of the theme Choice/Choosing:

ADAM AND EVE

SAINTS

JUDGMENT OF PARIS

LAST JUDGMENT

THE AGONY IN THE GARDEN

MISCELLANEOUS

THE CHOICE OF HERCULES

BETWEEN VICE AND

VIRTUE



Annibale Carracci, *Hercules at the Crossroads* (*The Choice of Hercules*), circa 1596, painting, Naples, Italy, Museo Nazionali di Capodimonte. (Courtesy of Alinari/Art Resource, New York)

The necessity and the unforeseeable consequences of the choices humans make are manifest in two tales that have supplied the subject matter for countless works of art for more than 2,000 years. Among the first on this theme in the recorded history of art is the judgment of Paris. The handsomest of mortal men, Paris is asked to judge which goddess, Hera (Juno), Athena (Minerva), or Aphrodite (Venus), can claim the golden apple inscribed with the words "To the Fairest." Each goddess tries to bribe Paris, Hera with greatness, Athena with success in battle, and Aphrodite with the world's most beautiful woman for his wife. Recounted in the *Cypria*, a lost eighth-century b.c. poem in an epic cycle, the story is first depicted on a Spartan comb from the seventh century B.C. (although there is disagreement about whether Paris actually holds an apple in his extended left hand). His award of the apple to Aphrodite (Venus) is a choice for love, for beauty, and for all that is positively associated with them (as opposed to the onerous duties that accompany the prizes offered by Athena and Hera). But as Sigmund Freud has suggested in an analysis of stories that revolve around the choice of three objects, such choices can be interpreted as instances of reaction formation: in love we feel we overcome death. Yet the spontaneous free choice of Paris, the disguised shepherd, is actually a choice for necessity; in his case the destiny proclaimed for him, and that he cannot elude, is death, the one matter in which humans have no choice. In the ensuing Trojan War his entire race, aside from a few remnants, is destroyed.

Although the judgment of Paris is not among the famous subjects of painting the Roman author Pliny discusses, the scene is represented in Greek vases, on surviving Pompeian frescoes, in countless medieval illustrations, and in Renaissance and Baroque paintings and drawings. In these representations the goddesses usually form a group separate from Paris, as in Lucas Cranach's painting, with Mercury (messenger of the gods but also weigher of souls) standing in the center or separate from the other figures. This grouping of three females and Paris's choice of the third goddess suggest other classical themes and the interpenetration of notions concerning life and death: the three Graces, the Horae (representatives of the Earth's cycle of blooming and dying, varying three or four in number), and the Moirai (divinities of the duration of human life). Atropos, the third of the Moirai, as Freud has pointed out, represents the fate that cannot be avoided, that is, death.

The golden apple that Paris bestows disrupted the wedding feast of Thetis and Peleus when it was tossed into the gathering by Eris, the goddess of discord, in revenge for not being invited to the celebration. These motifs of the reward of an apple, discordant enmity, and the rupturing of nuptial harmony are also present in the biblical account of the serpent's temptation of Eve in the Garden of Eden. That the fruit, unspecified as to species in the Bible, came to be regarded as an apple is further

evidence of a buried relationship between this subject and the judgment of Paris. Affected by the serpent's eloquence, Eve freely chooses to disobey God's injunction not to eat of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. This act is also a choice for death, but in an exceedingly profound sense, because this event serves to explain a change in the entire moral character of the human race. In a state of perfect innocence, the first sin was committed, an act that illuminates the nature of free will, a cornerstone of Christian (and for the most part Western) thinking: While humans are able to discern the good, their capacity for choice of action also means that frequently they will choose evil (regression to the original darkness). Although his choice affected his world, decimating an entire generation, Paris was an individual man, the son of a king masquerading as a shepherd. Adam and Eve, however, symbolize humans in general, and their choice is the initiating act within a framework of sin (millennia of wars and other evils of the human race) and redemption (in which a major role is played by Jesus, who is often represented and referred to as a shepherd, sent to Earth by his father, the king of heaven).

The earliest representation of the fall in art (a third-century catacomb), which becomes the most standard configuration and which also suggests parity in the matter of choosing to sin, depicts the figures of Adam and Eve standing on either side of the tree, covering their genitals. It also suggests their loss of innocence, one of the effects of which is the radical separation of male and female, strongly emphasized by the depiction of Adam and Eve in separate altar panels (for example, that by Hans Memling, 1490). In a variation, Adam and Eve stand at the left side of the tree with the serpent to the right (very occasionally this is reversed), which seems to represent an earlier moment in the biblical story in which the couple are still united. This schema has the effect of highlighting Eve's role: for instance, in Hugo van der Goes's panel (circa 1470), she has obviously eaten from the fruit she holds in her right hand while plucking another one toward which Adam extends his left hand. Paul Gauguin worked extensively on the theme of the fall, focusing on Eve, but an interpretation is problematic in that his works occur in the modern period.

The configuration in which Adam and Eve stand separated on either side of the tree also expresses in visual terms the state of isolation in which an individual exists as a result of the exercise of free will. The figure of Jesus in the Garden of Gethsemane, his human nature struggling with his divine nature, has become a profound expression of the terror humans undergo when faced with stark alternatives or in the face of death. Terrified by the excruciating vision of his Passion (Matthew 26:36-46; Mark 14:32-42; Luke 22:39-46), Christ seeks to be relieved of the burden of suffering. Painters of this scene concentrate on the frail, isolated figure of Christ, on his knees, in prayer to God (as depicted by Giovanni Bellini and

Andrea Mantegna). The garden is starkly different from the paradisiacal garden, but, in a mirroring of Eve's choice of the tree, we know Christ will choose the cross. Christ's isolation is usually further emphasized by the figures of the three disciples placed at a distance.

The model of the suffering Christ is the source for the paintings of martyr saints that proliferated in the Middle Ages. Some depict a saint confronted with a choice, for example Bernardino Fungai's painting of Catherine of Siena (born in a later age, she could not be a martyr and was thus a stigmatic) in which Christ offers her the choice of the crown of thorns over a crown of gold; but most seem to ascribe *avant la lettre* to philosopher Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's view that visual artists must pick not the climactic moment but the one that gives the imagination of the viewer the freest rein. They show instead the outcome of having chosen to be a Christian and to mimic Christ's suffering (the many paintings of Catherine wearing the crown of thorns or scenes of saints starkly isolated from the crowd of their tormenters/executioners, as in Masaccio's or Michelangelo's *Crucifixion of St. Peter*). In addition to portraying individuals (depicted, for instance, by their specific attributes and characteristics) who have pursued their voluntary choice to its limit, they also present the most extreme vision of the belief that the choices one makes in the here and now have enormous consequences on the fate of one's soul in the hereafter.

The Jewish concept of election, by which the children of Israel were chosen by God for a particular destiny with Him, was transformed by the early Christians from a biological community into a community of the faithful, who were distinguished by their obedience to the call of Christ. Representations of the parable of the sheep and goats (Matthew 25:31–46) are found during the fourth to seventh century in the Christian West, while the format of scenes of the Last Judgment, at which Christ chooses those to join him in heaven, those who have made the right choices in life, arose in the eighth and ninth centuries. Depictions in the West, especially on church facades and in frescoes (for example, by Giotto, Michelangelo, Nicola Pisano), do not follow a strictly defined schema (as in Byzantine representations of the scene), but in all of them Christ reigns in individual splendor (rarely with Mary, although Francesco Traini's fresco in the Campo Santo in Pisa, Italy, is an exception). He judges the good and the bad at his feet, who are dispatched to their respective territories, the issue of choice having become moot. This large and central image of Christ the Judge is radically different from that of Paris the judge, for Christ is the ultimate arbiter over life and death. Being a judge is a godlike activity, and Paris's presumption to judge the merits of goddesses was rewarded in the way of most presumptions against divinities.

In between the initial choice of humankind's first parents and the final judgment of humankind lies a journey. Because it is a toilsome route, as God foretold it would be when He cast Adam and Eve from the garden (occasionally mirroring Christ's suffering), humans will continuously exercise their free will and make choices that are detrimental to their souls. This journey was quite literally depicted in the Middle Ages in illustrations accompanying literary accounts of Christian spiritual pilgrimages (as in the many manuscripts of Guillaume de Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* and *Pèlerinage de l'âme*). Aside

from the Christian symbolism of their essentially sinful natures, these portrayals are also expressive of what it is to be human in the world—to choose, to act, whether for good or bad, and most often to err. The essential humanity of the notion of choice is addressed in Renaissance depictions of the theme of Hercules at the crossroads, which transforms the Christian pilgrim beset at every turn by a new temptation, the least significant of which possesses relevance within the scheme of a divine plan, into an individual faced with the ethical-moral choice between the path of virtue and the path of vice.

The literary basis for the story is the fourth-century B.C. account by Xenophon of a dialogue between Socrates and Aristippus. To Aristippus's rejection of the active life because of the amount of sacrifice required of those who would be rulers, Socrates counters that the voluntary choice of self-abnegation brings rewards that outweigh the momentary satisfaction of personal desires. He offers as an example the case of Hercules who, while meditating as a youth at a crossroad concerning the path he should follow in life, was approached by two statuesque female figures. The rather importunate figure of Happiness, also called Vice, tries to seduce him with visions of a short and easy road, enjoying all the sweets of life while profiting from the toil of others. Soft-spoken Virtue represents to Hercules a life of labors and of deeds, of which the labors will train the body to become the servant of the mind, while the deeds will reap for him the esteem of gods and mortals. This moral tale found no representations among the many devoted to the labors of Hercules in antiquity and none in the Middle Ages (it was known from the account in Cicero's *On Duties*), despite its obvious didacticism. After all, Christians did not choose their directions in life.

The earliest depictions of Hercules at the crossroads (traced by art historian Erwin Panofsky to the mid-fifteenth century) show him standing between two female figures who grasp his arms as if to pull him in their direction. What Panofsky has termed the canonical version of the theme is represented by Annibale Carracci's painting (1595), the summation of several generations of works on this theme, which fuses the seated pose of the judgment of Paris with a standard symmetrical composition: a nude and muscular Hercules, facing forward, seated on a rock in an attitude of intense concentration (one can't help seeing echoes of this figure in Rodin's *Thinker*), is framed by two standing females dressed in flowing robes, urging on him their courses of action. The figure on the left points to the rocky and mountainous terrain that is standard to the path of virtue, which is offset by the poet laureate at her feet as well as Pegasus atop the rocky mount, both indications of the fame that awaits Hercules on that route. The figure on the right, her back to the viewer, is surrounded by symbols of *Voluptas* (Pleasure): masks, playing cards, musical instruments.

Panofsky has also pointed out the similarity between Carracci's composition and the Hesperides relief in the Villa Albani, which was still in fragments in the seventeenth century. This relief portrays three figures, two Hesperidean maidens in profile, one on either side of a seated Hercules. This placement of the two figures seems uncannily to foreshadow the later Christian compositions with Adam and Eve on either side of the tree; in addition, the relief depicts the dragon guardian of the Hesperidean garden as a snake winding around the tree that towers above Hercules. From this Attic relief to Joseph Mallord

William Turner's 1806 painting *Goddess of Discord* is a long jump; although there is no suggestion in the classical sources that the goddess of discord chose the apple of contention in the paradisiacal Hesperidean garden, Turner's painting linking the fall of Troy and the biblical fall underlines the persistence and relationship of these motifs. Indeed, the tree behind Carracci's seated Hercules, although without the snake, seems a ghostly echo of this relationship.

As the scale of themes appropriate to art was considerably widened in the course of the early modern period, so the hold of the Christian Church over the daily life and minds of humans lessened. If the notion of original sin posited that one's moral state was affected before one's own free choice, the figure of Hercules was a new paradigm. His choice did not involve a metaphysical struggle between good and evil (the narrow gate of life and the broad gate of destruction) but was that of a human who was innately virtuous and who could rationally distinguish between virtue and vice and act as the judge of his own fate. One can't help feeling, however, to return to Paris, that an element of wishful thinking was involved in this glorification of an image so strongly associated with earthly deeds, fame, and physical valor. Although Hercules is human, his twelve labors, an act of redemption for killing his children, also represent death struggles from which he emerges victorious (the Hesperidean apples, in any case, were regarded in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as potions for attaining immortality), and after his death he is deified. Does this suggest the wish that, for the manly, heroic figure, the most human of acts—choosing—does not lead down the road to death? (The matter of Hercules is further complicated by the fact that he is also a man enslaved by a woman, the Lydian queen Omphale, not to mention that his death is caused by his earthly wife.)

The ethical-moral dimension of Hercules' choice is not always so strongly in evidence in works by other painters of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. The gorgeous textural realism of Veronese transforms the ethical opposites into a choice between alternate ways of life, while Nicolas Poussin's classical composition seems to free the subject from all moral associations. Sir Joshua Reynolds's 1762 portrait *Garrick Between Tragedy and Comedy* becomes a parody of the notion of choice. Although the number of artists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries who resorted to such traditional subject matter is significant, it is clear that, with the transposition of the intelligible order of Christianity into moral terms in the early modern period, something significant has been lost. The figure of Christ, for instance, can be seen as a metaphor for suffering humanity (as depicted in works by Édouard Manet and Paul Gauguin) but no longer as a figure who will inspire us to reflect on our own essential darkness and to choose the path that will restore us to wholeness; Hercules has even shed his moral associations and has been reduced to a strongman.

One cannot state that such a basic human issue as choice has been lost to the visual arts, but it appears in a new way. The intellectual and literary current of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries illuminating this best is existentialism. The basic concerns of existentialist thought—the singular individual in the here and now, human freedom, human responsibility—are also those of the subjects examined so far in this article. Yet what separates Hercules or Adam and Eve from the isolated individuals in works from Fyodor Dostoyevsky to Max Frisch is the sense of

anguish and abandonment of the latter. Distinguishing ourselves as humans means making committed choices, as demonstrated in Martin Heidegger's philosophy and in Albert Camus's novels; to choose means to recognize a value. A vast body of existentialist literature, starting with Søren Kierkegaard, reflects the frequent failure of rational and not so rational human beings to acknowledge such a value and to achieve a self-consistency that was once provided by a body of moral precepts. A modern exemplar of isolated, suffering humanity, say a figure standing on a bridge (the road of life again) in a painting by Edvard Munch, hears no response from God but stares dumbly and desperately at his own troubled reflection in the water below him, finding no certainty in that abyss. The paintings by Munch that show a group of girls clustered together on a bridge seem particularly apt in this connection in that the range of activity and, thus, the range of choice traditionally available to women have been circumscribed. The girls in this work seem literally caught at the crossroads, facing toward the home they have left behind. The choice of going forward seems clear. But the choice will not lead them to certain damnation or to certain salvation, only to an uncertain future signaled by the road that weaves so precariously out of the picture frame.

See also Journey/Flight; Path/Road/Crossroads; Temptation; Virtue/Virtues

Selected Works of Art

Adam and Eve

Adam and Eve, end of third century, Rome, Catacomb of SS. Marcellino e Pietro

Creation of Eve—Temptation and Fall, ivory plaque, late eleventh century, Salerno, Italy, Cathedral, Museo Del Duomo

Memling, Hans, *Adam and Eve*, outer wings of *Johannes Altar*, 1490

van der Goes, Hugo, *Adam and Eve*, left wing of diptych, circa 1470, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Dürer, Albrecht, *The Fall of Man*, engraving, B1 (108), 1504

Gauguin, Paul, *Adam and Eve*, 1902, Charlottenlund, Denmark, Ordstrupgaardsamlingen

Judgment of Paris

Judgment of Paris, ivory comb from Sparta, seventh century B.C., Athens, Greece, National Art Gallery and Alexander Soutzos Museum

Judgment of Paris, Roman wall painting from Pompeii, first century, Naples, Italy, National Museum

Lefevre, Raoul, *Recueil des Histoires de Troie*, illuminated manuscript, fifteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (MS.fv. 22552, fol. 214v)

Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *The Judgment of Paris*, tempera and oil on wood, circa 1528, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Rubens, Peter Paul, *The Judgment of Paris*, oil on canvas, 1639, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Pierre-August Renoir, *The Judgment of Paris*, oil on canvas, 1914, Hiroshima, Japan, Hiroshima Museum

Sargent, John Singer, *Judgment of Paris*, part of mural series, 1916–1921, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
 Nakian, Reuben, *Judgment of Paris*, plaster sculpture, four figures, 1963–1966, New York, Egan Gallery
 Seitz, Gustav, *Judgment of Paris*, bronze relief panel of *Porta d'Amore* doors, 1965, Hamburg, Germany, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe

The Agony in the Garden

Bellini, Giovanni, *Agony in the Garden*, panel, circa 1460, London, National Gallery
 Mantegna, Andrea, *Agony in the Garden*, panel, circa 1460, London, National Gallery
 Gauguin, Paul, *Christ in Garden of Olives*, oil on canvas, 1889, West Palm Beach, Florida, Norton Gallery and School of Art

The Choice of Hercules Between Vice and Virtue

Robetta, Cristofano, *The Choice of Hercules*, etching, late fifteenth century, Vienna, Graphische Sammlung Albertina
 Carracci, Annibale, *Hercules at the Crossroads (The Choice of Hercules)*, painting, circa 1596, Naples, Italy, Museo Nazionali di Capodimonte
 Poussin, Nicolas, *The Choice of Hercules*, canvas, 1637, Stourhead House, Wiltshire, England, The National Trust
 Veronese (Paolo Caliari), *Allegory of Virtue and Vice (The Choice of Hercules)*, circa 1580, New York, Frick Collection
 de Matteis, Paolo, *Choice of Hercules*, circa 1714, Leeds, Kent, City Art Gallery and Temple Newsam; engraving by Simon Gribelin II, used as illustration to Lord Shaftesbury's *Characteristics of Men*, 1714
 West, Benjamin, *The Choice of Hercules*, oil on canvas, 1764, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Saints

Fungai, Bernardino, *Saint Catherine of Siena*, predella panel, sixteenth century, Siena, Italy, San Domenico
 Senese, Ignato, *Saint Catherine of Siena*, seventeenth century, Siena, Italy, Oratorio di Santa Caterina della Notte
 di Giovane, Palma, *Saint Catherine of Siena*, seventeenth century, Bergamo, Italy, Accademia Carrara
 Michelangelo, *Crucifixion of Saint Peter*, fresco, 1545–1550, Vatican, Pauline Chapel
 Masaccio, *Crucifixion of Saint Peter*, panel, 1426, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

Last Judgment

Last Judgment, fresco, circa 800, Müstair, Switzerland, St. Johann Cathedral
Last Judgment, west portal, circa 1120, Autun, France, Cathedral St. Lazare
Last Judgment, tympanum of south portal, first quarter of thirteenth century, Chartres, France, Chartres Cathedral
 Pisano, Nicola, *The Last Judgment*, panels on marble pulpit, 1265–1268, Siena, Italy, Cathedral

Giotto, *Last Judgment*, fresco, after 1305, Padua, Arena Chapel

Traini, Francesco, *Last Judgment*, fresco, mid-fourteenth century, Pisa, Italy, Campo Santo

Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, fresco, 1536–1541, Rome, Vatican, Sistine Chapel

Miscellaneous

Hercules and the Hesperides, marble relief, Roman copy of fifth century B.C. Greek work, Rome, Villa Albani

Turner, J. M. W., *The Goddess of Discord Choosing the Apple of Contention in the Garden of the Hesperides*, canvas, 1806, London, Tate Gallery

Reynolds, Joshua, *Garrick Between Tragedy and Comedy*, 1760–1761, Rushbrooke, England, Lord Rothschild Collection

Guilhelmine Benoist, Marie, *Innocence Between Virtue and Vice*, oil on canvas, 1790, St. Benin d'Azy, S. A. S. La Princesse Leopold de Cröy Soire

Kauffmann, Angelica, *The Artist Hesitating Between the Arts of Music and Painting*, circa 1794, Nostell Priory, collection of Lord St. Oswald

Vedder, Elihu, *The Soul Between Doubt and Faith*, 1887, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Museum

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COMIC

Barry Wind

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Comic:

ANTIQUE

MEDIEVAL

RENAISSANCE

BAROQUE

EIGHTEENTH–TWENTIETH
CENTURY



Annibale Carracci, *Butcher Shop*, circa 1582, painting, Oxford, Christ Church.
(Courtesy of Villani & Figli, Bologna, Italy)

In his seminal study on the comic mode, *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* (1905), Sigmund Freud remarked on “comic pleasure” and its effect, laughter. Freud did not consider art in his exegesis on laughter, but the continual interest in rousing comic pleasure informs images from antiquity to the present. The terrain is vast, but the various manifestations of the comic in the visual arts share several common threads: caricature, distortion and the grotesque, parody, visual wit achieved through odd or playful combinations, and corollaries to comic literature. These various types are unified by a sense of incongruity. Parody, in which an image mocks something held in esteem, is clearly allied to this conceit. Similarly, visual wit achieved through unexpected combinations and visual puns, sometimes salacious, rely on the juxtaposition of incongruous elements. The interdependence of comic art and comic literature also has incongruity as its fulcrum. Comic literature and comic art resonate with themes that revolve around this paradigm: lustful old people, quack physicians, and hedonistic clerics.

Ancient Greek and Roman artists made forays into all aspects of this comic terrain. At Pompeii and on the Palatine in Rome, for example, comic portrait graffiti prefigure modern caricature. The frequent representations of dwarfs struggling with storks, crocodiles, and hippopotamuses in Pompeian paintings and mosaics emphasize the comic contrast between the frail and deformed humans and their outsize animal adversaries. A witty visual playfulness can also be seen in sculpture and mosaics. In the Hellenistic *Hermaphrodite* in the Borghese Gallery in Rome, for instance, the viewer is deceived by what appears to be a luscious female nude seen from the back. But approaching and walking around the figure, the viewer discovers—to horror or delight—the sexual ambiguity. The sculptor has played with our expectations and created a humorous jolt. Similarly, the mosaic *The Unswept Floor*, by Sosos of Pergamum of the third or second century B.C., which survives in a second-century A.D. copy by Heraclitus in the Lateran Museum in Rome, plays upon visual surprise. Here the detritus of a luxuriant banquet—shells, bones, stems—lies illusionistically on the floor. The urge to sweep the remnants away is compelling. The artist has even depicted a mouse attracted to the untidy remains.

The fragility of many antique paintings and the effects of the passage of time regrettably limit knowledge of the extent of comic depictions in this period, but literary sources suggest a lively tradition. Pliny (*Natural History*, XXXV, 114, 140) notes that Kalates painted “comic subjects,” Kratinos “comic actors,” and the Hellenistic artist Antiphilos depicted the theatrical clown Gryllos. Ktesilocho, a pupil of Apelles, painted a burlesque picture of Zeus, the king of the gods, giving birth to

Dionysus, god of wine (*Natural History*, XXXV, 140). Pliny also characterizes the works of the Roman landscape painter Studius as filled with “infinite humor” (*Natural History*, XXXV, 116), particularly a scene with men staggering beneath the weight of women, whom they carry through the mud.

If the traces of these artists’ contributions to comic imagery are confined to literary descriptions, the tradition that they embody is more readily accessible in vase painting and the minor arts, where the comic theater provides a rich thematic source for Greek and Roman artists. The farce supplies a number of examples. In an early sixth-century B.C. Corinthian vase in the National Museum in Athens, for instance, Dionysus, Zeus, and Hephaestus (the god of fire) are mocked. They sport exaggerated comic features and wear comic theatrical costumes, visible phalli, and padded jerkins. The phylakes, vases of the fourth and third century B.C. produced in southern Italy, continue the theatrical mode of parody. Hercules, derived from the burlesques of the playwright Rhinthon, was among the favorite targets. In a vase now in St. Petersburg, Russia, the gluttonous Hercules snatches sacrificial food away from an impotent Zeus. On another vase, in Centuripe, Italy, the macho Hercules is startled by an unveiling woman. Phylakes vases also illustrated comic scenes that had their point of departure in daily life. A miser beset by thieves, a theme later used by Plautus in the *Aulularia*, is depicted on a vase by Asteas, now in Berlin. A duped farmer is depicted on a vase in St. Petersburg. The comic theater also provides the inspiration for the numerous small terra-cottas of actors produced by Greek and Roman artists. Sicilian comedy supplies depictions of the warrior and the cook (examples are found in Berlin and in Tarentum, Italy). And the parodies of heroes in Attic old comedy find their counterpart in burlesque statues of Hercules, Odysseus, and Cadmus (examples are in Berlin; the Louvre in Paris; and Munich, Germany). The Roman comic masks of the Atellan farce, with its grotesque types, the clownish yokel Maccus, and the priapic Pappus, may be a source for later caricature.

For all the delight that these comic pieces brought, however, comedy was viewed as a lesser form of expression. Accordingly, Aristotle distinguished comedy from tragedy by comparing tragedy to the works of the elevated painter Polygnotos and comedy to those of the more humble genre painter Pauson. Similarly, Pliny (*Natural History*, XXXV, 114) differentiated the painters of comic scenes, Kalates and Antiphilos, from other artists because they focused on “small pictures.”

The comic imagery of the Middle Ages is far less extensive. Some amusing misericords feature animals playing musical instruments (for example, a cat with a fiddle in the cathedral in Hereford, England), monkeys robbing a peddler (in the cathe-

dral in Manchester, England), and the comic effects of overindulgence (at St. Mary in Fairford, England). Perhaps the depictions of performing animals continue conceits found in antique gems where animals also were given anthropomorphic qualities, whereas the other images probably have didactic implications. Indeed, the monkey and peddler motif survives into the Renaissance and is found, for example, in a satiric 1582 engraving by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. The print carries the admonitory inscription: "And so human finery creates fun for monkeys." Such didacticism would be appropriate for a church setting, but the inclusion of playfully amusing animals (the cat and the fiddle, a goat and a lute) in a sacred setting remains problematic. Perhaps the Aquinian conceit of all things sacred and profane ordered toward God provides some explanation. Miniatures in the margins of Gothic manuscripts also had a comic tenor. These include various representations of apes performing human tasks—a falconer, a sham physician in the late thirteenth-century Cambrai Breviary, and a schoolmaster in the Psalter of Jeffrey d'Aspremont of about 1802. Many other examples of apes in various human guises occur. Clerics also are not free from the humorous bite of the Gothic miniaturist. Dominicans are parodied as dogs in the East Anglian manuscript of Walter de Milemete (circa 1326–1327) and the *Roman de la Rose* of the mid-fourteenth century. These humorous vignettes, like many of the satiric marginalia, may find their counterparts in the late Gothic fabliaux, moralizing burlesques recited by jongleurs for a predominantly lay audience.

The Renaissance saw an efflorescence of comic depictions both north and south of the Alps. In the north, for example, Hieronymus Bosch was viewed as a new Antiphilos, and his satiric scenes, like the *Garden of Delights* (circa 1510, at the Prado in Madrid, Spain), were studded with memorable characters. In the *Haywain* (circa 1490, also in the Prado), Bosch again demonstrated a flair for visual wit, juxtaposing the sack-like shape of the indulgent monk and the sack of hay filled by the nun henchwomen.

Bruegel was viewed as Bosch's legitimate heir. As Bruegel's early seventeenth-century biographer Carel van Mander (*Schilderboeck*, 1604) writes: "He was often called Pier den Droll. Indeed, there are very few works from his hand that the beholder can look at seriously without laughing." Bruegel's satiric depictions of greed in the manner of Bosch—such as *Mad Meg* (1562, at the Museum Mayer Van der Bergh in Antwerp, Belgium), where a woman's rapaciousness leads her to the mouth of hell, or the more realistic depiction of the consequences of gluttony in the *Land of Cockaigne* (1567, in Munich)—confirm van Mander's view. In the *Land of Cockaigne*, Bruegel also makes use of a visual pun, allying the swollen bodies of the gluttons to the swollen hillside of Cockaigne.

Various types of wit are manifest in many other northern examples. The motif of parodying heroic types is continued by Lucas Cranach's burlesque of the impotence of Hercules in a series of depictions of Hercules and Omphale (from the 1530s, in Gotha, Berlin, Munich, and Brunswick, Germany; and in Lugano, Switzerland). The popular comic theatrical theme of geriatric lust is explored by Cranach in pictures now in

Stockholm, Sweden (1532), and Prague, Czech Republic (circa 1530). This theme is also depicted by Quentin Massys (at the National Gallery in Washington, D.C.) and Jan Massys (Stockholm, Sweden) and in comic prints by Israhel van Meckenem (circa 1480) and Albrecht Dürer (1495). Dürer also showed a penchant for visual punning. In his woodcut the *Bath House* (circa 1496), for example, the artist piquantly camouflaged the body of a male bather with a pump sporting a cock as its spigot. Satiric broadsheets condemning women, tipplers, gamblers, and peasants were produced in abundance.

Italian Renaissance art affords a wide variety of comic imagery ranging from witty visual juxtapositions to parody of the antique gods. The seriousness of Giotto's *Marriage at Cana* (1305, in the Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy), for instance, is relieved by the swollen wine jug juxtaposed to the equally swollen wine steward. The sophisticated delight in visual wit and strange juxtapositions is elaborated in the odd constructs of the late sixteenth-century painter Giuseppe Arcimboldi. His depictions of landscapes that suggest human heads and fruit baskets with onion cheeks and a parsnip nose show a witty collision of images much admired by his contemporaries. Mocking images of the antique gods were doubtless attractive to the Italian Renaissance artist and patron. These images range from popular prints—such as Martino Rota's series of pagan deities of about 1580, which featured a misshapen Venus, a warty Narcissus, and a goitered Juno—to depictions by Botticelli, Rosso Fiorentino, and Giulio Romano. In Botticelli's *Venus and Mars (Sleeping Mars)* (circa 1475, at the National Gallery in London), the god lies soporifically inert beside the languid Venus. A mischievous satyr tries to awaken him, but his arm, lying flaccidly at his crotch, indicates his impotent state. Here we find the counterpart to the witty compromise of Hercules' masculinity in Cranach's representation of the Hercules and Omphale story. Rosso's amusing drawing of *Mars and Venus* (1530, at the Louvre) similarly presents the effects of emasculation, as Mars is dragged reluctantly before a voluptuous Venus. Giulio Romano's work at the Palazzo del Te in Mantua, Italy, also sportively plays with the image of the gods. In part of the ceiling decoration of the Sala di Psiche (1528), a grace pouring water is accompanied by a urinating putto, who sprinkles the viewer from above. In the Sala dei Giganti (1532–1534) giants tumble about in an echo-chamber environment that evokes the managed terror of an amusement park. But Giulio's wit also extends to the decorative arts, for example, his design for tongs with a duck bill (in the British Museum in London) and to the architecture of the Palazzo del Te (circa 1528) itself. In the garden facade, Giulio uses slipping triglyphs, compromising the solidity of architecture and paralleling the comic instability of the Sala dei Giganti. Because one of the important attributes of the ideal courtier, according to Baldassare Castiglione, was wit, it is not surprising to see a premium placed upon visual wit in scenes created for court patronage.

By the late sixteenth century, the comic in art was clearly defined in theoretical thought. Accordingly, Gabriele Paleotti (*Trattato*, 1582) described *pitture ridicole* (ridiculous paintings), pictures of gluttony and dissipation that moved the spectator to laughter. This conceit was elaborated in the seventeenth century

by Francisco Pacheco (*Arte de la Pintura*, 1649) and, by the early eighteenth century, by Dutch theorists Arnold Houbraken and Gerard de Lairese. As in antiquity, however, the comic mode was seen as less elevated than pictures with noble themes (Paleotti; Pacheco; Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni Sulla Pitture*, circa 1620). The types of comic painting showing gluttony and dissolution are abundant. Annibale Carracci's *Bean Eater* (circa 1582, in the Colonna Collection in Rome) and Diego Velázquez's *Three Men at a Table* (circa 1618, at the Hermitage in St. Petersburg) are two examples. A plethora of such pictures exists north of the Alps. Adriaen Brouwer's *Innkeeper* (circa 1630, at the Gemäldegalerie in Munich), dominated by a rotund slothful drinker and a companion pig, as well as Jacob Jordaens's various depictions of boisterous drinking parties in the *King Drinks* (in versions in Brussels, Belgium; Paris; Munich; and Vienna, Austria) epitomize the type.

The comic theater also served as a point of departure for Baroque low-life painters. Characters and plots of the commedia dell'arte were doubtless the source for Annibale Carracci's *Butcher Shop* (circa 1582, in Christ Church at Oxford University) and Caravaggio's versions of the fortune-teller theme (at the Capitoline Museum in Rome and at the Louvre). Georges de La Tour appropriated commedia dell'arte characters for his *Old Man* and *Old Woman* (1620, in San Francisco), and Hendrick Terbrugghen and Jan Steen illustrate the popular comic theme of lubricious old age. Rembrandt van Rijn depicts commedia dell'arte characters in several drawings, and Jacques Callot does a series of prints with commedia characters. The dentist theme, popular north and south of the Alps, also has its roots in the popular comedic theater satirizing quacks; the theme was depicted by Caravaggio, Honthorst, and Steen.

Visual playfulness remains an important substratum in comic representations. Perhaps in emulation of the antique, Annibale Carracci painted a now-lost illusionistic still life that fooled a maid and provoked the uproarious delight of his friends. The punning, salacious allusions in Jan Steen's work—a phallic onion to depict romping lovers and the squeezing of a spigot as a commentary on the marriage of Tobias and Sara—elaborate the conceits of humorous visual metaphor. Steen's comic treatment of this biblical theme demonstrates that the comic is not limited to genre. As in earlier periods, the antique gods are subject to ridicule. Consider, for instance, Velázquez's torpid, sleazy Mars (circa 1640, at the Prado) or Rembrandt's ridiculous *Ganymede* (1635, in Dresden, Germany), a stocky Dutch brat who urinates while being lifted heavenward. Annibale Carracci views the loves of the gods in a lighthearted and amusing way in his fresco, executed between 1597 and 1604, in the Farnese Gallery in Rome. Decorative ignudi (nude figures) and simulated fragmented antique statuary strain to look at the lovemaking gods. When Venus and Anchises begin their foreplay, a volcano in the background symbolically emits smoke. Portraiture also takes on a humorous cast. Velázquez's portraits of the dwarfs Acedo, Lezcano, and Morra (circa 1638–1644, at the Prado) emphasize their deformity, recalling the antique images of dwarfs and the delight in humorous distortion. Gian Lorenzo Bernini's portrait of Count Paolo Orsini (circa 1638, in a private collection) subverts the all'antica

devices of aggrandizement—blank eyes and toga—with a vividly humorous portrayal of a man whose improbable mustache appears to take flight.

There was a lively continuation of the comic tradition in the eighteenth century. The satiric broadsheet as well as comic painting remained popular. English artist William Hogarth fused the two traditions, producing comic pictures and sets of prints derived from them that appealed to a wider audience. His series of progresses—a harlot, a rake, a marriage of convenience—have their immediate roots in eighteenth-century satiric literature, but the visual puns, contrasts of opposites, and often sleazy characters all relate to traditional comic modes. Plate VI of Hogarth's *Harlot's Progress* (1732) epitomizes these conceits. This image of the harlot's funeral depicts a lecherous churchman comforting a bereaved prostitute in a less-than-clerical way. His wine glass, strategically placed at his crotch, tips and disgorges its contents. Hogarth's use of such puns and humorous contrasts is multiplied easily. James Gillray, Isaac and George Cruikshank, and Thomas Rowlandson follow Hogarth's lead in England, producing witty salvos on the manners and mores of libidinous geriatrics, quack doctors, and estrous women.

On the continent, comic images in the manner of Hogarth were also produced. German artist Daniel Chodowiecki, for example, essayed a life of a rake (1774), a series satirizing the vices and follies of education, gambling, and quack healers. Francisco Goya's *Los Caprichos*, produced at the close of the eighteenth century, continue the satiric attacks on moral turpitude. His stated aim in the etchings is to depict "the multitude of follies and blunders common in every civil society." The images, related to a seventeenth-century literary text, Francisco de Quevedo's vitriolic *Suenos*, include such traditional comic themes as the donkey schoolmaster, the deceptive lubricity of women, and the greed and gluttony of churchmen. The last is exemplified by plate 139 of the series, *It's Hot*. Here, grotesque, almost simian, monks indulge their appetites.

In the nineteenth century, the comic tradition was extended in the print medium by such artists as Honoré Daumier and Johann Heinrich Ramberg. Ramberg's series on *Strunk the Upstart* (1822–1825) continues the mode of the Hogarthian progress, featuring the amoral, sexually promiscuous Strunk as its antihero. Old visual puns reappear in nineteenth-century guise. Accordingly, in plate V of the series, Ramberg underscores Strunk's sexual potency with a maid pulling on a spigot. Daumier's comic series often take on a political slant. A set of prints of the 1830s devoted to the adventures of Robert Macaire satirizes the greed of venture capitalists and implicitly indicts the government's laissez-faire attitude. In the 1850s, Daumier created *Ratapail*, a vicious, rodentlike creature who emblemized the supporters of Louis Napoleon. Daumier also did a series in the 1840s that mocked the heroes and heroines of mythology.

Daumier and Ramberg are commonly identified with comic depictions. But even high-minded, serious themes in the nineteenth century suffer the intrusion of comic elements. Consider, for example, Ford Madox Brown's *The Last of England* (1852, at the City Art Museum and Gallery in Birmingham, England). The forlorn immigrants in the foreground are contrasted to the

boy in the lifeboat in the background, his head buried in a pile of vegetables transforming him into a nineteenth-century version of a Giuseppe Arcimboldi. Even a staid artist like Georges Seurat, who freezes his form to approximate the classical gravity of Piero della Francesca, allows visual wit to creep into his work. In *La Chahut* (1889–1890, at the Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller in Otterloo, The Netherlands), a man ogling the high-stepping cancan dancers is accompanied by a strategically placed upright flute.

Major artists explore the comic mode in the twentieth century. Pablo Picasso continues the tradition of witty amalgamation in his 1943 *Bull's Head* (at Galerie Louise Leiria in Paris), a compilation of a bicycle's seat and handlebars that looks like a bull. Salvador Dalí's *Lobster Telephone* (at the Tate Gallery in London) juxtaposes the base of an actual phone with a lobster receiver, guaranteeing that any phone conversation will be painful. René Magritte's surreal combinatory forms—e.g., *The Rape* (1934, in the Menil Collection in Houston, Texas)—reminiscent of Arcimboldi, as well as his comic parody of old masters like the *Madame Recamier is Dead* (1867, at the Hanover Gallery in London), where the sitter of Jacques-Louis David's famous portrait is envisioned as a sarcophagus, demonstrate the persistence of comic motifs.

There are some twentieth-century artistic movements—Dada and pop art—that have the comic as its fulcrum. Dada, founded as an antiart movement in the crucible of World War I, took as its credo: "Dada is against everything, even Dada." The master of this movement, Marcel Duchamp, mocked the Mona Lisa in *L.H.O.O.Q.* (1918, in a private collection), defiling her with a mustache and suggesting an in-joke about Leonardo's ambiguous sexual orientation. In *Bicycle Wheel* (original of 1913), Duchamp combined a stool with a bicycle wheel, parodying the futurist concern for machine-age motion, but rendering both products of machine technology useless. The pop artists, elaborating on principles of Dada, borrowed motifs from the banal world of commercial advertising, which they subverted to create witty visual puns and comic juxtapositions. In Richard Hamilton's *Just What Is It That Makes Today's Homes So Different, So Appealing* (1956, at the Kunsthalle in Tübingen, Germany), a large Tootsie Pop-cum-phallus extends from a Charles Atlas-like bodybuilder. Claes Oldenburg creates giant lipsticks and outside ice cream cones, skewing visual perception of the mundane. Larry Rivers takes up the familiar theme of parodying the old masters in his *Greatest Homosexual* (1964, at the Hirshhorn Museum in Washington, D.C.), a co-opting of David's portrait of Napoleon. The idea of parody is also featured in *Donald Duck Descending a Staircase* (1979, at Fischer Fine Art in London). Here we have a new old master, twentieth-century artist Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase*, transformed by Peter Saul into a multiplicity of Donald Ducks. The serious and the comic touch once again, as an early twentieth-century statement meant to challenge artistic assumptions is traduced, to the cackling amusement of a present-day audience.

Feminist photographer Cindy Sherman similarly presents richly parodic imagery ranging from popular culture to old master allegories. In *Untitled Film Still No. 35* (1979), for example, she co-opts the motion picture *Two Women*, dressing

up (or maybe down) as a Sophia Loren-esque peasant. In *Untitled No. 131* (1983), she becomes Venus-cum-Bette Midler. Clothed in gold lamé, she covers her pudendum like an antique Venus. Flowers, reminiscent of the flowery shower in Botticelli's *Birth of Venus*, serve as a background for the figure. Sherman spoke directly to the comic content of these works when she noted: "And there is always me making fun."

See also Caricature/Cartoon; Fools/Folly

Selected Works of Art

Antique

Dionysos, Zeus, Hephaistos, Corinthian vase, early sixth century B.C., Athens, Greece, National Art Gallery and Alexander Soutzos Museum

Burlesque Odysseus, terra-cotta, fifth century B.C., Paris, Louvre

Hercules and Zeus, Phylakes vase, third century B.C., St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage

Asteas, *Miser Beset by Thieves*, Phylakes vase, third century B.C., Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Heraclitus, *The Unswept Floor*, mosaic, second century B.C., Rome, Museo Laterano

Medieval

Ape Physician, manuscript illumination from *Cambrai*

Breviary, late thirteenth century, Cambrai, France, Bibliothèque Municipale Renaissance Hermitage

Ape Schoolmaster, manuscript illumination from *Psalter of Joffroy d'Aspremont*, circa 1302, Oxford, Bodleian Library

Cat and a Fiddle, misericord, early fourteenth century, Hereford, England, Cathedral

Sleeping It Off, misericord, late fifteenth century, Fairford, Gloucestershire, England, St. Mary

Renaissance

Botticelli, *Sleeping Mars (Venus and Mars)*, panel, circa 1475, London, National Gallery

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Garden of Delights*, circa 1510, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *Ill-Assorted Lovers*, circa 1530, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Fiorentino, Rosso, *Mars and Venus*, drawing, 1530, Paris, Louvre

Romano, Giulio, *Sala dei Giganti*, fresco, 1532–1534, Mantua, Italy, Palazzo de Te

Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *Mad Meg*, 1562, Antwerp, Belgium, Museum Mayer van de Bergh

Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *Land of Cockaigne*, 1567, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek

Arcimboldi, Giuseppe, *Still Life*, circa 1590, Cremona, Italy, Museo Civico

Baroque

- Caravaggio, *Fortune Teller*, circa 1585, Paris, Louvre
 Carracci, Annibale, *Butcher Shop*, circa 1582, Oxford, Christ Church
 Carracci, Annibale, *Farnese Gallery*, fresco, 1597–1604, Rome, Palazzo Farnese
 La Tour, Georges, *Old Man, Old Woman*, circa 1620, San Francisco, California, De Young Memorial Museum
 Velázquez, Diego, *Mars*, circa 1640, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Velázquez, Diego, *Portrait of Don Diego de Acedo (El Primo)*, 1638, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Velázquez, Diego, *Three Men at a Table*, circa 1618, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage
 Brouwer, Adriaen, *Immkeeper*, circa 1630, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Ganymede*, 1635, Dresden, Germany, Pinakothek
 Steen, Jan, *Romping Lovers*, circa 1670, Leiden, The Netherlands, Stedelijk Museum 'de Lakenhal'

Eighteenth–Twentieth Century

- Hogarth, William, *Harlot's Progress*, engraving, 1732
 Chodowiecki, Daniel, *Life of a Rake*, etching, 1774
 Goya, Francisco, *Los Caprichos*, aquatint, 1788
 Ramberg, Johann Heinrich, *Strunk the Upstart*, drawing, 1822–1825, Hanover, Germany, Kestner-Museum
 Daumier, Honoré, *Robert Macaire Series*, lithographs, 1830s
 Duchamp, Marcel, *L.H.O.O.Q.*, pencil on a reproduction, 1918, private collection
 Dalí, Salvador, *Lobster Telephone*, 1938, London, Tate Gallery
 Magritte, René, *The Rape*, 1934, Houston, Texas, Menil Collection
 Picasso, Pablo, *Bull's Head*, sculpture, 1943, Paris, Galerie Louise Leiris
 Hamilton, Richard, *Just What Is It That Makes Today's Homes So Different, So Appealing*, collage on paper, 1956, Tübingen, Germany, Kunsthalle
 Saul, Peter, *Donald Duck Descending a Staircase*, polymer on canvas, 1979, London, Fischer Fine Art
 Sherman, Cindy, *Untitled Film Still, number 35*, photograph, 1979
 Sherman, Cindy, *Untitled, number 131*, photograph, 1983

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COMMUNION

Valerie (Hutchinson) Pennanen

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Communion:

EARLY CHRISTIAN AND
BYZANTINE

MEDIEVAL

RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH AND
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY



Chalice of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis,
French school, circa 1140, sardonyx, gold,
silver gilt, gems, and pearls, Washington,
D.C., National Gallery of Art.
(Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art,
Washington, D.C.)

The Christian sacramental meal is known by three names, each of which reflects an important aspect of its origins or character. The term *Lord's Supper* recalls the fact that the meal was instituted by Jesus Christ himself, as attested to in the three Synoptic Gospels (Matthew 26:26–29, Mark 14:22–24, Luke 22:14–23) and by the apostle Paul (I Corinthians 11:23–26). The word *Eucharist* is from the Greek word *eucharistia* (gratefulness, thanksgiving), meaning the response with which Christians are called to receive the sacrament. But it is perhaps the word *Communion* that most truly sums up the essence of the sacred Christian meal. *Communion* (from the Latin word *communio* and the Greek word *koinonia*) means “sharing.” As such, it refers not only to the act of supping at the Lord’s table but to the act of eating and drinking together—a quintessentially human act that (as anthropologists know) has tremendous power to strengthen old ties and create new ones. It was, after all, in the context of a Passover meal that Jesus first blessed the bread and wine and made his startling pronouncement, “This is my body. . . . This is my blood.” Moreover, Jesus used this occasion not only to foretell his death and the new covenant in his blood, but also to remind his disciples of the kingdom of God in which he (and they) would feast on the new fruit of the vine. Paul and Luke add that Jesus enjoined his disciples to continue sharing bread and wine “in remembrance of me,” which, according to Paul, meant also “proclaiming the Lord’s [sacrificial] death until he comes.”

There is reason to believe that in earliest Christian times Communion was celebrated at the close of the evening agape, or love feast. It perhaps did not become separate from the agape until the mid-second century, when it attached instead to Sunday morning gatherings at which the Word was preached. Even then, the sharing aspect of Communion was not forgotten; the faithful continued for a long time to bring their own bread and wine. But this custom died out with the growth of large congregations in the fourth century, after the faith had been legalized and vigorously promoted by the Roman state. Throughout the early Middle Ages, the concept of Communion as *koinonia* continued to decline. Eventually it was completely overshadowed—at least in the Latin West—by preoccupation with Christ’s saving death and with the mystical qualities of the sacrament. The monk Paschasius Radbertus was the first to develop the theory of transubstantiation, which he set forth in *The Book Concerning the Body and Blood of the Lord* (A.D. 833). Although there were many who argued against his view, which held that the body and blood of Christ are literally dispensed in the Eucharist, this belief eventually won out and was made dogma in 1215. In the later Middle Ages,

a direct connection began to be seen between human sin and Christ’s Passion and the sacrifice of the mass. . . .

[Thus the Church] acquired a position . . . as a purveyor of Salvation which it had not previously possessed. . . . The practice of elevating the consecrated Host at the mass [i.e., worship service] . . . came into existence. . . . When mass was not being celebrated, the host was displayed in a monstrance. The lay congregation henceforth received bread but no wine at communion. From the time when it was made compulsory to confess before receiving communion, the number of communicants dropped steeply, and it was in the nature of a substitute that the cult of the host and of the holy blood grew up outside the liturgy and was nourished by a belief in the redemptive effects of gazing at the host (ocular communion). (Schiller, pp. 9–11)

The Protestant Reformation brought renewed controversies over Holy Communion. The doctrine of transubstantiation was once again challenged, by Protestants seeing the Lord’s Supper as more of a commemorative feast for believers, hallowed by Christ’s spiritual—but not physical—presence. The reformers also sought to restore wine to its traditional place of importance in the Eucharist and to revive laity Communion; the latter proved such a difficult task that it was not completed until the early twentieth century. Thanks, however, to a series of fervent liturgical movements, both Protestant and Catholic, Communion gradually regained a central place in the life of the church.

Today, despite some lingering disagreement among Christians as to what Communion is, who may administer it, and who may partake of it, churches once again emphasize the sharing aspect of the sacrament and its power to bind people of all races and nations. Communion as universal sharing is the theme of many popular hymns written since the Enlightenment, and of many visual works as well. The annual observance of World Communion Sunday has helped to reaffirm the holiness of meal-fellowship as known to Jesus and his first disciples. All in all, the outlook of twentieth-century Christianity is coming to resemble that expressed in the early church: “As this broken bread was scattered over the mountains and when brought together became one, so let your Church be brought together from the ends of the earth into your kingdom” (Burkhardt, p. 93).

Early Christian and Byzantine Communion Themes

The earliest visual references to Communion are found in catacomb paintings and sarcophagi of the second and third centuries; these depict *refrigeria* (blessed meals), with an emphasis on mutual sharing and celebration. A particularly striking example is the *Breaking of the Bread* fresco in the Catacomb of Priscilla in Rome (late second century). Depicted are seven figures, of whom at least four, and possibly all, are female. The

central figure—definitely a woman—appears to be breaking bread for the company. All seven persons are ranged behind a *sigma* (crescent-shaped table) that bears the bread plate, a second plate, and a small, two-handled jug or cup. Whether this work represents a generalized heavenly banquet or an actual Eucharist is uncertain, although the scene's intimate quality—with figures all reclining close together and reaching out to touch one another or the bread—suggests the latter. Another noteworthy portrayal of a blessed banquet with sacramental overtones is in a Christian sarcophagus relief of the late third century, now in the Museo delle Terme in Rome. This time the figures are apparently all male. Three recline close together at an outdoor *sigma* on which rest three loaves of bread; the banqueter on the right holds a cup. All three extend their right hands across the top of the table, so they almost touch one another. Their facial expressions are gentle and affectionate. At the far left of the scene is a fourth figure, reaching for more bread from a basket on the ground; while at the far right stands a shepherdlike person (the Good Shepherd?) next to an orant (a male or female figure with arms raised at shoulder height in pious supplication).

Curiously, Jesus's Last Supper cannot be recognized anywhere in art before the sixth century. Depictions of other biblical meals, sacrifices, and offerings that may be construed as symbolic references to the Last Supper begin to appear much earlier, however. Because some believe the multiplication of loaves and fishes (John 6) foreshadows the events of the Last Supper, the motif of juxtaposed bread and fish in certain catacomb paintings may well be Eucharistic. Similar meanings were attached to the Old Testament miracles of manna in the wilderness (Exodus 16:4–36; John 6:31–33, 49–51; I Corinthians 10:3) and water from the Rock of Horeb (Exodus 17:5–7; I Corinthians 10:4–5) and to Habakkuk's feeding of Daniel in the lions' den (Bel and the Dragon 33–39), the meal shared by Abraham and the three angels (Genesis 18), and the sacrifices of Abel (Genesis 4), Isaac (Genesis 22), and Melchizedek (Genesis 14:18–20; Psalm 110:4; Hebrews 7). All these events are specifically referred to in Eucharistic prayers of the early church and were portrayed in monumental art from at least the fourth century. Occasionally, the reference to Christ is quite explicit, as in the *Melchizedek* mosaic (432–440) in the nave of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome. Here, as art historian Michael Gough observes, “Melchizedek . . . advances to meet [Abraham] with a basket of loaves. . . . There is a goblet of wine at the high priest's feet and a bearded, Christ-like figure in the sky above.”

Although the chalice, or common cup of blessing, had been central to Eucharistic celebrations from the very start (I Corinthians 10:16, 21), it is not until the early fourth century that the use of elegant, costly Communion vessels is documented. When Roman emperor Diocletian's persecutions reached a Christian community in Cirta (later Constantine), Algeria, the faithful were forced to surrender a collection of silver and gold chalices and silver liturgical dishes (which presumably included patens, or bread plates). Far more impressive, no doubt, were the liturgical vessels housed in old St. Peter's in Rome. A literary source describes a great, jeweled “tower” (perhaps a tabernacle for consecrated bread), above which hovered a golden dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit. Perhaps also from the fourth century—certainly no earlier—is the *Antioch Chalice*, a large,

silver-gilt cup adorned with relief images of Christ, the Gospel writers, and six apostles, all arranged within a dense and elaborate thicket of fruited patens, which—along with various other objects for storing, displaying, and serving the elements—would henceforth be a major specialty in Christian art.

The early Byzantine period saw the creation of two important new Eucharistic subjects in the visual arts. First to appear was the Last Supper, of which the earliest known portrayal is in an early sixth-century nave mosaic at S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, Italy. Christ and his 12 disciples recline together on a single bench, which curves around a *sigma*. The *sigma* is draped with a white cloth (henceforth, a standard motif in Last Suppers) and set with half a dozen small loaves and an immense platter of fish; the cup, oddly enough, is missing. Christ, clad in royal purple, reclines at the far left end of the composition. The direction of his eyes and gesture of his raised right hand indicate that he is addressing the company. Directly opposite him reclines Judas, the traitor, his back to the other disciples so that, as iconographer Gertrud Schiller observes, “he has the appearance of a twisted counterpart to Christ.” The remaining 11 figures are tightly packed together behind the *sigma*; the four closest to Christ look solemnly at him, while the rest turn their accusing gaze toward Judas. A related but slightly more subtle treatment of the Last Supper occurs in a painted miniature in the *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis* (circa 550–575). In this version, Judas reclines among the faithful, but his eager gesture of reaching into the dish (a massive gold bowl) at the table's center identifies him; so, too, does Christ's arm, outstretched in his direction. The motif of Christ pointing out the traitor (Matthew 26:23) was to become immensely popular in Western art, as did the convention—seen here for the first time—of placing the beloved disciple John next to his Lord's side.

Whereas the Last Supper was destined to be shown quite commonly in both Eastern and Western church art, the second new Eucharistic scene to emerge in the sixth century was for a long time restricted to Byzantium alone. This was the Communion of the apostles, which forms the subject of another miniature in the *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*. In the two-page composition, six apostles move to the left to receive bread from the risen Christ, while another six move to the right to receive wine from him (Christ's image is shown twice). Judas, of course, is absent from this scene, having been replaced by Paul. Christ feeds the apostles directly—there is no table or altar—and, although they bow deeply as they move toward him, they also smile as befits the great thanksgiving. Prophets appear below, and accompanying Old Testament texts (written on hanging scrolls) carry references to divinely given bread and wine.

A somewhat more formal treatment of the communing apostles theme can be viewed on the *Stuma Paten* and the *Riha Paten* (565–578), which, despite obvious differences in style, are iconographically quite close. In each composition, rendered in relief on a silver-gilt surface, two identical figures of Christ stand behind a draped central altar. They bend outward to dispense bread (on the right) and wine (on the left) to the clustered, bowing apostles. Peter and Paul are first to be served, with bread and wine, respectively. Peter's gesture of holding the bread in his right hand while cupping his left underneath, symbolizing Christ's throne as present in the sacrament, is well worth noting. The gesture was to have a very long liturgical (and iconographic) history in all Christendom.

Most middle and late Byzantine portrayals of the communing apostles theme are derived from the same iconographic source as the sixth-century patens. Minor variations included replacing the twin Christs with a single Christ or adding angels who act as deacons. The communing apostles occur not only in manuscript paintings, patens, and painted icons but also in mosaic—for instance, in the apse of the Church of Hagia Sophia in Kiev, Ukraine (circa 1051–1100)—and in the dalmatic of Charlemagne (early fifteenth century), a blue silk clerical vestment embroidered with threads of gold. The Kiev mosaicist has placed a large figure of the Virgin Mary directly above the communing apostles, so that viewers can recall the different ways in which Christ has become present on Earth. The maker of the vestment combined the imagery of apostolic Communion (shown on both shoulders) with the splendor of Christ Transfigured and the glory of Christ Enthroned on high among angels and saints.

Medieval Communion Themes

Whereas even the earliest Byzantine artists were inclined to stress the theme of human-divine interaction at the Eucharist, artists of the early medieval West were more apt to focus on the motifs of the blessed bread and wine. Indeed, the cup of salvation first appears in a Western illuminated codex in about 600—the *Gospels of St. Augustine*—together with the Host (the wafer of unleavened bread that replaced ordinary bread in the Western rite). The scene depicts the Last Supper, held at an old-fashioned *sigma* but with the figures now seated upright. The chalice rests upon the table directly before Jesus. He is holding the Host and blessing it. Additional Hosts are held by the two disciples to Jesus's left; and six larger disks, presumably loaves, rest on the tabletop. In the interest of space, only eight disciples are shown, three on Christ's left and five on his right; Judas is not identified and is possibly not present. In a miniature from the *Sacramentary of Raganaldus*, a Carolingian work painted some two and a half centuries later, an even stronger emphasis is placed on the consecrated bread and wine. This impressionistically rendered miniature has Jesus and the 12 disciples (all haloed) seated at a round table set with various dining implements and dishes, including a fish plate. Jesus, who is painted on a slightly bigger scale than the rest and has a cross superimposed on his halo, extends his arms generously to either side. His right hand holds a huge loaf, his left an immense cup. Lettered on the tabletop is the phrase CENAD(OMI)NI (Lord's Supper).

Evidence of deep respect for the Host and wine can be seen also in some splendid liturgical vessels dating from early medieval times. Two of the best known are the *Ardagh Chalice*, a silver cup with Celtic-style decoration in interlaced gold wire and gold foil, with colored enamel and glass insets (Irish, eighth century), and the *Ciborium of King Arnulf of Bavaria*, an elegant solid-gold architectural piece set with precious jewels, possibly based on the Hebrew Tabernacle (Exodus 36) and intended to house both paten and Host (Carolingian, circa 870). From the ninth century on, the image of the chalice sometimes occurs in scenes of the Crucifixion. As a revered symbol of salvation—although probably not yet of transubstantiation—the chalice served to remind faithful Christians of their Lord's triumph over death and of their new covenant with him, sealed once and for all in his blood.

The beginnings of a strong medieval interest in Judas can be traced back to art and writings of the Carolingian era. A notable early image of Judas's Communion appears in the *Stuttgart Psalter* (circa 820–830), originally from Saint-Germain-des-Près, France. Here a solemn figure of Christ with intense, dark eyes is contrasted with an agitated and clearly guilty Judas. Christ sits on an elaborate architectural throne (John is behind him). With his lowered left hand he supports a decorated chalice, while with the right, held directly above it, he feeds the Host to Judas. Swooping in toward Judas's open mouth is a black bird, symbol of the devil (John 13:27), and Judas's lower body is turned away from that of Jesus, his legs already poised for flight. The image was made to accompany the text of Psalm 41:9 (“Yea, mine own familiar friend . . . which did eat of my bread, hath lifted up his heel against me”) but would also recall Paul's warning in I Corinthians 11:29 that “For he that eateth and drinketh [Communion] unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body.”

A growing fascination with Judas's sin can be seen in art of the Romanesque and Gothic periods, no doubt because as more and more Christians came to believe in transubstantiation, their horror at Judas's crime was bound to increase. The unholy disciple had not merely received bread and wine from the hands of the blameless Jesus, although that would have been bad enough, but he had dared to eat the very body and drink the very blood of God himself! An illumination in the *Book of Pericopes*, from St. Erentrud in Salzburg, Austria (circa 1140), clearly conveys the brazen awfulness of the crime. Jesus and the faithful 11, all haloed, sit (John is asleep on his master's breast) at the far side of a long, almost rectangular, table. (Rectangular tables were by now gradually replacing round ones in Last Supper scenes.) With his right hand, Jesus reaches across the table to insert bread into the mouth of Judas, a haloless figure seated at right foreground. Judas piously holds his right hand over his heart, but the viewer can see a small black devil about to slide off the sop into Judas's mouth. A slightly different version of the theme occurs in a painting in the *Vysehrad Coronation Gospels* (1085–1086); here Judas and Jesus are both dipping bread into the dish, using their right hands, while Judas also uses his left hand to cram a sop into his mouth, unaware that the ominous black bird is entering him. A version sculpted on the pulpit of Volterra Cathedral (twelfth century) shows Judas kneeling piously at Jesus's feet, holding up his hands in an improper manner (top left) to receive the Host. Lurking behind Judas is a sinister winged dragon, whose flashing teeth and fangs eagerly await his damnation. Still another rendering, by Nicholas of Verdun on the *Klosterneuburg Altar* (1181), has Jesus simultaneously feeding bread to Judas and wine to Peter, with an inscription that reads, “See, in two forms Christ holds himself in his hands.” Nicholas's Judas is distinguished not only by his lack of halo and isolated position but also by his deformed face (a motif later used by Giotto) and by the fact that his ill-omened left hand conceals a stolen fish.

So very holy was the Lord's body, as contained within the Host, that some late medieval attempts were made to deny that Judas had ever partaken of it. A painted paten in the cathedral treasury of Halberstadt, Germany (circa 1300), makes this argument directly. The paten shows Christ and Judas in the center, surrounded by a ring of busts of the 11 faithful disciples.

An inscription states that the bread Judas received at the Last Supper was unconsecrated and that it was only after Jesus pointed out the traitor that he instituted the sacrament.

Many more works of art from the second half of the Middle Ages can be linked, either probably or certainly, with belief in transubstantiation. The concept of the blessed wafers as the literal body of Christ is surely inherent in one of the most powerful and haunting images of all medieval art: the *Crucifix of Archbishop Gero* (969–976) in the Cologne Cathedral in Germany. This life-size oak image, carved virtually in the round to represent the dead Christ hanging heavily from his cross, forced viewers of the time to confront the physical realities of their Lord's Passion as never before. Christ's face is an anguished mask, his chin lies sunken upon his chest, the sinews of his limbs are stretched as if to the breaking point, the hands are limp, the legs bowed out, and the belly shockingly distended. In a compartment at the back of the head, Communion wafers were stored—as they still are—so that the wooden image of the Savior's body could be said to hold his actual body, as the dogma affirmed. More delicate and pleasing receptacles for the Host were created during the Gothic period, notably in France, where a series of gilt-bronze and enameled Eucharistic doves (each with a hinged opening in a wing or the back for insertion of the wafers) became popular. These doves were suspended over church and cathedral altars, sometimes in conjunction with little votive crowns. Also, monstrances, display cases for the Host, appeared in church art soon after the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) had endorsed the doctrine of transubstantiation. Late Gothic monstrances are generally made to look like miniature cathedrals, and so, as art historian Hans Hofstätter has observed,

are [like] soaring images of the Heavenly City. . . . they are composed of a jointed pedestal and stem . . . above which a cylindrical vessel for the host rests on a platform. Above the vessel a baldachin is supported by two buttressed piers, and on it . . . [typically stands] a statuette of the Madonna which, in turn, is surmounted by another baldachin. Usually the spire is crowned by a cross. (Hofstätter, p. 101)

Meanwhile, the creation of splendid chalices, and depictions of the chalice in art, continued as well. The *Chalice of Abbot Suger* (circa 1140), made for use by Suger and his monks at the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis in France, is a justly famous work. Made from a reused Roman bowl of carved sardonyx, mounted in gold and finished with silver gilt, gemstones, glass insets, and pearls, this chalice was intended to rest upon the high altar when not in actual use. Here its glistening beauty, according to the abbot's design, would help to “call [the devout] away from external cares” and invite them to reflect “on the diversity of the sacred virtues” (Calkins, p. 123).

Renaissance, Reformation, and Modern Communion Themes

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a growing willingness to experiment with depictions of the Eucharist and Last Supper. The theme of the communing apostles receives its first Western treatment during this time. More significantly, portraits of contemporary persons begin to appear in Eucharistic

scenes, as do an abundance of contemporary details and even whole settings, which bring the events vividly to life. For instance, in an altarpiece done for the brotherhood of the Corpus Domini at Urbino, Italy (1473–1474), the Flemish painter Joos van Gent portrays the four donors of the altar, the infant son of the duke of Urbino, and his nurse, all watching as Christ administers the Eucharist to his faithful disciples (a tense Judas watches, too). The scene is set in a church; the disciple John acts as deacon, while two angels hover in the upper fringes of the picture—perhaps awaiting their charge to carry the Eucharistic sacrifice to the throne of God. In the *Last Supper* altarpiece (1464–1467), by Dirck Bouts the Elder, four contemporary male figures look on as Christ institutes the sacrament. The disciples are ranged on all four sides of the table, with Judas in the left foreground, apparently not recognized as the traitor (despite his gesture of holding his left hand behind his back). The supper table is realistically set with ordinary cups, rolls, and a large platter bearing the Paschal Lamb; yet the composition itself is formal and geometrically precise, with excellent use of the new science of perspective to add dignity to the event. As art historian Frederick Hartt notes, “Christ's head arrives exactly at the intersection in the screen that closes off the fireplace when not in use to suggest a cross, and his face is exactly frontal” as he blesses the chalice and Host (Hartt, 1989, p. 588).

Leonardo da Vinci went still further with realism in his renowned *Last Supper* (1495–1497/8), painted for the refectory of Sta. Maria delle Grazie in Milan, Italy. Leonardo's chief concern with the events of the Last Supper was to make them psychologically true to life and convincing; to that end, he chose to focus on a hitherto neglected moment in the story. This was the moment when Jesus announced, “One of you shall betray me,” sending waves of incredulous shock, wonder, and fear through the 11 loyal disciples. It is known that Leonardo's treatment of the 11—who react in highly individual ways to Christ's appalling news—was based on exhaustive written notes and studies from live models. The guilt in Leonardo's Judas is revealed most plainly through his arrogant facial expression (rendered in shadow) and defiant pose. Although his money bag and traditional gesture of reaching out for food are included, they are scarcely needed (or noticeable) in the context of this vividly human drama.

Yet even Leonardo—Renaissance humanist though he was—has retained at least some traditional feeling for the sacredness of the Eucharist, and for the holiness of Christ himself. Scholars have observed that the arrangement of three windows in the back wall, with Christ's head framed by the middle window, probably suggests the Trinity. Moreover, again to quote Hartt, “Christ . . . appears at the center of both light and space, the vanishing point of the perspective,” so that the chief compositional lines may be said to radiate like an invisible halo from his head (Hartt, 1987, p. 452). Perhaps Leonardo's attitude toward the Eucharist as divine sacrifice was not altogether different from that of his great contemporary and rival, Michelangelo, although the latter was certainly more at home with mystical themes and symbols. In Michelangelo's *Creation of Adam* (1511–1512) on the Sistine Chapel ceiling in the Vatican, the large male child whom the Almighty touches represents Christ himself. Moreover, God here touches His son as the celebrant at Roman Catholic Mass is expected to touch the

Host: with thumb and forefinger only. Michelangelo is known to have worked with great care to perfect this gesture of the Creator, so that the presence of Eucharistic symbolism can hardly be dismissed as accidental.

Throughout the painful religious upheavals that began in the sixteenth century and continued through the seventeenth, there was one theme of constant importance to reformers and traditionalists alike. That theme was the Eucharist, or as Protestants would soon prefer to call it, Holy Communion. A number of woodcuts, engravings, and painted altarpieces from the circle of Lucas Cranach the Elder and his son make clear the Protestant emphasis on regular Communion by the laity and the importance of linking Communion to its scriptural source while rejecting all nonscriptural dogma. In a typical Cranach woodcut, *True and False Churches* (circa 1540), for example, Luther is shown preaching from a pulpit with the scriptures open before him, while a congregation of faithful men and women partake of the bread and wine. The scene also includes a draped altar bearing an image of the Lamb of God, with cross and banner; a towering crucifix, with rays of light shooting from Christ's head; and—taking up the whole right field—a fiery hell's mouth, in which condemned representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, including the pope, are engulfed. Protestants also sought to stress the idea of themselves as Christ's new disciples, and so in one *Altarpiece of the Reformers*, completed by the younger Cranach in 1565, the original faithful followers of Jesus have been replaced by 13 contemporary figures. These include the donor of the piece, who kneels in the left foreground, and Cranach himself, who stands in the right foreground acting as cupbearer. The remaining 11 sit in various attitudes of prayer, contemplation, scholarly discourse, or, in the case of one figure immediately to Jesus's left (who presumably recalls John), affection for the Savior. Jesus leans across the table to feed a morsel of bread to Judas, who sits with his back to the viewer in an awkwardly slumped position, still clutching the money bag in his hidden left hand. The table is laid with everyday bread rolls, tumblers, and plates, along with the chalice and platter bearing the Paschal Lamb. The background is a deep, Renaissance-style room, and the sixteenth-century figures represent influential Protestants of the day.

Meanwhile, artists of the Counter-Reformation were inspired to glorify the body and blood of Christ as never before. Of particular interest to them was the theme of dying saints receiving their last Communion, and, as time went on, they portrayed this theme with great emotional realism. Examples include the *Last Communion of St. Jerome* as painted by Agostino Carracci (circa 1592) and Domenichino (1614), Francesco Vanni's *Last Communion of St. Mary Magdalene* (circa 1605), and Peter Paul Rubens's *Last Communion of St. Francis of Assisi* (1620). A related work, widely admired in its day, is Jusepe de Ribera's *Communion of the Apostles* (1651). Here a gracious Jesus administers the sacrament to his faithful followers, who variously stand, kneel, and bow, with facial expressions appropriate to the event (except John, who sleeps[!] at far right). Left of the scene is a curtain, pulled to reveal a backdrop of neoclassical architecture, distant hills, and blue sky. A throng of adoring cherubs hovers high on the upper right.

The Communion experience of a much more recent saint, Mary Magdalene de'Pazzi, was the subject of a bronze medal-

lion created by Ciro Ferri and P. S. Silvani (mid-seventeenth century) to adorn her church in Florence, Italy. Mary Magdalene is portrayed kneeling in her nun's habit, a look of intense rapture on her face. She opens her lips to receive the Host from a seminude, muscular, youthful male figure. It is her heavenly bridegroom, Jesus Christ himself, whose body had been her chief source of nourishment during much of her earthly life. Two of Mary Magdalene's sister nuns quietly converse in the background—one points to the communing saint—while overhead, cherubic faces peer out from a cloud.

Artists of the Counter-Reformation also portrayed the Last Supper (a favorite subject of Tintoretto), as well as legendary miracles related to the Eucharist, and various allegorical still lifes centered on the chalice and Host. Many more subtle Eucharistic symbols can be recognized in the work of Baroque artists, such as Caravaggio (*Supper at Emmaus*, circa 1600), Diego Velázquez (*The Watercarrier of Seville*, 1619), and Louis Le Nain (*The Peasants' Meal*, 1642). It was during the two centuries following the Reformation that Roman Catholic piety created some of the largest, most stunning monstrances every seen. The famed *Diamond Monstrance* at Prague, Czech Republic (1699), is so called because more than 6,000 diamonds are encrusted on the silver-gilt flames that radiate like a mighty sunburst from its central display compartment. Another fine monstrance, created by Gregorius Vaith of Augsburg, Germany (1707), and made mostly of silver gilt, includes a relief of the faithful disciples seated at a table. Christ is not among them, but in his place a display compartment for the Host projects from the table's center. Above the compartment is a crown-shaped baldachin, from which falls a pair of heavy curtains; over this is a bust of God the Father, amid glories of clouds and flames; this in turn is surmounted by a smaller cloud-and-light display that contains the dove of the Holy Spirit. The complex iconography of this monstrance is completed by a pelican, symbol of Christ's self-sacrificing love for humanity (legend says pelicans feed their young with their own blood), and by a flaming heart impaled on a cross, which crowns the entire piece.

As the Counter-Reformation slowly gave way to the Age of Enlightenment, Protestants and Catholics alike found themselves facing new challenges—but also, new opportunities to answer God's call. On the one hand, life in the Western world was rapidly becoming secularized; on the other hand, a vast majority of Westerners still felt that need for religion (and a vast majority of governments still agreed on religion's importance). It was an age of multiplying doctrines, fervent personal convictions, and great global missions, an age that had its share of religious conflicts but that tended, on the whole, toward a new ecumenical outlook. The sacrament of Communion/Eucharist/Lord's Supper was increasingly viewed as a divine gift with the power to unite all Christians, regardless of their theological, cultural, or even ethnic differences. A remarkable Portuguese etching published in 1680 helps illustrate this new trend. Antonio Spinola, a Jesuit missionary to India, is portrayed standing on a high platform and holding the chalice and Host. The latter is marked with an image of the crucified Christ, and a crucifix also stands on the altar crowd of Indians and Europeans, who will all quite clearly be admitted to the sacrament. In the sky, angels hover, and a shining dove triumphantly parts the clouds.

The new global scope of Christianity led also to fresh interpretations of the Last Supper by different ethnic artists. These interpretations began appearing in the late seventeenth century and continued through the twentieth. A Chinese Christ with Chinese disciples, an African Christ with African disciples, a Peruvian Christ with Peruvian disciples—these, and more, have added greatly to the richness of Christian art while helping to spread the Gospel to “all nations” (Matthew 28:19).

Nor did Westerners cease to portray Eucharistic subjects, including the Last Supper, and use Communion-like imagery in their work. References to Communion can be found in at least two well-known nineteenth-century depictions of people dining: John Everett Millais’s *Lorenzo and Isabella* (1849), with the blameless hero of Keats’s poem proffering an orange to his ladylove; and Vincent van Gogh’s *The Potato Eaters* (1885), in which the meal of a Belgian peasant family is portrayed with all the solemn intensity of worship. In the twentieth century, compelling treatments of the Last Supper were done by Emil Nolde (1909) and Salvador Dalí (1955). Nolde’s brilliantly colored version—painted, as he himself tells us, amid many days and nights of prayer—depicts the faithful disciples clustered about their redeemer (Judas is not present). The disciples’ faces are sallow, angular, masklike, suggestive of the suffering to come; yet their expressive, if clumsy, gestures and their physical closeness seem to bind them to one another and to Christ. The Lord sits with his massive hands clasped round the stem of a chalice. His bright yellow face, set off by red hair and beard and with vivid features also in red, has been said to glow “like a star” (Haftmann, pl. 3). Dalí’s more lyrical, but equally dreamlike, treatment of the Last Supper includes a semitransparent Jesus who seems to be waist-deep in water (the Sea of Galilee?), a great dodecahedron (symbolic of the universe), with an ethereal form, suggestive of the Crucifixion, which floats high above Jesus’s head. An air of hushed wonder pervades the scene; all 12 disciples kneel in adoration around the table, while Jesus—who has already broken the bread and blessed the cup—points heavenward with his right hand and indicates his half-nude breast with his left.

Although to the average modern Westerner, Communion art and imagery are far less familiar than they used to be, much new and original church art is still devoted to Eucharistic themes. This art includes not only chalices, patens, monstrances (for Catholic churches), and trays for individual Communion cups (used frequently by Protestants), but also a wide array of colorful banners, posters, stained-glass windows, and decorated Communion tables. Ecumenical symbols are popular, especially in the art of congregations that have merged or are developing partnership. A carved wooden communion table at Lakeview United Church in Regina, Saskatchewan (1956), eloquently makes the point. This handsome table’s facade is marked off into 33 squares—corresponding to the number of years Christ lived on Earth—of which 16 contain crosses, while the rest are occupied by other semiabstract emblems, including the alpha-omega and fruited vine. The work is truly an appropriate symbol for the United Church of Canada, whose roots are in some 40 Protestant denominations. A like ecumenical spirit is expressed in the decoration of chalices made (1993) for use by a gathering of representatives from the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and the United Church of Christ (UCC). Featured upon each chalice are the

Disciples’ emblem (a chalice marked with a cross) and the UCC emblem (circle, cross, and crown), set together beneath the Gateway Arch of St. Louis, Missouri, where the first joint general assembly/synod of the two churches took place.

Sharing, reconciliation, forgiveness, love, peace—it is these priceless gifts that Christians of today seek, and often find, in the sacrament of Communion, very much as did their spiritual forebears of nearly 2,000 years ago. As long as the Christian faith endures, belief in the power of Communion will likely remain strong and will continue to be richly honored in visual arts around the world.

See also Betrayal; Devotion/Piety; Protestantism

Selected Works of Art

Early Christian and Byzantine

Swimming Fish with Basket of Loaves on Its Back, wall painting, late second century, Rome, Catacombs of St. Callisto, Lucina’s Crypt

Banquet of Loaves and Fishes, wall painting, late second century, Rome, Catacomb of Callixtus

The Breaking of the Bread, wall painting, late second century, Rome, Catacomb of Priscilla

Figures Partaking of Bread and Wine, relief on the Sarcophagus of Baebia Hermophile, late third century, Rome, Museo delle Terme

Figures Partaking of Bread and Wine, sarcophagus relief, late third century, Rome, Museo delle Terme

The Miracles of the Manna and the Rock of Horeb; The Feeding of Daniel; The Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes, scenes in carved wooden doors, circa 432, Rome, St. Sabina

The Sacrifice of Melchizedek, mosaic, 432–440, Rome, Santa Maria Maggiore

The Chalice of Antioch, fourth–seventh century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

The Last Supper, mosaic, early sixth century, Ravenna, Italy, St. Apollinare Nuovo

The Last Supper, from the *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, circa 550–575, Rossano, Italy, Museo del Arcivescovado (MS. 50, fol. 3r)

Communion of Apostles, from *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, circa 550–575, Rossano, Italy, Museo del Arcivescovado (MS. 50, fol. 4r)

Patens with Communion of the Apostles, 565–578, Istanbul, Turkey, Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzeleri

Patens with Communion of the Apostles, 565–578, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks Collection

Medieval

The Last Supper, from the *Gospels of Saint Augustine*, circa 600, Cambridge, England, Corpus Christi College (MS 286, fol. 125r)

The Ardagh Chalice, eighth century, Dublin, National Museum of Ireland

Communion of Judas, from *Stuttgart Psalter*, circa 820–830, Stuttgart, Germany, Württembergische Landesbibliothek (Cod. 23, fol. 431)

- Ciborium of King Arnulf of Bavaria*, circa 870, Munich, Germany, Schatzkammer, Residenz
- Chalice from Constantinople*, circa 950–1000, Venice, Italy, Cathedral of St. Mark, Treasury
- Crucifix of Archbishop Gero*, wood sculpture, 969–976, Cologne, Germany, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
- Mass of St. Erhard*, from the *Uta Gospels*, 1002–1025, Munich, Germany, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Clm. 13601, fol. 4)
- Icon with Communion of the Apostles and Christ Washing the Disciples' Feet*, eleventh century, Mount Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine
- Mary as Orant and Communion of the Apostles*, mosaic, circa 1050–1100, Kiev, Ukraine, Hagia Sophia
- Communion of Judas*, from the *Coronation Gospels of King Vratislav*, 1085–1086, Prague, Czech Republic, Národní knihovna v Praze (MS. XIV A13, fol. 38v)
- Communion of Judas*, from *The Book of Pericopes from Saint Erentrud*, Salzburg, circa 1140, Munich, Germany, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (Clm. 15903, fol. 13r)
- Communion of Judas*, stone relief, pulpit, twelfth century, Volterra, Italy, Cathedral
- Chalice of Abbot Suger of Saint-Denis*, circa 1140, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Widener Collection
- Nicolas of Verdun, *Communion of Judas*, 1181, *Klosterneuberg Altarpiece*, Klosterneuberg, Austria, Monastery
- Eucharistic Dove*, late twelfth or early thirteenth century, Buffalo, New York, Albright-Knox Gallery
- Eucharistic Dove*, thirteenth century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection
- Chalice, Paten, and Straws*, set, circa 1225–1250, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters Collection
- The Last Supper*, relief on rood screen, circa 1250–1260, Naumburg, Germany, Cathedral
- Paten with Communion of Judas*, circa 1300, Halberstadt, Germany, Cathedral Treasury
- Pucelle, Jean, *David Before Saul; Cain and Abel; The Host Offered to the Holy Spirit*, from *Belleville Breviary*, circa 1323–1326, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (MS Latin 10483, fol. 2Av)
- The Communion of the Apostles*, Florentine polytypch, fourteenth century, Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana
- Renaissance*
- Dalmatic of Charlemagne*, early fifteenth century, Rome, St. Peter, sacristy treasury
- Eyck, Jan and Hubert van, *Lamb of God Bleeding Into a Chalice, Ghent Altarpiece*, circa 1425–1432, Ghent, Belgium, Cathedral of St. Bavon
- Multscher, Hans, *Nativity with Eucharistic Symbols, Wurzach Altarpiece*, 1437, Berlin, Staatliche Museen
- Angelico, Fra, Studio of, *The Risen Christ Holding Chalice and Paten*, circa 1450, Pisa, Italy, Museo Nazionale di St. Matteo
- Bouts, Dieric the Elder, *The Last Supper*, 1464–1467, Louvain, Church of St. Pierre
- Gent, Joos van, *Communion of the Apostles*, 1473–1474, Urbino, Italy, Galleria Nazionale delle Marche Palazzo Ducale
- Leonardo da Vinci, *The Last Supper*, circa 1495–1498, Milan, Italy, Refectory of Santa Maria delle Grazie
- Michelangelo, *The Creation of Adam*, 1511–1512, Rome, Vatican, Sistine Chapel ceiling
- Beccafumi, Domenico, *Communion of Saint Catherine*, from predella of *Saint Catherine Altarpiece*, circa 1518, Siena, Italy, Pinacoteca Nazionale
- Cranach, Lucas the Younger, *True and False Churches*, woodcut, circa 1540, Dresden, Germany, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
- Cranach, Lucas the Elder, Circle of, *Luther and Hus Giving Communion to the Family of the Elector of Saxony*, woodcut, circa 1540–1550, Nürnberg, Germany, Germanisches Nationalmuseum
- Tintoretto, *The Last Supper*, 1547, Venice, Italy, St. Marcuola
- Tintoretto, *The Last Supper*, circa 1557, Venice, Italy, St. Trovaso, Capella del Santissimo Sacramento
- Tintoretto, *The Last Supper*, 1560s, Venice, Italy, S. Polo
- Cranach, Lucas, Studio of, *Altarpiece of the Reformers*, 1565, Dessau, Germany, Schoss Church
- Juanes, Juan de, *Christ with the Sacrament*, circa 1550, Budapest, Hungary, Museum of Fine Arts
- Göding, Henrich, *Lutheran Communion*, from predella of altarpiece, 1569, Mühlberg an der Elbe, Germany, Convent Church
- Tintoretto, *The Last Supper*, 1592–1594, Venice, Italy, St. Giorgio Maggiore
- Carracci, Agostino, *The Communion of Saint Jerome*, circa 1592, Bologna, Italy, Pinacoteca Nazionale
- Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century*
- Caravaggio, *Supper at Emmaus*, circa 1600, London, National Gallery
- Vanni, Francesco, *The Last Communion of Saint Mary Magdalene*, circa 1605, Genoa, Italy, St. Maria di Carignano
- Domenichino, *The Last Communion of Saint Jerome*, 1614, Rome, Vatican Gallery
- Velázquez, Diego, *The Watercarrier of Seville*, 1619, London, Wellington Museum
- Rubens, Peter Paul, *The Last Communion of Saint Francis of Assisi*, 1620, Antwerp, Belgium, Franciscan Church of the Recolets
- Le Nain, Louis, *The Peasants' Meal*, 1642, Paris, Louvre
- Ribera, Jusepe de, *The Communion of the Apostles*, 1651, Naples, Italy, St. Martino
- Le Sueur, Eustache, *Mass of Saint Martin of Tours*, 1655, Paris, Louvre
- Ferri, Ciro, and Silvani, P. S., *Saint Mary Magdalene Receiving the Host from Jesus*, bronze medallion, mid-seventeenth century, Florence, Italy, Church of Maria Maddalena dé Pazzi
- The Last Supper*, second half of seventeenth century, Cuzco, Peru, Cathedral
- Father Spinola Prepares to Offer Communion to a Multi-Racial Congregation*, etching, 1680, Lisbon, Portugal, Biblioteca Nacional

The Diamond Monstrance, 1699, Prague, Czech Republic, Treasury of Loreta, Gregorius Vaith of Augsburg
Monstrance with Last Supper/Communion of the Apostles and Trinity, 1705, Kraiburg, Germany, Inn

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CRUCIFIXION

Alicia Craig Faxon and Nancy Frazier

The following iconographic narratives and periods are included in the discussion of the theme Crucifixion:

CRUCIFIXION OF
POLYCRATES

CRUCIFIXION OF CHRIST:
EARLY CHRISTIAN

CRUCIFIXION OF CHRIST:
BYZANTINE

CRUCIFIXION OF CHRIST:
MEDIEVAL

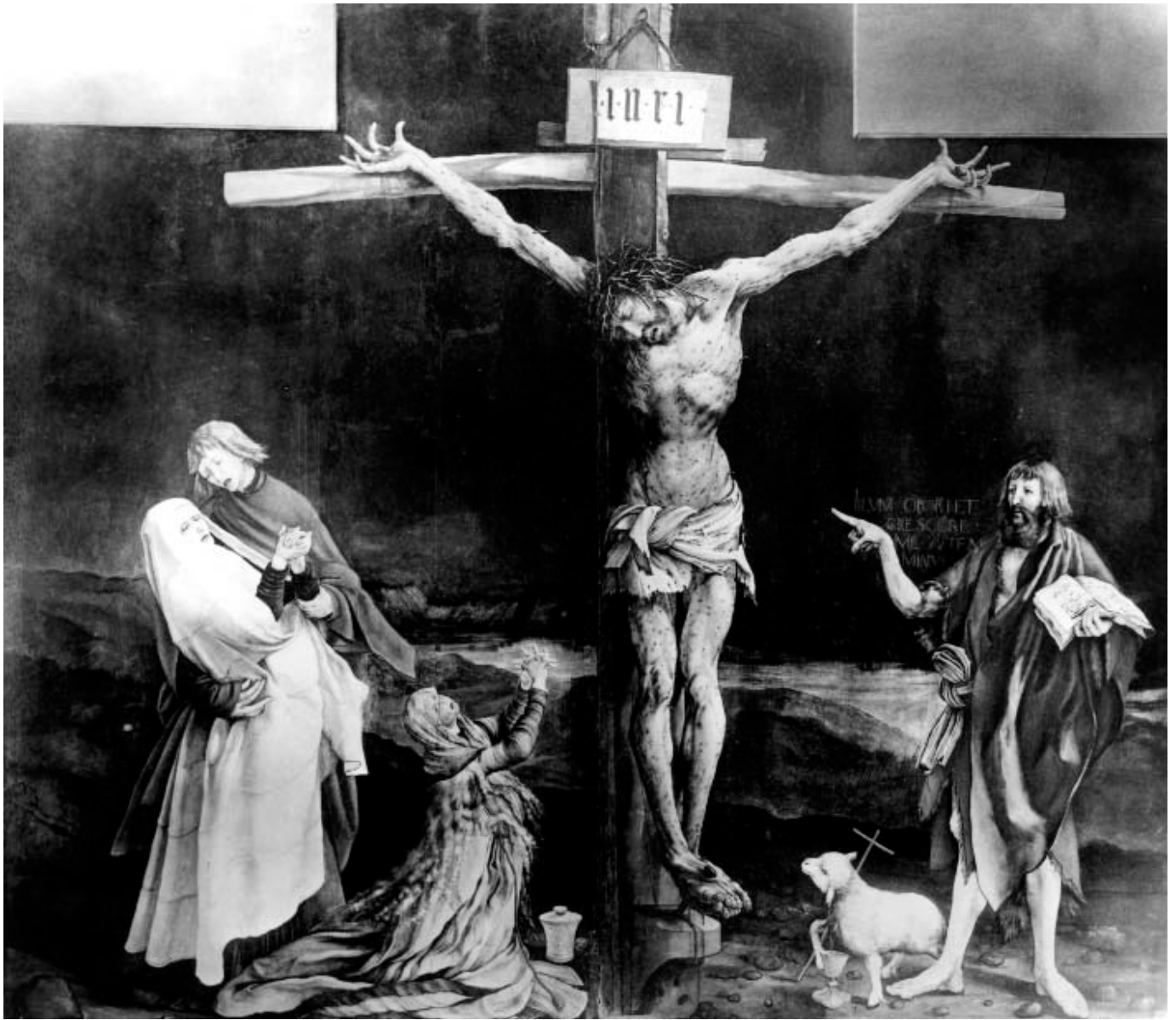
CRUCIFIXION OF CHRIST:
RENAISSANCE

CRUCIFIXION OF CHRIST:
SEVENTEENTH AND
EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

CRUCIFIXION OF CHRIST:
NINETEENTH CENTURY

CRUCIFIXION OF CHRIST:
TWENTIETH CENTURY

CRUCIFIXION OF ST. PETER
CRUCIFIXION OF ST. ANDREW
TYPOLOGICAL
PREFIGURATION OF THE
CRUCIFIXION



Matthias Grünewald, *Crucifixion*, *Isenheim Altarpiece*, 1510–1515, oil on panel, Colmar, France, Musée Unterlinden. (Courtesy of Foto Marburg)

Historically, there is nothing remarkable about the death of Jesus Christ. As a form of punishment, crucifixion was widespread in ancient Assyria, Egypt, Persia, Greece, Carthage, and Macedonia as well as in Rome. Deuteronomy 21:22–23 contains these instructions:

And if a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be to be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree: His body shall not remain all night upon the tree, but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day; (for he that is hanged is accursed of God;) that thy land be not defiled, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance.

This passage suggests that Jews of biblical times also punished by hanging on a tree, or a form of crucifixion. Crucifixion in Roman times was an extreme punishment for non-Romans, usually meted to the worst offenders. Christ's death on the cross therefore was the most heinous and painful form of sacrifice.

The story of Polycrates, told by Herodotus in the *Histories* (III, 39–45, 120–26), is one of the few sources of depiction of a crucifixion in the classical era. Although a brutal tyrant, Polycrates seemed to be unfailingly awarded by good fortune. Acting on the advice of a friend, who suggested he appease the potentially jealous gods by casting away his most precious possession, Polycrates threw his ring into the sea. When the jewel was returned to him in the belly of a fish, Polycrates realized he would come to a bad end. Lured by his enemies with a promise of gold, he was betrayed, killed in a manner not fit to be told, Herodotus states, and crucified. Salvator Rosa was one of the few to depict the scene of this crucifixion, a rare subject in the history of art. In his painting done after his etching of the subject in 1661–1662, Rosa shows Polycrates' wrists and ankles tied, not nailed, to the branches of a dead tree. His etching shows an even more contorted pose, one arm outstretched on a limb, the other stretched upward on the main trunk of the tree. In both works, a group of people contemplate the crucified figure, some pointing, others with arms outstretched in amazement. Although the scene projects the cruelty of crucifixion, it has none of the associations of sacrifice and salvation inherent in the Christian image.

Notable crucifixions occurred in 73 B.C. when 6,000 fugitive slaves, followers of Spartacus, were executed along the road to Damascus, Syria. In the first century after the death of Christ, the legate to Syria, Quintilius Varus, was said to have crucified 2,000 seditious Jews. The historian Josephus also described a period of Roman rule during which 500 Jews were crucified every day. Among other tortures devised by the Romans for outlaw Christians, crucifixion remained an option until the fourth century, when it was abolished by Constantine the Great. Constantine's conversion to Christianity, his dra-

matic vision of a cross accompanied by the words, "With this conquer," publicly and effectively preempted use of the cross for Christian endeavor. From then on the crucifixion was the central symbol of what would become the world's most populous religion.

If unexceptional historically, the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ is extraordinary conceptually. In concept, his Crucifixion reverses the pattern of religious rites as they had been followed for millennia. Consistently, since the earliest prehistoric civilizations for which evidence has been found, humans had made sacrifices to their gods. Shrines, ziggurats, temples—all were built around altars on which animal and human offerings were made to the deities. The death of Christ turned convention upside down. This time God made the sacrifice. In Christian doctrine, Christ, although innocent, redeemed the sins of the world by his self-offering as a ransom for humanity in obedience to God's command (John 3:16–17). Philosophically, theologically, intellectually, poetically, this turn of events was unprecedented. In fact, for sheer dramatic impact, the power of the idea has never been equaled.

Not simply a painful death, crucifixion was also designed to degrade and humiliate the victim. He was stripped naked and whipped with spiked thongs before being forced to carry the crossbar (not the whole cross, as in many Passion pictures) to the place of execution where he was exposed, naked, on the cross. In the civilizations of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, nakedness had been symbolic of vulnerability, defeat, and subservience.

The narrative of the Crucifixion of Jesus Christ is given in Matthew (chapter 27), Mark (chapter 15), Luke (chapter 23), and John (chapter 19). All four accounts agree that Jesus was forced to carry the cross to the place of execution at Golgotha, the place of the skull in Hebrew. They all recount how Jesus was crucified in the third hour and that the inscription on the cross read "THE KING OF THE JEWS." The account in John 19:19–22 mentions that the chief priests objected to this, saying not to write "King of the Jews," but that he said, "I am King of the Jews." Pilate refused, saying, "What I have written I have written." Where the accounts differ is in the words of Jesus from the cross, or the "seven last words," which are used in many Christian Good Friday services, the day designated as the day of Christ's death, two days before Easter. In the Gospels of Mark and Matthew, Christ says only one thing, given in its original Aramaic as well as the vernacular: "*Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?*" (My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?). In Luke 23, he utters three other things: "Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do" (Luke 23:34); "Verily I say unto thee, To day shalt thou be with me in paradise" (Luke 23:43), which Jesus said to the penitent thief; and

"Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit" (Luke 23:46). The fourth Gospel supplies other last words of Jesus: first the words to his mother, "Woman, behold thy son!", and then to his disciple John, "Behold thy mother!" (John 19:26–27), giving his mother to the care of someone who would take his place as son. The other words are "I thirst" (John 19:28) and "It is finished" (John 19:30).

All accounts agree that darkness fell from the sixth hour to the ninth hour and that Jesus died on the ninth hour of Good Friday, designated as "good" because in Christian belief it presages Christ's resurrection on Easter Sunday. All four accounts also tell of Christ being crucified between two thieves, but only Luke has one penitent thief, who says to the other thief mocking Christ, "Dost not thou fear God, seeing thou art in the same condemnation? And we indeed justly; for we receive the due reward for our deeds: but this man hath done nothing amiss," and turning to Christ, says, "Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom" (Luke 23:40–42). Three narratives also have a centurion at the foot of the cross at the time of Christ's death. Luke 23:47 records his words as, "Certainly this was a righteous man," Mark 15:39 and Matthew 27:54 have him say, "Truly this was the Son of God," and John records only soldiers on the scene.

The Crucifixion is one of the most frequently represented scenes in art. The elements in paintings, drawings, prints, and sculpture differ a great deal, partly owing to the particular use intended for the work of art (for example, a church altarpiece or a work for private devotion), to the desires of the patron or artist, and to what significance the scene holds for patron or artist. The representations of the Crucifixion, particularly of the figure of Christ, also evolved over time, reflecting changes in attitudes and theology surrounding this scene, so central to Christian worship.

Although the Romans usually propagandized their conquests, surprisingly they apparently never made crucifixion images. Nor did early Christians. It may be that the idea of the suffering of the son of God was a difficult one to absorb, or perhaps there was also a residual fear of breaking biblical injunctions against worshiping graven images. Another reason that the Crucifixion was not depicted in early Christian art is that it represented a shameful, criminal form of death—much like a modern-day electric chair—and one with which Christians did not wish to identify Jesus. Furthermore, in the first centuries of the Common Era, conversion was the pressing need and mission of the Christian church. Under those circumstances, the subject of the Crucifixion was not an encouraging one. Not until Christianity was secure did images of the Crucifixion become widespread and important.

The earliest known Crucifixion images—small oval seals—date from the middle of the fourth century. In these rudimentary and symbolic images, Christ seems merely to be standing with his arms wide. Even over the next centuries, when the Crucifixion scenes begin to appear more frequently, the images reveal no emotion on Christ's part, and his eyes are open.

In the tenth century, when the church was secure, representations of the Crucifixion began to change. The wooden Crucifixion made at this time for Archbishop Gero of Cologne, Germany, reveals evidence of Christ's suffering. By the four-

teenth century, the Crucifixion had changed from something too terrible to be seen to something terrible to see. This was particularly true of pictures in northern Europe as the Protestant Reformation approached. Images of Christ's body torn by lashes and contorted by pain sometimes symbolize the cycle of plagues that decimated Europe beginning in the fourteenth century. The Black Death of 1348, in which an estimated quarter of the population of Europe died, was followed by successions of epidemics throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, some no less destructive than the Black Death. Death was a constant preoccupation of the population.

During the period from 1470 to 1500, the choir of the chapel at the Monastery of St. Anthony in Isenheim, in what is now French Alsace, was rebuilt and a major altarpiece commissioned for the chapel. Of enormous size (almost 18 feet wide), the *Isenheim Altarpiece* has many scenes within its wings, but in its closed position it shows the *Crucifixion* by Matthias Grünewald, completed in 1515. In this painting, bits of wood, thorns, or splinters are knitted into Christ's flesh. The sky is black, the background is barren, flat, and stony, and rigor mortis has set in. The INRI plaque, an abbreviation of the Latin for "Jesus of Nazareth King of the Jews" (Pilate had it written in Hebrew and Latin, according to tradition), is above the crossbar. Christ's feet are bleeding profusely. In many Crucifixions, angels hold a cup to capture Christ's blood, symbolic of the transubstantiation of the Eucharist; but there are none here. At the bottom right, however, next to John the Baptist, a lamb bleeds into a chalice. Usually, such a lamb is an alternative to the figure of Christ. Although not unique, it is uncommon to see them both in the same image.

Although Perugino's serene *Crucifixion* is often compared with Carlo Crivelli's tempestuous one, in general, Italian Crucifixions are less tortured than those of northern Europe or of Spain. Michelangelo studied the Crucifixion in his youth and again toward the end of his life. In three drawings of Christ on the cross that Michelangelo created during the 1550s, there is the sense that the aged artist had reached a state of religious beatitude. The power of these images is that the artist is inside his work, seeking

That love divine
Which opened to embrace us
His arms upon the Cross

as Michelangelo himself wrote in a poem.

Michelangelo's work contrasts vividly with that of Albrecht Dürer, whose *Great Crucifixion*, although exquisitely accomplished, does not seem personally moving. Somehow Dürer never plumbed the emotional depths of the Crucifixion as Michelangelo seemed driven to do. Dürer was strongly influenced by the Protestant Reformation and perhaps by Martin Luther's insistence that the emphasis on the Crucifixion should move away from "the apprehension of God in suffering and lowness."

Lucas Cranach's *Crucifixion* (1503), created before the Reformation, focused on the physical and emotional impact of the event itself, with an unusual perpendicular perspective and lowering of the point of view. The effect is melodramatic and theatrical. Like Andrea Mantegna before him, Cranach pushed

the eye level down close to the bottom of the picture, as though the viewer were seated in the first row of a theater, slightly to the left of center. Being that close, one is privy to the most particular details: the lugubrious head beneath the cross, a symbol of Adam's skull and the redemption.

This front-row seating in Cranach brings to mind the idea of French art historian Émile Mâle that the costumes and settings of mystery plays of the Middle Ages had a profound influence on art. Cranach's painting does seem to be a sort of *tableau vivant*. Cranach liked this experimental angle of the Crucifixion well enough to use it at least two other times. The first time he used it was in an earlier work, the supercharged *The Penance of Saint Jerome* (1502). He also used it much later, in 1527, in *Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg as Saint Jerome in the Wilderness*, in which he echoes his earlier St. Jerome. In both images, however, the Crucifixion is in the background, implying a meditative vision.

In Lucas van Leyden's 1517 engraving *Calvary*, the Crucifixion is also in the background, and the apparently secular foreground scene might be an outdoor Passion play or perhaps a Palm Sunday processional. These productions had become increasingly popular as the Middle Ages progressed and included dramatic representation of the Passion cycle. The variety of costumes in the Lucas *Calvary* gives the impression of a snapshot of a Passion play in progress. Such celebrations would soon be condemned by the Reformation, and many of the props and icons created for them were destroyed. Indeed, fear of iconoclasm contributed to a decrease in religious art during the sixteenth century in the north.

This was not as true in Italy, where Jacopo Tintoretto executed three cycles of religious paintings for the Scuola di San Rocco in Venice, including a *Crucifixion* (1565) on the end wall of the Sala dell'Albergo on the second floor. This painting is approximately 40 feet long and depicts a huge cast of characters at Golgotha, including soldiers, executioners nailing the two thieves to their crosses, Joseph of Arimathea, St. John, and the Virgin, all illuminated by supernatural radiance around the central figure of Christ on the cross.

The intense drama of Tintoretto's treatment of the subject can be seen on a smaller, but no less devotional, scale in the works of El Greco, who left Crete to study in Venice, where he was undoubtedly influenced by Tintoretto. El Greco traveled to Spain (1576–1577) to carry on this religious tradition, both in terms of Mannerist elongation of the figure and in intensity of feeling. In the seventeenth century, a number of painters favored the solo figure of Christ on the cross, lit against a dark background in a Caravaggesque rendering of tenebrism.

In 1597 Francisco Pacheco questioned the tradition of showing Christ nailed to the cross with three nails, one in each hand and one penetrating his crossed feet. He instituted a type with four nails, the feet separated, with one nail in each (shown in his *Crucifixion* in Madrid, Spain). This tradition was followed by his student Alonso Cano in an early Crucifixion and also by Diego Velázquez's moving *Crucifixion* in the Prado in Madrid, his bent head surrounded by a halo. Two Crucifixions by Francisco de Zurbarán (in Chicago and in Seville, Spain) also follow the four-nail tradition, but a later Crucifixion by Cano and Murillo's *Crucifixion*, in the Prado in Madrid, revert

to the three-nail representation. These works show a great variety of pose and expression. Zurbarán's Chicago *Crucifixion* shows Christ with his head bent toward the right, possibly dead, whereas his work in Seville shows a still-living figure gazing upward, as if to say, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

Images of the Crucifixion were increasingly politicized during the Reformation, and with the benefit of the newly invented printing press, widely used for propaganda. We find numerous images in which Christ rests almost benignly on the cross, while individuals around him carry either antipapist or anti-Reformation messages. In one picture, the pope and cardinals are depicted as wolves ravaging Christ's flock, who seek shelter around the crucifix, while Luther, holding his pen and Bible, approaches to chase the predators away. Even in Lucas Cranach's last *Crucifixion*, on the panel of an altarpiece, finished by Lucas the Younger, the presence of Christ on the cross speaks not of the suffering of the Savior, but rather of the anointing of Cranach himself. Cranach's image was added to the painting, perhaps by his son, with white beard and mustache, receiving the blood of Christ on his forehead, flanked by Christ and Luther.

Images such as these—in fact, many representations of the Crucifixion that clearly reflect Lutheran doctrine—are strangely reminiscent of the very earliest Crucifixions, where, rather than flesh and blood, the figure of Christ was symbolic, seemingly indifferent to mental or physical pain. During the Counter-Reformation, the Crucifixion again became emotional, as Peter Paul Rubens's *Three Crosses* and, even more, his *Descent from the Cross* show. In the former, closely flanked by the two thieves, with no mourners and the barest of landscapes, Christ hangs heavily from a tall cross. A very different mood is presented in Rembrandt van Rijn's etching *Three Crosses*. The plate was reworked at least four times, and with each print the artist came closer to the essence of the Crucifixion as the incandescent center of religion. Although the foreground is crowded and he is flanked by the thieves, Christ is showered with and isolated by light from above.

As the view of the meaning of the Crucifixion changed over time, the use of different figures to express the iconography of the Crucifixion scene fell into different patterns. The Crucifixion of Christ as the solo figure occurs in such hanging sculptural pieces as the *Crucifix of Archbishop Gero* (969–976) in Cologne Cathedral and the bronze crucifix of the Abbey of Werden in Germany (circa 1070) and in such paintings as Zurbarán's *Crucifixion* in the Art Institute of Chicago and Diego Velázquez's *Crucifixion* (circa 1631–1632) in the Prado. The reason for using the single figure in sculpture is fairly obvious: it is a devotional form usually hanging in a church. In the paintings, the singling out of the figure of Christ emphasizes the loneliness of death and possibly a personal connection to the viewer. Other, nearly solo representations of Christ with symbolic references are found, such as a pastel by Eugène Delacroix in the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, Ontario, which shows a coiled serpent rearing its head on the ground to the right, representing original sin that Christ defeated by his death on the cross. An 1846 oil by Delacroix, in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Maryland, focuses on the single crucified

figure of Christ; in the right background the centurion on horseback holds a flag, possibly symbolizing the witness of the centurion and the contrast of two realms, spiritual and physical.

A common representation of the Crucifixion shows Christ with his mother and the disciple John, as in an early fifth-century relief on an ivory casket in the British Museum in London. This representation positions Mary and John on Christ's right and a soldier piercing Christ's side on his left, a possible juxtaposition of Christ's supporters and his enemies. This is one of the earliest representations known of the Crucifixion. Christianity, being an outlawed religion, was represented symbolically in catacomb art, with Christ as the Good Shepherd, or referred to by Old Testament prefigurations of salvation such as the sacrifice of Isaac or Jonah delivered from the whale.

One of the most common forms of the Crucifixion with two figures has Mary the Mother of Christ on the left and John the beloved disciple on the right, possibly representing the past in Mary and the future in John. An early example of the subject is a tenth-century Byzantine ivory triptych that shows Mary and John in the central panel on either side of the cross. This representation type was popular during the Middle Ages and Renaissance; examples are provided by Duccio di Buoninsegna, Carlo Crivelli, Fra Angelico, Francia, Taddeo Gaddi, Giovanni Bellini, Andrea del Castagno, Lorenzo Monaco, and Jacopo da Pontormo, among others. This symmetrical pairing of opposites is also shown in representations of the sun and moon, the lance and the chalice, and the penitent and impenitent thief.

The Crucifixion was depicted with great feeling in the seventeenth century by Hendrik Terbrugghen. His *Crucifixion*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, shows a change from a narrative or icon to one of emotive response. Another person often included in the Crucifixion scene is Mary Magdalene. She is either alone, embracing the cross, as in the depiction by Fra Angelico and assistants in cell 25 of the Convent of S. Marco in Florence, Italy, or with the Virgin Mary and John and others, as in *Crucifixion* by Bernardo Daddi in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, by Spinello Aretino in the Worcester Art Museum, or by Giotto in the Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy.

Still another variant of the scene includes a skull at the base of the cross, which could refer to the place of Crucifixion (*Golgotha* means "skull" in Hebrew) or to the legend of Adam's skull beneath the cross, a symbol of Christ's victory over death. This detail can be seen in a number of representations, including that of Flemish artist Joos van Cleve in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and that of Perugino in Washington, D.C. Occasionally, a whole skeleton appears under the Crucifixion, as in the Lenzi family altar, *The Holy Trinity*, by Masaccio in Sta. Maria Novella in Florence. One of the first works to employ the linear perspective system discovered by Filippo Brunelleschi in the 1420s, *The Holy Trinity* creates the illusion of an aisle chapel. The image of a pelican piercing its breast to save its young is sometimes included in Crucifixion scenes to symbolize Jesus's sacrifice, giving his blood for the salvation of humankind. Spinello Aretino's *Christ Crucified with the Virgin, the Magdalene, and St. John*, in the Worcester Art Museum, and Giotto's work in the Arena Chapel in Padua include the figure of the Magdalene.

The cast of main characters in the Crucifixion was enlarged by Matthias Grünewald's *Isenheim Altarpiece*, in the Musée Unterlinden in Colmar, France, which depicts Mary, John, and Mary Magdalene on the left side of the cross and John the Baptist on the right, pointing to the figure of Christ. The majority of paintings of the Crucifixion show a crowd of onlookers as well as the main characters. Rembrandt dramatically depicts this in *Christ Crucified Between the Two Thieves* (also called *The Three Crosses*), a third state drypoint created in 1655. The central figure of Christ is brilliantly lit against a dark background. Mary Magdalene embraces the cross on the right, while a group of mounted soldiers look on indifferently on the left. The figure of the Virgin Mary is shown fainting on the right, while, lit below the cross on the left, the centurion kneels in awe. Some of the figures turn away while others shield their eyes from the brutality of the execution. In the center of the plate is an empty space, possibly to include the viewer.

Another version that includes a large cast of characters is the *Raising of the Cross*. This theme is depicted brilliantly in a triptych by the young Peter Paul Rubens (1609–1610, in the Antwerp Cathedral in Belgium) and by Rembrandt in a series on the Passion, death, and Resurrection of Christ, in Munich, Germany. In a 1634 version, Rembrandt includes himself in the painting; actually, he is the figure nailing Christ to the cross. Both the drypoint and the painting testify to the personal involvement of artist and viewers in the drama of Christ's betrayal and death. Artists earlier had included self-portraits in such scenes, as in Fra Angelico's San Marco paintings and in Pontormo's self-portrait in the upper right side of the *Entombment* (1525–1528) in the Capponi Chapel of Sta. Felicità in Florence.

Occasionally, a crucifix with the figure of Christ on it is included in a painting in which the Crucifixion is not a main event. Fra Angelico uses the technique in the San Marco altarpiece *Madonna and Saints* (circa 1438), in which the Crucifixion is placed in the bottom center of the painting to symbolize that the viewer is admitted to paradise only through Christ's sacrifice. Masaccio also used the Crucifixion as a painting within a painting in his 1426 *Crucifixion* on the summit of the Pisa polyptych, in Sta. Maria del Carmine in Pisa, Italy (now in the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples, Italy), and also in his Lenzi altarpiece, *The Trinity* (circa 1427–1428), in Sta. Maria Novella in Florence. A Crucifixion is included in Titian's *St. Catherine of Alexandria* in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, where the saint is shown worshipping the figure of Christ on the cross, and in Paul Gauguin's *The Yellow Christ* (1889), in the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo, New York, which depicts Breton peasant women around a roadside crucifix. Caspar David Friedrich's *Tetschen Altarpiece* (1808), in Dresden, Germany, depicts only a carved wooden crucifix, lit by the setting rays of the sun, among rocks and fir trees, a deviation from the usual Crucifixion scene that shocked many nineteenth-century viewers.

A prefiguration of Christ's Crucifixion is referred to in John 3:14: "And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up." In the Old Testament in Numbers 21:6–9, Moses made a brazen serpent and lifted it up on a pole to cure the Israelites bitten by ser-

pents, an image pictured vividly by Michelangelo on a spandrel fresco in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican and painted by Rubens in *Moses and the Brazen Serpent* in the National Gallery in London.

Although much less numerous than paintings of Christ's Crucifixion, representations of the crucifixions of saints also occur. Caravaggio and Michelangelo depicted St. Peter on the cross, in Sta. Maria del Popolo in Rome and in the Pauline Chapel in the Vatican, respectively; St. Andrew was painted on a cross saltire by Domenichino, in S. Andrea della Valle in Rome, and by El Greco, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Christ's Crucifixion is also shown as one of the 14 Stations of the Cross in the Roman Catholic Church. An outstanding modern presentation of the Stations of the Cross was created by Henri Matisse for the church in Vence, France, while a totally abstract version was created by Barnett Newman between 1960 and 1966. Now in the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., Newman's *Twelfth Station* (the *Death of Christ on the Cross*) is plunged in black, while the *Fourteenth Station* (the *Entombment*) is flooded with white and may point to the resurrection.

Throughout the history of Christianity, images of the Crucifixion reflect contemporary theological and political questions. This holds true for the twentieth century. Consider Marc Chagall's *Crucifixions* series, in which symbols of Judaism, such as a menorah, torah, and prayer shawl, surround Christ. A Russian Jew, Chagall witnessed the pogroms and the rise of Nazism. Surrealist Salvador Dalí painted several Crucifixions between 1951 and 1954. In *The Christ of St. John of the Cross*, in which he positions the viewer above and to the front of the crucified figure, he tried to replicate the vision of the Spanish mystic and to paint "the metaphysical beauty of Christ." Fascinated by cubical forms of matter, Dalí incorporated these forms in the unsupported cross of his *Crucifixion or Corpus Hypercubicus* (1954), declaring his wish to paint "the Christ who will be the absolute antithesis of the materialist and savagely anti-mystical of Grünewald" (Ades, p. 178).

Twentieth-century representations of the Crucifixion are particularly controversial because the inclusion of modernist abstractions often conflict with traditional views of religion. Germaine Richier's crucified *Christ*, created for the church at Assy, France, in 1950, for example, attracted much criticism for its abstract Giacometti-like style, its sexual ambiguities, and its facial indecipherability. In the 1980s, a scandal surrounded the work of Andres Serrano, *Piss Christ*, in which the artist photographed a crucifix submerged in a bottle of urine. The public uproar over that image confirms the lasting power of the Crucifixion to incite emotion.

The image of the Crucifixion at its most aesthetically moving was a personal inquiry on the part of the artist. It also posed important artistic, theoretical, theological, philosophical, political, and psychological challenges, particularly troublesome during the sixteenth century and, it might seem, during modern times as well.

In addition to the biblical account and to devotional literature, a major literary source for references to the Crucifixion is found in the *Divine Poems* of John Donne. Donne, a seventeenth-century Metaphysical poet, uses references to the

Crucifixion in relation to his own life and to his knowledge of himself as a sinner, as in *Holy Sonnet #II*: "They killed once an inglorious man, but I Crucify him daily." This is most powerfully said in his poem *Good Friday, 1613, Riding Westward*, a meditation on the Crucifixion:

But that Christ on this cross, did rise and fall,
Sin had eternally benighted all.
Yet dare I almost be glad, I do not see
That spectacle of too much weight for me.
Who sees God's face, that is self life, must die;
What death were it then to see God die?

The metaphor of Crucifixion is used by St. Paul in Galatians 5:24: "And they that are Christ's have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts." Here Crucifixion stands for a relinquishing and death of sin in the follower of Christ. In Galatians 6:14, Paul also speaks of the renunciation of sinful desires and the standards of the world in his own life: "But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world." Paul places the life of the believer in the context of Christ's life in Romans 6:6, 8: "Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin. . . . Now if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him."

The power of the metaphor of Crucifixion was used in a more secular sense by the orator William Jennings Bryan in a speech at the National Democratic Convention in 1896, when he inveighed against the gold standard for currency: "You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

In the Christian concept of Crucifixion, two seemingly contradictory ideas are fused: the cross as a means of painful death and the cross as a path to eternal life through the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. What was the mark of a shameful death became a symbol of the new Christian religion, or as Paul said, "For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified" (I Corinthians 2:2). In the Crucifixion of Christ not only the sins of the world but its sufferings are portrayed and often identified with.

See also Death; Grieving/Lamentation; Martyrdom; Offering; Sacrifice

Selected Works of Art

Crucifixion of Polycrates

Rosa, Salvator, *Crucifixion of Polycrates*, etching,

1671-1672, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Rosa, Salvator, *Crucifixion of Polycrates*, oil on canvas, after 1672, Chicago, Illinois, Art Institute

Crucifixion of Christ: Early Christian

Crucifixion, oval seals, fourth century, London, British Museum

Crucifixion, relief, ivory casket, early fifth century, London, British Museum

Crucifixion, carved wooden door, circa A.D. 430, Rome, St. Sabina

Crucifixion and the Holy Women at Christ's Tomb, Syriac manuscript, from *Rabbula Gospels*, A.D. 586, Florence, Italy, Laurentian Library

Crucifixion of Christ: Byzantine

Triptych of Khakhuli, ninth century, Tbilisi, Republic of Georgia

Crucifixion with Mary and John, ivory triptych, tenth century, London, British Museum

Crucifixion, eleventh century, Daphni, Greece, Monastery

Crucifixion of Christ: Medieval

Crucifixion, bronze, from a book cover, eighth century, Dublin, Ireland, National Museum of Ireland

Gero Crucifix, wood, circa 975–1000, Cologne, Germany, Cathedral

Christ on the Cross, bronze, circa 1070, Werden, Germany, Abbey Church

Crucifixion, panel on bronze doors, eleventh century, Hildesheim, Germany, Cathedral

Crucifixion, left tympanum, west portal, thirteenth century, Reims, France, Cathedral

Cimabue, *Crucifix*, painting, circa 1280–1285, Florence, Italy, Santa Croce

Crucifixion of Christ: Renaissance

Giotto, *The Crucifixion*, fresco, circa 1305–1306, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Bulgarini, Bartolommeo, *The Crucifixion*, circa 1335, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Daddi, Bernardo, *Crucifixion*, painting, fourteenth century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Duccio, *Crucifixion*, circa 1310–1320, London, Buckingham Palace

Master of St. Veronica, *Crucifixion*, painting, 1400–1410, Washington, D.C., National Gallery

Spinello, Aretino, *Crucifixion*, tempera on panel, circa 1400, Worcester, Massachusetts, Worcester Art Museum

Masaccio, *Crucifixion*, painting, 1426, Pisa Santa Maria del Carmine, now in Naples, Italy, Museo e Galleria Nazionali di Capodimonte

Masaccio, *The Trinity*, fresco, circa 1428, Florence, Italy, Museo di Santa Maria Novella

Angelico, Fra, *Crucifixion*, fresco, 1435–1445, Florence, Italy, St. Mark

Angelico, Fra, *Madonna and Saints*, painting, circa 1438, Florence, Italy, San Marco

Angelico, Fra, *Mystical Crucifixion*, fresco, circa 1440, Florence, Italy, San Marco, Chapter House

Bellini, Giovanni, *Crucifixion*, 1455, Venice, Italy, Museo Correr

Mantegna, Andrea, *Crucifixion*, panel, from the predella of the *Saint Zeno Altarpiece*, 1456–1459, Paris, Louvre

Castagno, Andrea del, *Crucifixion*, circa 1470, Budapest, Hungary

Gaddi, Taddeo, *Crucifixion*, painting, late fourteenth century, Florence, Italy, Academia

Monaco, Lorenzo, *Crucifixion*, late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Art Gallery

Cleve, Joos van, *Crucifixion*, circa 1485, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Perugino, *The Crucifixion*, oil, 1485, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Crivelli, Carlo, *Crucifixion*, painting, circa 1490, Chicago, Illinois, Art Institute

Francia, Francisco, *Calvary with Saint John at the Foot of the Cross*, painting, late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, Paris, Louvre

Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *The Penance of Saint Jerome*, painting, 1502, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorische Museum

Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *Crucifixion*, panel, 1503, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorische Museum

Grünewald, Matthias, *Crucifixion*, oil on panel, *Isenheim Altarpiece*, 1510–1515, Colmar, France, Musée Unterlinden

Dürer, Albrecht, *Great Crucifixion*, painting, 1511, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorische Museum

Leyden, Lucas van, *Calvary*, engraving, 1517

Pontormo, Jacopo, *Entombment*, painting, 1515–1528, Florence, Italy, St. Felicità, Capponi Chapel

Burgkmair, Hans the Elder, *Triptych of the Crucifixion*, painting, 1519, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek

Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *Cardinal Albrecht von Brandenburg as Saint Jerome in the Wilderness*, panel, 1527, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

Cranach, Lucas the Elder and the Younger, *Crucifixion with an Allegory of Redemption*, panel, 1555, Weimar, Germany, Stadtkirche

Pontormo, Jacopo, copy after *Crucifixion*, painting, sixteenth century, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Michelangelo, *Crucifixion*, drawing, 1550s, Paris, Louvre

Michelangelo, *Crucifixion*, drawing, 1550s, London, British Museum

Michelangelo, *Crucifixion*, drawing, 1550s, Windsor, England, Royal Library

Titian, *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, painting, circa 1567–1568, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Tintoretto, *Crucifixion*, painting, 1554, Venice, Italy, Academia

Tintoretto, *Crucifixion*, oil on canvas, 1566–1567, Venice, Italy, Scuola di San Rocco, Sala dell'Albergo

Crucifixion of Christ: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Raising of the Cross*, triptych, 1609–1610, Antwerp, Belgium, Cathedral

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Descent from the Cross*, painting, circa 1612, Saint-Omar, France, Cathedral

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Three Crosses*, circa 1620, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen

Zurbarán, Francisco, *Crucifixion*, 1627, Chicago, Illinois, Art Institute
 Velázquez, Diego, *The Crucifixion (Christ on the Cross)*, oil, 1631–1632, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Raising of the Cross*, oil, 1633, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek, Gemäldegalerie
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Descent from the Cross*, oil, 1633, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek, Gemäldegalerie
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Ascension*, oil, 1636, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek, Gemäldegalerie
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Entombment*, oil, 1639, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek, Gemäldegalerie
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Resurrection*, oil, 1639, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek, Gemäldegalerie
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Christ Crucified Between Two Crosses (The Three Crosses)*, drypoint, 1653, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts
 Terbrugghen, *Crucifixion*, painting, 1626, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Crucifixion of Christ: Nineteenth Century

Friedrich, Caspar David, *Tetschen Altarpiece*, oil, 1808, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie
 Prud'hon, Pierre-Paul, *Crucifixion*, 1822, Paris, Louvre
 Préault, Augustin, *Crucifixion*, wood sculpture, 1840–1846, Paris, Saint-Germain-Saint-Protais
 Delacroix, Eugène, *Christ on the Cross*, oil, 1846, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery
 Delacroix, Eugène, *Crucifixion*, pastel, circa 1846–1852, Ottawa, Ontario, National Gallery of Canada
 Flandrin, Hippolyte-Jean, *Crucifixion*, mural painting, circa 1860, Paris, Saint-Germain-des-Près
 Bonnat, Léon, *Crucifixion*, oil on canvas, 1874, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais
 Morot, Aimé-Nicolas, *The Martyrdom of Jesus of Nazareth*, oil on canvas, 1883, Nancy Musée des Beaux Arts
 Gauguin, Paul, *The Yellow Christ*, oil, 1889, Buffalo, New York, Albright-Knox Art Gallery
 Denis, Maurice, *Orange Christ*, 1889, Alençon, France, Collection J. F. Denis
 Lacombe, Georges, *Crucifixion*, wood sculpture, 1899, Brest, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Crucifixion of Christ: Twentieth Century

Munch, Edvard, *Golgotha*, 1900, Oslo, Norway, Munch Museet
 Rouault, Georges, *Crucifixion*, oil, circa 1918, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art
 Spencer, Stanley, *Crucifixion*, 1921, Aberdeen Art Gallery Museum
 Corinth, Lovis, *The Red Christ*, oil, 1922, Munich, Germany, Neue Sammlung
 Picasso, Pablo, *Crucifixion*, 1930, Paris, Musée Picasso
 Johnson, William Henry, *Mr. Calvary*, circa 1939, Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Institution, National Collection of the Fine Arts
 Chagall, Marc, *Crucifixion*, oil on canvas, 1943, Pierre Matisse Gallery, collection of the artist

Sutherland, Graham, *Christ*, sculpture, 1950, Assy, France, Church de Plateau
 Matisse, Henri, *The Stations of the Cross*, 1951, Venice, Italy, Chapel of the Rosary
 Dalí, Salvador, *Christ and Saint John of the Cross*, oil on canvas, 1951, Glasgow, Art Gallery and Museum
 Dalí, Salvador, *Crucifixion or Corpus Hypercubicus*, 1954, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Richier, Germaine, *Crucified Christ*, sculpture, 1950, Assay, France
 Bacon, Francis, *Three Studies for a Crucifixion*, 1962, New York, Guggenheim Museum
 Newman, Barnett, *Twelfth Station of the Cross: Death of Christ on the Cross*, oil, 1965, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Newman, Barnett, *Fourteenth Station of the Cross: Entombment*, oil, 1965, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Chagall, Marc, *Crucifixion*, lithograph, 1972
 Serrano, Andres, *Piss Christ*, photograph, 1988

Crucifixion of St. Peter

Masaccio, *Crucifixion of Saint Peter*, panel from the predella of the Pisa polyptych, 1426, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin
 Michelangelo, *The Crucifixion of Peter*, fresco, 1540s, Rome, Vatican Capella Paolina
 Caravaggio, *The Crucifixion of Peter*, oil, 1600–1601, Rome, Cerasi Chapel, St. Maria del Popolo

Crucifixion of St. Andrew

El Greco, *Saint Andrew*, painting, circa 1590, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Domenichino, *Saint Andrew*, early seventeenth century, Rome, St. Andrea della Valle

Typological Prefiguration of the Crucifixion

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Moses and the Brazen Serpent*, painting, circa 1635–1640, London, National Gallery

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DAMNED SOULS

Alicia Craig Faxon

The following periods and cultures are covered in the discussion of the theme Damned Souls:

ANCIENT
CLASSICAL
CHRISTIAN

SEVENTEENTH AND
EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES
NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY
JAPANESE
CAMBODIAN



Albrecht Dürer, *Christ's Descent into Limbo*, 1510, woodcut, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Art Museums, bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop. (Courtesy of the Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts)

The term *damned souls* is often applied to the dead in hell, Hades, or some sort of underworld that is the opposite of heaven, paradise, or an afterworld of bliss, the reward for good deeds, right thoughts, and pious living. Damned souls are usually pictured in a place of fire and brimstone with demons and devils to torment them as a punishment for their evil deeds and sinful living. However, damned souls can also define people still living who are under a burden of guilt and sin, tormented more by their own consciences than by any external agency. Their consciousness of damnation is within, a living hell. This state is described by Christopher Marlowe in *Dr. Faustus* (1616):

Hell hath no limits, nor is circumscribed
In one self-place; for where we are is Hell
And where Hell is, there must we ever be.
(*Dr. Faustus*, act I, scene 5, lines 135–137)

The feeling of damnation does not have to go with a religious belief in the existence of hell but can be seen in modern psychological terms as a guilt complex.

The belief in damnation, damned souls, or a place where sinners are punished after death is not a particularly Western or Christian belief. It occurs in a number of cultures both Oriental and Occidental and can be traced back to ancient times in one of the earliest known pieces of literature: 14 Sumerian tablets, which date from 2000 B.C. The tablets relate the myth of the descent to the netherworld by the Sumerian goddess Inanna, but identified in the tablets as Ishtar, Inanna's Semitic counterpart. It tells of Inanna, queen of heaven and goddess of love, visiting the netherworld, perhaps to free Tammuz, her lover. The queen of the netherworld is Inanna's older sister and enemy, Ereshkigal. Inanna fears Ereshkigal will put her to death, so she makes provisions for the other gods to rescue her if she does not return in three days. To get to the kingdom of Ereshkigal, Inanna must pass seven gates, and at each she leaves an article of clothing or jewelry so that she arrives naked before Ereshkigal and seven dreaded judges in an underworld complete with demons and the torture of sinners. Ereshkigal condemns her either to death (one source) or to a torture of 60 miseries; however, the god Enki sends messengers to bring Inanna back, and she revives and returns to Earth.

The concept of damned souls also occurs in Etruscan art beginning in about 350 B.C. At this time, Charun, a bluish green demon, first appears and is later joined by an army of demons in the underworld. He appears on the walls of the tomb of Orcus I in Tarquinia, Italy, and murals in the tomb of Orcus II also depict the king and queen of the netherworld, Hades and Persephone. Before the mid-fourth century B.C., the walls of the tombs at Tarquinia and Cerveteri had depicted scenes of dancing and merriment, but later they depict an increasingly fearsome underworld, with demons tormenting the damned souls.

In classical literature, Hades, as he was known to the Greeks, or his Roman counterpart, Pluto, brother of Zeus (Jupiter) and Poseidon (Neptune), is monarch of a gloomy kingdom of death. During Odysseus's visit to the underworld in book XI of the *Odyssey*, Homer describes the everlasting torments of such damned souls as Tityus, whose liver was eaten by a pair of vultures; Tantalus, who suffered hunger and thirst because food and water were always just out of reach; and Sisyphus, who forever strained to push a boulder uphill only to have it crash down again. Virgil's *Aeneid* (19 B.C.) also contains a section on damned souls. In book 6, Aeneas visits Tartarus, ferried by Charon, to see his dead father, Anchises.

From within loud groans are heard, and wailings of dismay
The whistling scourge, the fetters dank and din
Shrieks, as of tortured fiends, and all the sounds of sin.
(*Aeneid*, book 6, stanza 73)

At Avernus, where Rhadamanthus judges the dead and metes out punishment, Aeneas sees Tityus tortured by vultures, and he speaks of sinners rolling boulders uphill and others hung on wheels, racked with endless woe.

Although hell and damned souls are often associated with Christian tradition, very little Scripture refers to this subject. The Gospel According to Luke (16:19–31) tells the story of the rich man Dives, who goes to hell and is tormented by flames, and Revelation (20:12–15) refers to a Last Judgment. Revelation 21:8 is the closest to a description of damned souls:

But the fearful, and unbelieving, and the abominable,
and murderers, and whoremongers, and sorcerers, and
idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the lake
which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death.

The Bible makes it very clear that souls are judged by their own deeds, not by an external, arbitrary standard.

The Christian tradition associates the time between Jesus Christ's death on Good Friday and his resurrection on Easter Sunday with his visit to hell or Limbo. The Apostles' Creed declares: "He descended into Hell. The third day he rose again from the dead. He ascended into Heaven." This descent to the dead has further been explained as Christ's releasing the righteous of the Old Testament, from Adam and Eve on, from the bonds of hell into the everlasting life that his death purchased. This event is commonly called the harrowing of hell, from an Old English word meaning "to rob" or "to take away" (in this case, from Satan's power). Often in art and literature Christ is pictured lifting Adam or Adam and Eve from the underworld. The drama of this scene inspired German artist Albrecht Dürer to portray it at least three times in woodcuts and engraved prints between 1509 and 1512. In all the Dürer representations, Christ stretches his hand out to figures below him, and

released souls stand in an archway on one side, while grotesque demons look on. The nude figures of Adam and Eve have already been released, and in some representations Adam still clutches the apple. The souls in these representations are “saved,” not “damned,” and it is significant in Christian theology that Christ’s first act in the afterlife is the pardoning and release of souls rather than their damnation.

Like the Crucifixion, the theme of damnation and damned souls is not known to occur in early Christian art. Allegorical references to the good shepherd separating the sheep from the goats are found, for example, in an early sixth-century mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, Italy. In the medieval era, however, the representation of damned souls, especially in Last Judgment scenes, became increasingly popular. This is particularly true in the sculpture of Romanesque and Gothic churches where, in the tympanum or lunette over the entrance, the fate of those who do not live a righteous life serves as a warning. The Last Judgment usually portrays Christ as judge and St. Michael as the weigher of souls, with the righteous joining the blessed on the right hand of God and the damned souls hauled away by gloating demons on the left (or sinister) side of God. The fate of damned souls is shown in the west tympanum of Autun Cathedral in France (circa 1130–1135), where the terror of the damned and the hideousness of the demons are particularly expressive. This scene is matched in Gothic sculpture by the damned souls on Lorenzo Maitani’s facade of Orvieto Cathedral in Italy (circa 1320). The anatomy of the tormented souls in Orvieto is more correct than that of Autun, but the expression of terror and hopelessness is in no way blunted; rather, it is increased by identification with the humanity of the figures. Giotto’s painting created an equally terrifying vision of damned souls in the Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy (1305–1306).

In painting, damned souls are portrayed extremely graphically by Hubert and Jan van Eyck in the *Last Judgment* (circa 1420–1425, in the Metropolitan Museum in New York), with figures rising from graves on Earth and in the sea and the damned cast down in the lower center portion of the painting, under a grinning skeleton. Flemish painter Rogier van der Weyden’s fall of the damned in his *Last Judgment* (1446, in the Hôtel Dieu in Beaune, France) has the falling figures assume the features of the sins they committed in life. One of the most frightening portrayals of damned souls is in Hieronymus Bosch’s *Garden of Earthly Delights* (circa 1500, in the Prado in Madrid, Spain), in which the right panel of the triptych portrays a hallucinatory and almost surrealistic hell.

During the early Renaissance in Italy, Christ’s deliverance of souls from hell was depicted in works by Fra Angelico (in San Marco in Florence, Italy), Giovanni Bellini (in the Bristol Art Gallery in England), Duccio di Buoninsegna (in the Opera del Duomo in Siena, Italy), and Andrea Mantegna. A less charitable view is presented by Luca Signorelli’s frescoes of *The Damned Cast into Hell* (1499–1500, in S. Brixio Chapel at the Orvieto Cathedral), which offers an excellent opportunity to study the artist’s mastery of human anatomy. Another early Renaissance representation of damned souls can be seen in Botticelli’s drawings for Dante’s *Inferno* (1492–1497, in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin, Germany).

Perhaps the greatest vision of damned souls is in Michelangelo’s *Last Judgment* fresco (1534–1541, in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican). In it, Michelangelo offered himself for

judgment: he included a self-portrait on the flayed skin held by St. Bartholomew to the right of Christ. At the bottom of the representation, instead of a fiery mouth of hell, Charon, the mythological ferryman, carries damned souls to the netherworld. This raised the question for one art historian whether Michelangelo, who belonged to a liberal group of Roman Catholic thinkers, might have meant to imply that hell itself was a myth. This theory, however, seems unlikely because Charon as a ferryman in hell had already appeared in a Christian context in Dante Alighieri’s *Divine Comedy* in the early fourteenth century; and a view of hell as a mythic world would have been heretical in both Dante’s and Michelangelo’s times.

In the seventeenth century, the staring eyes and gaping mouth of Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s Baroque marble representation *Damned Soul* (or *Anima Dannata*) (circa 1619, in the Palazzo de Spagna in Italy) brought expressiveness of features to dramatic heights. This expressiveness is equaled on a grand scale by Peter Paul Rubens’s painting *The Fall of the Damned* (circa 1620, in Munich, Germany), in which the nude bodies of the damned are inextricably intertwined in a terrifying spiral downward.

The topic of damnation was not very popular in the Age of Reason, but representations of damned souls again become more prevalent in the late eighteenth century, thanks to John Flaxman’s illustrations for Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, published in 1793 and much copied by nineteenth-century artists. The young Eugène Delacroix showed *Dante and Virgil in the Underworld* (also called the *Barque of Dante*) in the Salon of 1822, peopling the water around Charon’s boat with a variety of damned souls. William Blake’s illustrations of Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, made between 1824 and 1827, depict an encyclopedia of damned souls, from *The Whirlwind of Lovers*, which contains the ill-fated Paolo Malatesta and Francesca da Rimini, to *The Self Murderers* and *The Blasphemers*. Here Blake’s style of dematerialized bodies in expressive poses perfectly matches the portraits of Dante’s epic. Gustave Doré’s *Illustrations to Dante’s Inferno* (1865) lack the imaginative power of Blake’s vision, except in a few instances.

Auguste Rodin’s *Gates of Hell*, incomplete at the time of the sculptor’s death in 1917, presents a modernized version of Dante’s *Inferno* combined with Charles Baudelaire’s *Les Fleurs du mal*, poems of nineteenth-century life and lust. The *Gates of Hell* depicts familiar characters described in the *Inferno*, such as Ugolino and his sons, but the fluidity of form suggests the unfulfilled restlessness of Rodin’s contemporaries. In a sense, all those portrayed in the reliefs are damned souls, from the prodigal son to Paolo and Francesca and “She Who Was Once the Helmet-Maker’s Beautiful Wife,” or the old courtesan. All appear beneath the brooding figure of the thinker above the door in various poses of despair or flight, an encyclopedia of angst and loss.

In literature, the greatest compendium of damned souls is surely Dante’s *Inferno*, completed shortly before his death in 1308. In it, in addition to classic sinners, such as traitors and usurers, he featured a number of his contemporary enemies in Florentine politics, such as Filippo Argenti and Farinata degli Uberti. Their punishments run the gamut from lakes of ice to searing fire; the more extreme the sin, the greater the punishment in this encyclopedia of sinners and damned souls. As Dante dealt with a community of the damned, Christopher

Marlowe's play *Dr. Faustus* (1616) dealt with the subject of individual damnation in which a man sells his soul to the devil (Mephistopheles) to gain his goals. This work probably was the origin of selling one's soul to the devil to succeed. Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus* also inspired artists, among them Delacroix and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. In the seventeenth century, John Milton dealt with the problem of Satan and damned souls in *Paradise Lost*. In it, he dramatized the sense of personal damnation within a person's consciousness, and not in any place, metaphorical or metaphysical:

Which way shall I fly?
Infinite wrath and infinite despair?
Which way I fly is hell; myself am hell.
(*Paradise Lost*, book III, line 73)

Arthur Rimbaud echoed this view in *A Season in Hell* in 1875, which portrays the poet as a damned soul.

In the twentieth century, secularized visions of damned souls were presented in George Bernard Shaw's *Don Juan in Hell* and Jean-Paul Sartre's *No Exit*, in which the devil is urbane and the demons are interior, although no less powerful for being so. Literary critic and Christian scholar C. S. Lewis gave an up-to-date version of temptation and damnation in *The Screwtape Letters*, in which an elderly, experienced fiend counsels his young protégé on the latest techniques of producing a damned soul. Lewis also pictured a modern view of damned souls in *The Great Divorce*, in which addiction is shown overcome and where pride creates individual hells for its adherents as they move away from an unbearable source of goodness and mercy in God.

In *Drawings for Dante's Inferno* (1959–1960, in the Museum of Modern Art in New York), Robert Rauschenberg used the technique of solvent transfer—transferring magazine clippings pasted with lighter fluid onto the paper—with collage, watercolor, and pencil drawing added. His Dante was a man wrapped in a towel from a *Sports Illustrated* magazine advertisement for golf clubs, and the image of Adlai Stevenson became Virgil, Dante's guide and mentor. Wall Street businessmen appear as corrupt Florentine politicians, and athletes from *Sports Illustrated* appear in a number of roles in his 34 illustrations of the 34 *Inferno* cantos. The figures appear within a swirling haze of pencil strokes and dismembered body parts. His choice of agonized heads for the heretics, the divines, and the inhabitants in Malebolge is particularly telling. The colors used also have significance: white for heaven, ocher for the stench of Malebolge, yellow and orange-red for clerics, and dark red for blood.

Another example of twentieth-century reference to an older work of art is Martha Clarke's inspired 1984 production *The Garden of Earthly Delights*, which depicted the three panels of Hieronymus Bosch's painting. The third act of this dance, music, and drama production brought the damned souls of Bosch's *Hell* panel into vivid being by means of musical instruments. The instruments were scraped raucously as dancers floated on trapezes amid the caperings of assorted demons and sinners.

The concept of damned souls tormented in an afterlife appears in a number of cultures. In addition to the record of Sumer and the weighing of souls in Egyptian art and literature, vivid depictions occur in Japan and Cambodia. In Japanese art of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, Fujiwara

Nobuzane created an account of the life of Michizone, in which the spirit of his enemy Tokihira is carried to a flaming hell by devils who torture him for four long horrible scrolls. Another Japanese tale tells of a man with an unlovable, mean mother who died and went to hell while the son went to heaven. He felt it was his duty to get his mother out of such a bad place, and Buddha said if he could find one good deed his mother had done, she would be released. He remembered that she had given a leek to a hungry beggar—her one act of charity. When the leek was lowered to draw her up from hell, it broke because it was rotten, just like the one she had given the beggar, and she was not able to leave hell.

At the Angkor Wat temple complex in Cambodia, relief sculpture shows heaven and hell, with a Last Judgment by Yoma, the Hindu lord of death. The damned souls are punished in a hell of many hideous tortures, while those going to heaven are saved by celestial ladies filled with inextinguishable amorous desire. What happened to heaven-bound females does not seem to be represented, a rather one-sided view. Suffice it to say that the idea of damned souls, whether dead in places of torment or living a doomed existence in this life, seems to be widespread among a number of cultures.

See also Ascent/Descent; Sin/Sinning; Vices/Deadly Sins

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

Etruscan Wall Paintings, 350 B.C., tombs of Orcus I and

Orcus II, Tarquinia, Italy

Nude Goddess: Ereshkigal, Queen of the Underworld, Mesopotamian terra-cotta figure, London, British Museum

Dumuzi in the Underworld, Flanked by Snakes,

Mesopotamian cylinder seal, London, British Museum

Anubis Weighing the Heart Against the Feather of Maat, from *Funerary Papyrus of Princess Entiu-ny*, Egyptian, from Thebes, Tomb of Queen Meryet-Amun, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Classical

Achelous Painter, *Labor of Sisyphus*, black-figure amphora, late sixth century B.C., Munich, Germany, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek

Hades' Kingdom, Greek vase painting

Persephone Painter, *Hermes Leading Persephone from the Underworld*, Athenian krater, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Titian, *Sisyphus*, part of *The Four Condemned Series*, 1548–1549, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Ribera, Jusepe de, *Sisyphus*, circa 1634, copy, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Giordano, Luca, *Sisyphus*, circa 1705, The Hague, The Netherlands, Mauritshus

Christian

Hell, Byzantine mosaic, twelfth century, Torcello, Italy, Cathedral

Damned Souls, relief, west tympanum, circa 1130–1135, Autun, France, Cathedral

Hell, mosaic, circa 1300, Florence, Italy, Baptistery, Cupola
 Giotto, *The Last Judgment*, fresco, circa 1305–1306, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
 Maitani, Lorenzo, *The Last Judgment*, relief on facade, circa 1320, Orvieto, Italy, Cathedral
 Nardo di Cione, *Last Judgment: Hell*, fresco, 1350s, Florence, Italy, St. Maria Novella, Strozzi Chapel
 Limburg Brothers, *Hell*, manuscript illumination from *Très Riches Heurs du Duc de Berry*, circa 1416, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé (Ms. 65, fol. 64v)
 Traini, Francesco, *Last Judgment and Inferno*, fresco, mid-fourteenth century, Pisa, Italy, Campo Santo
 Weyden, Rogier van der, *The Last Judgment*, oil, 1446, Beaune, France, Hôtel Dieu
 Botticelli, illustrations to *Inferno*, by Dante, 1480s and early 1490s, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett; Rome, Vatican Library
 Signorello, Luca, *The Damned Cast into Hell*, fresco, 1499–1500, Orvieto, Italy, St. Brixio Chapel
 Bosch, Hieronymus, *Garden of Earthly Delights: Hell*, oil, circa 1505, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Albrecht Dürer, *Christ's Descent into Limbo*, 1510, woodcut, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Art Museums
 Michelangelo, *The Last Judgment*, fresco, 1534–1541, Rome, Vatican, Sistine Chapel

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, *Anima Dannata*, sculpture, circa 1619, Rome, Palazzo di Spagna
 Swanenburgh, Jacob van, *Charon's Boat*, before 1638, Leiden, The Netherlands, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *The Fall of the Damned*, oil, circa 1620, Munich, Germany, Gemäldegalerie
 Subleyras, Pierre, *Charon Passing the Shades*, before 1749, Paris, Louvre
 Flaxman, John, *A Soul Appearing Before the Judges in Hades*, drawing, circa 1783, Cambridge, England, Fitzwilliam Museum

Nineteenth Century

Delacroix, Eugène, *Dante and Virgil in the Underworld*, oil, 1822, Paris, Musée d'Orsay
 Blake, William, *The Whirlwind of Lovers*, illustrations to *Divine Comedy*, by Dante, 1824–1827, London, Tate Gallery
 Delacroix, Eugène, *Seventeen Lithographs on Goethe's Faust*, 1827, Paris, Bibliothèque National de France
 Burne-Jones, Edward, *Souls on the Bank of the River Styx*, 1871–1872, London, Nahum Collection

Twentieth Century

Rauschenberg, Robert, *Thirty-four Drawings for Dante's*

Inferno, 1959–1960, New York, Museum of Modern Art
 Clarke, Martha, *Garden of Earthly Delights*, performance based on Hieronymus Bosch's triptych, 1980s

Japanese

Nobuzane, Fujiwara, *Hell Episodes*, four scrolls in *Life of Michizone*, late twelfth century or early thirteenth century, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts, Fenellosa Collection

Cambodian

Judgment of Yoma, Hindu Lord of Death, stone relief, Angkor Wat

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DANCE/DANCERS/DANCING

Alicia Craig Faxon

The following subjects are covered in the discussion of the theme Dance/Dancers/Dancing:

ANCIENT

ETRUSCAN

MYTHOLOGICAL SUBJECTS

BIBLICAL SUBJECTS

DANCE OF DEATH

BALLET AND FORMAL DANCE

ALLEGORICAL

FOLK

NON-WESTERN

MODERN

PHOTOGRAPHY



Siva as Nataraja (Lord of Dancers), circa sixteenth–seventeenth century, bronze, South India, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Marianne Brimmer Fund. (Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Through the centuries, the many occasions and uses for dance have included fertility rites, creation embodiment, entertainment, healing, war and victory dances, dramatic dances reenacting earlier events, community rituals, and individual performances. The different types of dance range from the orgiastic, such as Dionysian rites, to the formal measures of a minuet or a ballet performance and to self-expression in modern dance. Dances may be all-female, all-male, mixed, costumed, masked, sacred, or secular. It is impossible to cover the great variety of meanings, uses, and expressions of dance in human history without writing an encyclopedia. This account will encompass primarily dance in art, a category that covers eras from before 2000 B.C. to the twentieth century.

The most ancient forms of dance were probably fertility dances to increase crops, animal populations, and the tribe itself. These included rain dances, which are still practiced among some Native American and African peoples. Mimetic magic is invoked in the fertility dance of the Bambara tribe of Mali, in which antelope-head masks are worn by dancers impersonating male and female antelopes. They dance in the fields to bring fertility to the land. Harvest dances are another form of fertility rite, often performed around a sacred tree in European, African, and Native American rituals. This custom still exists in England as the Maypole dance. These dances are community festivals, totally different in function from erotic dances, such as the dance of the seven veils, representations of Salome's dance, or the more contemporary striptease.

One of the most significant forms of dance is the cosmic Hindu ritual of creation in the dance of Siva Nataraja in South India, represented in a number of bronze sculptures, many from the twelfth century. In Hindu doctrine, the dance of Siva expresses his role as nataraja, or the lord of the cosmic dance, and represents the union of time and space in which Siva is creator, preserver, and destroyer of the world. According to Hindu legend, when Siva danced, the world was shaken; and when begged to stop, he consented to delay the dance until the end of the world, when it would become a dance of final destruction. In the cosmic dance, Siva is usually represented with four arms. In his upper-right hand he holds a little drum, which creates the beat of time. His second right hand is in a "fear-dispelling" position, while his extended left hand holds the flame of spiritual light. The lower-left hand across his chest points to the raised foot signifying teaching, the left foot lifted symbolizes release, and the right foot on the back of a dwarf drives souls into the vortex of rebirth. The god's right earring is a man's; his left, a woman's, for the figure includes and transcends opposites. His wildly streaming hair is that of a yogi; the skull in it is an attribute of his role as lord of death opposite a crescent moon symbolizing birth. In this representation of the cosmic dance, past, present, and future are included, both time and the

end of time, a truly extraordinary achievement of this type of Indian art and philosophy. Also dating from this early era are sacred dances in the temples of India, Indonesia, Africa, and among Native Americans.

In ancient art and literature, dance appears very early in a painted relief of dancers doing a high kick in unison in the Tomb of Mehu at Saqqara, Egypt, in the sixth dynasty before 2000 B.C. These appear to be dancing girls entertaining at a banquet, possibly an early version of the Rockettes. In Sumerian literature, the myth of Inanna's (or Ishtar's) descent to the netherworld, inscribed on 14 tablets dating from about 2000 B.C., may be the origin of the dance of the seven veils. Inanna leaves a garment or veil at each of the seven gates leading to her elder sister's kingdom, so that she arrives naked in the underworld. Another type of dance of the ancient world were the rites that accompanied Etruscan funerals. These are shown in frescoes at Tarquinia, Italy: *The Tomb of the Leopards* (480 B.C.), the *Tombs of the Lionesses*, and the *Tomb of the Banquet* (the last two from a slightly later date). The frescoes depict pipers, wine carriers, and all the festivity of a banquet, as well as dancers.

Another form of dancing in classical myth tells of the dance of the Curetes (often confused with the Corybantes) around the baby Zeus, who is destined to be king of the gods. His father, Cronus, fearing the oracle's prediction that a child of his would supplant him, swallowed his children, but Zeus was hidden by his mother, Rhea. Her attendants, the Curetes, danced with swords clashing on their shields so that Cronus would not hear the baby's crying and realize that he had not devoured him.

In the classical myth of Theseus, as Mary Renault has suggested in *The King Must Die*, the seven youths and seven maidens that were sent to Crete as tribute were actually trained as bull dancers in the bullring; and the so-called *Toreador Fresco* (circa 1500 B.C.) at Iráklion, Crete, showing a youth leaping through the bull's horns, may be part of a ceremonial dance. Another type of dance associated with Theseus, called Ariadne's dance, was an imitation of a maze or labyrinth, performed as she gave Theseus the ball of thread he used to trace his way out of the Cretan labyrinth after he succeeded in killing the Minotaur.

In ancient Greece, the followers of Dionysus, the god of wine, always included dancing maenads, which are pictured on many Greek vases and sculptural reliefs. Bacchus, the ancient Roman counterpart of Dionysus, also inspired wild, intoxicated dancing among his followers. Bacchanals are often depicted on Roman sarcophagi (such as the *Sarcophagus with Triumphal Procession of Dionysus*, A.D. 215–225, in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston), perhaps with the hope that the afterlife will be a happy dance with wine, women, and song. The classical bacchanal dance was often depicted in

Renaissance and later paintings, in such works as Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (1520, in the Prado in Madrid, Spain) and Nicolas Poussin's *Bacchanal Before a Herm of Pan* (1630s, now in the Guildhall Art Gallery in London).

Still another classical example was dances of war, such as the Greek Pyrrhic dance. The theme was successfully appropriated in the nineteenth century by Lawrence Alma-Tadema in his painting *The Pyrrhic Dance*, for the Royal Academy exhibition of 1869. It was a great success, although the critic John Ruskin said of it: "The general effect was exactly like a microscopic view of a small detachment of black-beetles in search of a dead rat."

Dances are also part of the biblical tradition. One of the earliest mentioned in the Old Testament is the Dance of Miriam, celebrating the deliverance of Israel from Egypt (Exodus 15:20–21). Another reference to dance occurs when the Israelites made a golden calf and danced around it (Exodus 32:1–20). The scene was depicted by Raphael, Tintoretto, Poussin, and Claude Lorraine, among others. When Moses saw this idolatry, he broke the tablets of the law he was carrying and destroyed the golden calf.

Two New Testament passages (Matthew 14:6–11 and Mark 6:21–28) recount the story of Salome dancing for Herod's birthday and demanding the head of John the Baptist, who had insulted her mother, Herodias. This scene has been depicted in a number of paintings, from Benozzo Gozzoli's *Dance of Salome* (in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D. C.) to Gustave Moreau's *Dance of Salome* (or *The Apparition*), which was a cause célèbre of the Paris Salon of 1876 (now in the Harvard Art Museums in Cambridge, Massachusetts). Another Christian dance, although one not found in the Bible, was the Dance of Mary Magdalene. The dance was used in a fifteenth-century Italian mystery play and in an engraving by Lucas van Leyden as a symbol of Mary Magdalene's worldliness before her conversion.

In the Middle Ages, the first known example of the *Danse Macabre*, or Dance of Death, was painted in the cemetery of the Church of the Holy Innocents in Paris in 1425. This theme was translated into woodcuts in the first printed version of *La Danse macabre des charniers des saints innocents*, by Guy Marchant, in which all the persons visited by Death, from the pope to the peasant, must join in the Dance of Death. No one is exempt from the procession, no matter how good his or her excuses. This version was followed by Hans Holbein the Younger's woodcut series, *Dance of Death* (1538), in which Death visits all from the highest to the lowest and carries them off to be part of the dance.

During the Renaissance, artists borrowed many themes from the ancient Greek and Roman periods in a rebirth of classical literature and art. An example commemorating the role of the dance in Greek mythology occurs in Giulio Romano's painting *The Muses Dancing with Apollo* (in the Pitti Palace in Florence, Italy); the nine muses of the arts are joined with Apollo, the god associated with all branches of art in a celebratory dance. Classical figures were also used in the Baroque period by Poussin in his *Dance to the Music of Time* (circa 1640, in the Wallace Collection in London). Here four female figures in brilliantly colored classical robes, probably representing the seasons of the year, dance in a circle to the lyre

music of the winged, bearded figure of Time on the right, while on the left the two-headed herm represents Janus, or Terminus, the god of boundaries of all things (including life and its dance).

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, folk dancing was depicted in a number of paintings, especially in the northern tradition. Examples include Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Peasant Dance* (1566–1567, now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria) and *Wedding Dance* (1566, in the Detroit Institute of Arts in Michigan) and Peter Paul Rubens's *Flemish Kermesse* (1635–1638, now in the Louvre in Paris). Rubens evoked the exuberant rhythms and movements of sixteenth-century peasant or folk dancing as shown in the work of the Flemish artists Pieter Bruegel the Elder, David Teniers the Younger, and Adriaen Brouwer. Here the emphasis is not on the significance of the dance but on the rude and rollicking peasant revelers.

In the nineteenth century, dance in its many variations was a favorite subject of artists. Edgar Degas probably created more representations of the ballet in painting, sculpture, pastel, and drawings than did any other artist in history. Although he occasionally showed dancers on stage, the majority of his views of dancers show them practicing, resting offstage, or waiting in the wings. Degas's works range from the *Orchestra of Paris* (1868–1869, in the Musée d'Orsay in Paris), where the dance performance on stage is only a background for the musicians, and the *Rehearsal* (circa 1878, in the Frick Collection in New York), to sculptural portraits of the *Little Dancer 14 Years Old* (1881, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston), which show a typical ballet student, complete with a ribbon in her hair and a tulle tutu. Other of his dancer sculptures, such as *Grande Arabesque* (in the Harvard Art Museums) and *The Spanish Dancer* (in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena, California), were not cast in bronze until after Degas's death because he used them primarily as working tools to capture characteristic movements of the dance. Another, more formal sculptural representation of the dance is Jean-Baptiste Carpeaux's nude figures dancing on the facade of the Musée de l'Opéra in Paris, the new opera building (1867–1868). Impressionistic painter Pierre-Auguste Renoir celebrated the dance in scenes of contemporary life in his *Moulin de la Galette* (1876, now in the Musée d'Orsay in Paris) and *Le Bal à Bougival* (1883, in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston). Renoir's contemporary, Georges Seurat, attempted to capture the motion of the cancan in his pointillistic style in *Le Chahut* (1889, in the Kröller-Müller Museum in Otterloo, The Netherlands). Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec created another version of the cancan in *The Dance at the Moulin Rouge* (1892, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art in Pennsylvania). He also painted a number of dancers performing, including Jane Avril and Loie Fuller. Norwegian artist Edvard Munch's *Dance of Life* (1899, in the National Gallery in Oslo, Norway) represented an allegorical view of life as a dance.

In the twentieth century, many artists turned to primitive sources to portray the primeval energy of the dance, as did Henri Matisse in his oil paintings *Dance I* (1909, in the Museum of Modern Art in New York) and *Dance II* (1910, in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, Russia). They were originally commissioned by Sergei Schukin, along with another painting,

Music (1909, also in the Hermitage). Although both paintings are quite large in size (approximately 8.5 feet by 12 feet), Matisse simplified the composition to include five nude female figures in a round dance against the green and blue of land and sky. He reprised this theme in 1931–1933 for a commissioned mural, *Dance (First Version)*, to fill three lunettes at the Barnes Foundation in Merion, Pennsylvania. It did not have the correct dimensions, however, so he made a second version in 1932–1933 for the Barnes Foundation. The first version is now at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris. Because of the divided nature of the space in the Barnes Foundation, the figures are interrupted and cut off, but they appear to be continuing the same wild dance of 1909–1910.

Pablo Picasso's African period painting *The Dance of Veils* (1907, in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg) and André Derain's *Dance* (1906, in a private collection in Switzerland) emphasize the primal energy and origins of dancing. German Expressionist artist Emil Nolde referred to his South Seas visit to Palau and to the biblical story in his orgiastic *Dance Around the Golden Calf* (1910, in the Staatsgalerie Moderner Kunst in Munich, Germany). Even as austere and geometric a painter as Piet Mondrian was a devotee of dancing and incorporated the syncopated rhythms and dance steps of contemporary jazz into such paintings as *Broadway Boogie-Woogie* (1942–1943, now in the Museum of Modern Art in New York). He believed that true boogie-woogie destroyed melody and constructed new dynamic abstract rhythms, similar to the destruction of nature and the construction of new abstractions in his own paintings.

In photography, Barbara Morgan captured the essence of modern dance in her silver prints of Martha Graham, especially those taken in the 1930s, and Edward Steichen's series on *The Russian Pupils of Isadora Duncan* (1929) shows group action following a pioneer of modernity.

In literature, in addition to the ancient, classical, and biblical sources already cited, *The Dance of Death* was translated by John Lydgate sometime between 1425 and 1431 when he was in Paris and published in England. Guy Marchant first printed a version of this dance in 1485, but it had a number of variants and new interpretations from the fifteenth century to the twentieth. A more cheerful dance of mirth appeared in the *Roman de la Rose*, by Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. One copy of this was illustrated by the Flemish artist The Master of the Prayer Book in about 1500. The book details the allegorical quest of the Lover for the Rose, in which he meets such characters as Lady Idleness, Lady Wealth, Lady Largesse, Fair Welcome, Danger, and Jealousy. Twentieth-century literature on the theme of the dance includes Mary Renault's *The King Must Die*, which details the bull dance of Crete, and the work of British author Anthony Powell, in whose series of autobiographical novels, *Dance to the Music of Time*, the characters weave in and out of the narrative like figures in a dance.

An art itself, dance has worn various guises and symbolized many things from primitive times to the present. Its expressions run the gamut from the spontaneous response of children to the most sophisticated formal styles in the ballets of George Balanchine. It has been a locus for activities from communal rites to solo performances. By turns joyous, sad, and humorous, it has remained a vehicle of as many interpretations as there are experiences in life.

See also Bacchanalia/Orgy; Music

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

- Dancing Girls*, wall painting, Tomb of Mehu, sixth dynasty, before 2000 B.C., Saqqara, Egypt
Dance Lesson, crater, circa 460 B.C., Lecce, Italy, Museo 'Sigismondo Castromediano'

Etruscan

- Dancers*, wall paintings, Tomb of the Leopards, Tombs of the Lionesses, and Tomb of the Banquet, fifth century B.C., Tarquina, Italy

Mythological Subjects

- Psiax, *Maenad Dancing*, Attic amphora, circa 530–500 B.C., Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional
 Titian, *Bacchanal of the Andrians*, oil, 1520, Madrid, Prado
 Poussin, Nicolas, *Bacchanal Before a Herm of Pan*, oil, 1630s, London, Guildhall Art Gallery
 Alma-Tadema, Sir Lawrence, *Pyrrhic Dance*, panel, London, Guildhall Art Gallery

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- Gozzoli, Benozzo, *The Dance of Salome*, oil, circa 1480s, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
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 Moreau, Gustave, *Salome Dancing Before Herod*, 1875, Paris, Musée Gustave Moreau
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Dance of Death

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DAWN/DAWNING

Rudolf M. Bisanz

The following subjects are included in the discussion of the theme Dawn/Dawning:

ANCIENT THEOGONY

HELLENIC AND HELLENISTIC
PERSONIFICATIONS

JUDEO-CHRISTIAN ALLEGORY

HUMANIST INTELLECTUAL-
IZATION

EDO MOOD INSPIRATION

ROMANTIC METAPHYSICS

OPTICAL POSITIVISM

PSYCHOLOGICAL
PROJECTION



Albrecht Altdorfer, *The Resurrection of Christ*, 1518, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum. (Courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria, Archivphoto)

A monumental figure of a woman, her hands and feet touching the ground, appears arched over what seems like the arc of the sky. Near her mouth looms a globular object, while another sphere emerges from her lap, throwing a stream of rays downward, toward what seem like the outlines of a building. Among the more unusual symbolic representations of dawn in art, this image is iconographically also one of the more intriguing conflations of normally experienced life and nature with cosmic flights of imagination. The woman is the Egyptian celestial sun goddess Nut (possibly identical with the Greek goddess Rhea, wife of the Titan Cronus), who devours the evening sun and literally gives birth to the sun at dawn, in all its newborn eastern glory, symbolizing the process of perennial death and rebirth. Nut literally encompasses a star-spangled, lapis-colored sky over an azure-tinted, primordial sea, while the rays of a golden dawn emanating from her womb envelop a simple square with the ray-embazoned Hathor-head within. The Hathor-head symbolizes the temple to that sun goddess (identified with Aphrodite, Greek goddess of love). It is to her that the late Ptolemaic and Roman temple at Dendera on the Upper Nile, a center of the Egyptian New Year's Hathor ritual, is dedicated. By virtue of her association with the renewing powers of the rising sun in the guise of Nut, Hathor is endowed with life-giving force. This striking representation of her heavenly collaborator, the arching dusk-and-dawn goddess, one of numerous ones in Egyptian art, summarizes with an elegant economy of symbolic means the pagan fascination with an anthropomorphizing theogony. The intimate iconography of the woman-birth-life cycle, fused with a legendary diurnal, seasonal, and annual astronomic macrocosm in the crucible of a dawn-inspired mythical fantasy of creation, birth, and resurrection, creates a fabulous universe of consuming poetic splendor.

Nearly all ancient cultures understood dawn and its companion, the rising sun, as occasions for important theogonies: for example, the Hindu god Surya, who ascends the sky in his four-horse celestial chariot, and Ushas, the sun goddess, who arrives majestically through the morning clouds. The progeny of Vivasvat, the rising sun, gave birth to Manu, the ancestor of all humankind, who was the first to offer sacrifices. The Michabo, or Great Hare, second only to the Great Spirit in the Native American pantheon, whose abode is "the place where the sun rises," personifies dawn in Algonquian cosmogony. According to California Pericu Indian lore, Michabo's cosmological kinfolk, the morning and other times of day, are characterized as cross-ocean swimmers advancing the light of day around the Earth. Perhaps most surprising in art is Nut, the resplendent Egyptian sun goddess. The extremely wide variety of such cosmogonies in ancient and world religions makes clear ordering impossible, beyond the assertion that all derive from the phantasms of "humanity's childhood," about the creation of the universe and the mysterious forces that shape its contin-

ued existence. However, anthropomorphically, ancient Greek cosmology has no equal in the all-too-human phase of its enchanted theogonic visions of daybreak.

In addition to Apollo, archetypal "bringer of light," the sun god, Helios (or Phaëthon), rose in his quadriga in the east from the ocean. Mature Greek myth further distinguished between Hemera, the goddess of day, and Eos (Aurora), sister of Helios, the "rosy-fingered" goddess of dawn. Eos, a primal symbol of lust and beauty, rose from the eastern ocean into the heavens to awaken humans at daybreak, then followed her amorous yearnings. She was imagined wearing a saffron mantle and spreading dew from an upturned urn, or, torch in hand, riding Pegasus, or in her golden chariot. Because of her various concubines with beautiful youths, her many offspring, and her multifold magic relationships with gods and heroes—for example, she bestowed immortality on the Greek hero Achilles—her activities enmesh much of the classical pantheon. The Aurora Painter created what may be the most impassioned of all enlarged Eos narratives in art. Accompanied by wild geese, spray sea monsters, and the morning star as a winged figure, four spirited steeds draw her chariot upward through the firmament, while Aurora herself, emblazoned by a light glory, indulges her favorite lover, Cephalus, in a hearty embrace. Here Dawn titillates with the intrigue of abduction, celebrates rapturous bliss, and seduces with antiquity's zestiest joie de vivre. Later, in dynamic Hellenistic art, the light deities—Helios, Eos, and their other sister, Selene (Moon)—and Rhea-Cybele (the mother of the gods and powers of nature), collectively symbolizing logos (reason), battle with the giants (the senseless ones).

In Judaism, dawn has multiple layers of allegorical and tropological meanings. These include dawn as devotional allegory. The glory of God's assembly is made metaphoric in the query "Who is it that appears like the dawns?" (Song of Songs 6:10); dawn as the love of God for his faithful: "Then your light will break forth like the dawn" (Isaiah 58:8); and morning's earliest gleaming as the glory of Zion: "Arise, shine . . . Nations will come to your light, and kings to the brightness of your dawn" (Isaiah 60:1–3). But the most enigmatic and exegetically provocative is dawning as a metaphor for the origin of national identity. The Old Testament's greatest patriarch, Jacob, had his name changed to Israel (fighter of God) at dawn, after he had wrestled with a messenger of God throughout the night (Genesis 32:22–32). In his encounter with his mysterious opponent, Jacob would "not let go" unless he would bless him, thus forcing by sheer willpower a shift in his and his people's personality and destiny. This auspicious event, forever associated with dawn, prefigures an important symbolic phase in the consciousness and birth of a nation.

Allegorically and anagogically, the spiritual meaning of Jacob's struggle at dawn ramifies into Christian eschatology and signifies the victory of the church over the synagogue, of

the new covenant over the old. Since the Middle Ages, artists stressed the identity of God as the “opponent” and the struggle as one of good over evil. From Byzantine art—for example, *Vienna Genesis*—to Eugène Delacroix, artists have interpreted the subject of Jacob wrestling with the angel. But few have exploited the subject’s symbolic import with as much panache for original design as Paul Gauguin. In his treatment, dawn becomes part of a radical confrontation of brilliant white masses (the women’s bonnets) and bright red, a symbolic sunrise. Intensified into a radiant carmine middle ground as the defining moment of the form and the arresting center of the iconography of the painting, this “dawn” also figures as the birthplace of French symbolism.

In developed Christology, dawning is complicated by the fact that it augurs both good and evil: the birth of Jesus Christ, his betrayal, arrest, Crucifixion, and Resurrection, and, eschatologically, the rising of the Christian spirit and of the new era. The star of Bethlehem, or star in the east, is believed by some to be the morning star or morning planet (perhaps an aurora, Venus, or a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn) that led the Magi to the manger (Matthew 2:1–2). Thus, the generic scene of the adoration of the Magi is, by definition, a representation of the new dawn, replete with the rising star. This seems to be how many medieval and Renaissance painters imagined it, including Lorenzo Monaco, Fra Angelico, Fra Filippo Lippi, Giovanni di Paolo, Albrecht Dürer, and Juan de Flandes. Christ’s agony in the garden can be assumed to terminate at early dawn, when his betrayal and arrest ensue. “Before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice” (Luke 22:61). Thus, Peter’s betrayal of Christ and a massive (if temporary) character failure of a foremost apostle is commonly imagined as also having been brought on by the fateful time of daybreak. Accordingly, scenes in art that correspond to all the above events are naturally to be understood as occurring at dawn; Albrecht Altdorfer painted vehemently crimson-colored dawn landscapes for his two panels, *The Agony in the Garden* and *The Betrayal by Judas and Arrest of Christ*.

Early Christian art seems to have known a very rare hybrid that harmonized the pagan Helios—replete with horses, chariot, and light glory—with primitive kerygma: Christ as the bringer of light at the dawn of the new age. Apolitically, dawn is taken to be the revelation of God in Christ (Luke 1:78). And Christ also said, “I am the light of the world” (John 8:12). In apocalyptic language, he said, “And I will give [to him who overcomes] the morning star” (*astera ton proinon*; Revelation 2:28). And again, “I am the root and the offspring of David, and the bright and morning star” (*ho aster ho lampros ho proimos*; Revelation 22:16). The awesome transformation of Christ into pure light has never been more effectively or magically portrayed than by Matthias Grünewald. His *Resurrection* from the *Isenheim Altarpiece* is ushered in by the Matthean scene of the two Marys at the tomb, “In the end of the sabbath, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week” (Matthew 28:1).

Scripturally, the Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ and the spiritual transformation of humanity through Christ’s sacrifice are couched in such allegorical terms of the coming of the Messiah as the morning star and as a “light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn, and the day star [*phosphoros*] arise in your hearts” (II Peter 1:19). A very inspirational inter-

pretation of the Ascension as dawn is depicted in Altdorfer’s Vienna panel of *The Resurrection of Christ*. The awesome, roiling turbulence on the eastern horizon seems literally to consume the scene and its participants in a blazing conflagration at dawn. Jesus seems transfigured into an effulgent light-color radiance at dawn. Here, the total allegorical identification of the Risen Christ with the magic of dawning is fulfilled.

In a different iconological vein, Altdorfer, the “painter of dawns,” astonished the world of art with his spectacular interpretation of a world-historical event in the context of naturally conceived diurnal pyrotechnics on a global scale. His epic realization of Alexander the Great and Darius at the fateful Battle of Issus in 333 B.C.—replete with many hundreds of warriors—uses a conflagration of the sky at dawn as a metaphor of a heroic process of civilizational transformation. The sinking crescent moon, at upper left, symbolizes the declining fortunes of the Persians. The rising sun, at right, is perhaps the most spectacular dawn scene ever realized in art. Its colossal wheeling and eddying masses of red, yellow, and orange clouds vitalize a seemingly infinite panorama, as if seen from the stratosphere, revealing the curvature of the Earth and extending dynamically over hundreds of miles of sky, mountains, and sea. It symbolizes and seems to drive Alexander’s surging hegemony over the ancient world as a literal natural event, a conspiracy of human genius with nature’s vital energy. Altdorfer’s famous painting counts among the most impressive and successful of all artistic efforts at expressing history as an unfolding spectacle of nature, visualizing a historicopoetic reciprocity between human drama and cosmic event.

The Quattrocento reintegrated Neoplatonism and Scholasticism in a new summa of knowledge and inspiration. In the process, Renaissance iconography became increasingly circumscribed by academic protocol. Later, during the so-called Mannerist crisis, artists extrapolated and enlarged upon their received iconographic formulas. But with his *Dawn*, Michelangelo broke the mold of the then-conventional meanings for Christian-cum-Hellenic metaphor. He indulged in complete expressive freedom, hence, total iconographic license in his representation of dawn for the Medici tombs at St. Lorenzo in Florence, Italy. His figure lacks all metonymic attributes and can, therefore, be neither classified tropologically nor identified according to Renaissance conventions (although, of course, he did honor tradition by dedicating his *Times of Day* to the glory of princely powers). Instead, his *Dawn*’s tortured female beauty, her storied tension and suffering, express broad humanist thoughts. His *Dawn*’s psychological and existentialist anxieties—early avatars of the basal romantic-modern “human dilemma”—are oppressive: dawn as angst and ratiocination of existence slipping into the dread of nonbeing.

The Baroque, the age of discovery and of expanding horizons, loved ceremony, triumphant processions, and dynamism in its art. Iconographically, however, this contributed less to the intellectual spread of the subject of dawn and dawning in art than to making it more pedantic and rarefied. Accordingly, in ceiling frescoes by Guido Reni and Il Guercino, Aurora and her celestial chariot were joined in complex ancillary groupings involving, for example, her husband Tithonus, Phoebus Apollo and his quadriga, the Horae (sometimes known as the seasons, although their numbers vary from two to 11), Flora (goddess of flowers), and putti. This makes for lavish painted parades

but actually detracts from Eos-Dawn. The ideational context and clientele for classical subjects became increasingly erudite, relying more on ancient sources, for example, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, than on artistic sense. Nicolas Poussin, for example, embroidered the actions of his two dawn versions of the rape of Cephalus with enough accessory allegorical figures to neutralize the central concerns: primal passion and unrequited love. Later, the rococo often exploited the Baroque dawn/sunburst motif for sundry apotheoses; but it also disencumbered the dawning/sunrise mythologies from fastidious scholarship, allowing pure sensual pleasure to advance (as in the works by Paul Troger, James Thornhill, and Robert Le Lorrain).

Utamaro and Katsushika Hokusai presaged Romanticism in landscape painting in later eighteenth-century Japan. Eishosai Choki then produced one of the most refined terrestrial genre scenes of dawn. A female half-figure shivers and clasps her nightgown as the magnificent red quarter-disk of the sun breaks through the horizon between the sea and a darkling sky: dawn as a poetic study in mysterious contrasts between the sublime and the intimately human.

With Romanticism, dawn became an iconographic mainstay. Natural religion—the philosophy of being that anticipated modern process theology—appropriated dawn and the other times of day as preferred manifestations of the power and glory of God as active in a transcendent sphere (providence) and as immanent on Earth (natural phenomena). Accordingly, German Romantics, including Philipp Otto Runge and Caspar David Friedrich, developed the landscape altar. This picture type features the ephemera of color, light, and atmosphere as signals of providential revelation. Friedrich's followers—for example, Ernst Ferdinand Oehme, Carl Gustav Carus, Johann Christian Clausen Dahl, Karl Blechen, Karl F. Schinkel, and many other Romantics—mostly intended their extremely naturalistic scenes to be understood theistically, namely, as divine disclosure. Appropriate to the tenets of a dualistic *Erdlebensbildkunst* (the art of Earth life), in Friedrich's theory and as conveyed by Carus's writings on landscape painting, the viewer is supposed to experience the painted scene as phenomenal actuality. Simultaneously, the viewer is to intuit the ultimate noumenon—God as the necessary ground of freedom—in nature's mysterious infinity. In this fashion, the Romantics eliminated the ancient gods as stand-ins for the powers of nature (pantheism) as well as traditional Christian symbolism from the iconographic repertory of Western art. They substituted these with a radically new, modern theistic iconography: nature and its processes—for example, the rising sun at dawn—embody the miracle of creation and the promise of God in Christ.

Beyond general revelation, the Romantic notion of transcendence implicit in the event of dawn functioned even in the context of special revelation, that is, as a surrogate of the Trinity. Accordingly, and as so often with Friedrich, the Crucifixion may be used as a supernumerary of a dawn landscape. The most complex of all iconographies attendant on the idea of dawn as a process of universal renewal is Runge's *Morning*. Here, idealism and naturalism are fully accommodated, while dawn is typed or represented several times along the central vertical axis: as the morning star, the lily, the figure of Aurora, a newborn child on the meadow, and a protoimpressionist dawning. With his metaphysics of dawn, Runge

wished to allegorize spring, birth and childhood, creation and the process of natural and spiritual becoming, as well as the day spring of the coming of the Messiah and the morrow of the new covenant in Christ. He speculated that, in the long run, his philosophy of dawn could best be expressed by means of abstract art. J. M. W. Turner seemed to have attempted an analogous synthesis with his countless, quasi-abstract, coloristic depictions of daybreak. Similarly, to Runge, he enriched the iconographic repertory of dawn by very often harmonizing it with ancient Greek mythography, Christian motifs, scientific speculation, and personal fantasy.

Naturalist artists painted countless dawns as quickly passing instants of diurnal mechanics—meteorologically degraded light. Such scientific reductionism was long in the advanced stages of preparation (as exemplified in the works of the German landscape specialists of the Munich School, Alexander Cozens, John Constable, Adalbert Stifter, the Barbizon School, the Hudson River School, and Eugène Boudin). Realism and its positivist successor movements, impressionism and neoimpressionism, dealt a near deathblow to dawn as a spiritual event. In the process, dawn was debased to an optical phase: nature's equivalent of the banal, as in Claude Monet's *Impression, Sunrise* and Camille Pissarro's *River—Early Morning*.

Symbolism (e.g., the Nabis or the Worpswede School) and Expressionism once again reignited artists' imaginations on behalf of dawn as a concept worthy of a poet's inspiration. Many treatments of dawn are found in the works of the neoromantic moderns, for example, Paul Gauguin, Vincent van Gogh, Edvard Munch, Ferdinand Hodler, Maurice Denis, Pierre Bonnard, Giovanni Segantini, Hans am Ende, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. They transformed dawn from a reflection of theogonic, cosmic, Christian-allegorical, or natural forces to a neurological condition of dawning, with potent psychic or psychoreligious emanations associated with the notion of daybreak. Then they found formal, often abstract, means with which to "objectify the subjective" in a self-expressive manner that was personally compelling to them. Thus, dawn rose once more in the iconography of modernism and to the challenge of contributing to a voluble art.

From the above sketch of the iconography of dawn/dawning, certain iconological mainstreams can be inferred. From these, in turn, the mass of examples, at which this essay merely hints, can be organized. For instance, "primitive" cultures and the ancient kingdoms, whatever their obvious polytheistic divergences, shared a common pagan belief in theogonies based on straightforward anthropomorphic substitutions. This resulted in an art of naive symbolic transfers of natural forces (in this case, dawn) to various gods or goddesses in predictable actions of routinely fulfilling their appointed cosmic rounds—a static universe. By contrast, a dynamic Judeo-Christian tradition gave rise to an iconology that is vastly more sophisticated and complex. Its monotheistic sources, the Bible and ecclesiology, do not equate natural with spiritual matters directly but rather suggest oblique metaphoric relationships between them. Most significantly, they reveal mighty prospects of infinitely progressive spiritual development. In biblical criticism, these latent affinities need to be explored with various exegetical means to yield meaning. Accordingly, exploration of Christian iconography must include study of (1) the historical or literal sense; (2) the allegorical or christological sense; (3) the tropological, or

moral or ethical, sense; and (4) the anagogic or eschatological sense. Finally, modern art, especially since Romanticism, expanded the range of iconological possibilities with regard to natural phenomena, including the diurnal process of dawn/dawning. It did so by explaining them religiously; by humanizing and personalizing them with a view to deepening the psychological, phenomenological, and existentialist dimensions of nature experience; and by degrading them iconologically to a picturesque equivalent of physics—the recording of data on optics, spectroscopy, and meteorology. Interestingly, from banal naturalism then sprang abstraction and nonobjective abstraction. This development potentially liberated and empowered iconology and advanced a new dawning of dawn iconography. This happened with the occasional explorations of light-and-sky phenomena by, among others, the Expressionists, the futurists, and the Constructivists, promising more for times to come.

See also Light I; Light II; Night; Whiteness

Selected Works of Art

Ancient Theogony

Surya (Sun God) Riding Chariot, Vihara, Nr. 19, Ghaja, circa 100–70 B.C., Maharashtra, India

The Rising Sun Over Dendara, Roman period, A.D. first century, Dendara, Egypt, Hather Temple

Hellenic and Hellenistic Personifications

Phidias (?), *Helios' Horse*, Attic (theoretical reconstruction of east gable of the Parthenon), circa 440 B.C., London, British Museum

Aurora Painter, *Aurora and Cephalus*, Faliscan volute krater, Etruscan, circa 340 B.C., Rome, Museo Nazionale di Villa Giulia

Helios, metope from Temple of Athena, probably second century B.C., illustrated in *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, edited by O. Seyffert, p. 274

Zeus Altar, The Light Deities Helios, Eos and Selene in Combat with Giants, south frieze, circa 180–160 B.C., Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung

Judeo-Christian Allegory

The Sun-Christ (Cristo-sole; Helios Christ), in *His Chariot*, polychrome vault mosaic, circa A.D. 150–275, Rome, Mausoleum of the Julii, Vatican Grottoes

Jacob Wrestling with the Angel, from illuminated manuscript *Vienna Genesis*, Vienna, Austria, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Monaco, Lorenzo, *Adoration of the Magi*, probably 1418–1422, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Piero della Francesca, *Risen Christ*, fresco, 1463–1465, Borgo San Sepolcro, Italy, Museo Civico

Lippi, Fra Filippo, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1496, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Dürer, Albrecht, *Paumgartner Altarpiece, The Nativity*, 1498, Munich, Germany, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen

Flandes, Juan de, *The Adoration of the Magi*, probably 1510,

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Grünwald, Matthias, *Isenheim Altarpiece, Resurrection*, circa 1515, Colmar, France, Musée Unterlinden

Altdorfer, Albrecht, *The Resurrection of Christ*, 1518, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Altdorfer, Albrecht, *The Battle of Issus*, oil on wood panel, 1529, Munich, Germany, Bayerische

Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek

Delacroix, Eugène, *Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*, Chapelle des Saints-Anges, circa 1860, Paris, St. Sulpice

Gauguin, Paul, *Vision After the Sermon: Jacob Wrestling with the Angel*, 1888, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland

Humanist Intellectualization

Michelangelo, *Dawn, Tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici*, marble, 1519–1534, Florence, Italy, San Lorenzo, New Sacristy

Reni, Guido, *Aurora*, ceiling fresco, 1613–1614, Rome, Casino Rospigliosi

Guercino, *Aurora*, ceiling fresco, 1621–1623, Rome, Villa Ludovisi

Poussin, Nicolas, *Cephalus and Aurora*, circa 1635, London, National Gallery

Poussin, Nicolas, *Cephalus and Aurora*, circa 1629–1630, Yorkshire, England, Hovingham Hall, Worsley Collection

Thornhill, James, *Apotheosis of King William and Queen Mary (with Mythologized Dawn)*, ceiling fresco, circa 1708–1712, Greenwich, England, Navy Hospital, Painted Hall

Le Lorrain, Robert, *Watering of the Sun-Horses*, relief, circa 1731–1738, Paris, Hôtel de Rohan

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Edo Mood Inspiration

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DEATH

Elaine Shefer

The following motifs and genres are included in the discussion of the theme Death:

MEMENTO MORI

THE SKELETON

THE DANCE OF DEATH

MARTYRDOM AND DEATH OF
JESUS CHRIST

DEATH OF THE HERO

THE MOURNERS

THE ROMANTIC VIEW OF
DEATH

VICTORIAN PAINTINGS OF
DEATH

PRE-RAPHAELITE PAINTINGS
OF DEATH

FRENCH REALISM AND
DEATH

DEATH IN WAR

SUICIDE

OTHER VIEWS OF DEATH



Hans Baldung Grien, *Death and the Maiden*, 1517, painting, Basel, Switzerland, Kunstmuseum. (Courtesy of Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)

From the earliest recorded time to the present, death has fascinated and frightened humankind. Humans have never been able to solve to their emotional satisfaction the mystery of how vitality and personality inhabit matter during one instant and depart from it in another. From Paleolithic portrayals of dead animals in caves (Altamira in Spain; Lascaux, Font-de-Gaume, Trois-Frères in France) to primitive African sculptures of departed chiefs and ancestors, art has given form to humankind's attempt to understand, if not to master, the fear and mystery of death.

In early cultures, art was, in fact, a matter of life or death. Whether magical or symbolic, art was intended to secure well-being both in this life and in the hereafter. Art aided early human beings in their endeavors to control their environment and to intervene in the course of events—to preserve health, aid childbirth, ensure fertility, and ward off death. Among Stone Age tribal societies in Africa, the Northwest coast of America, and the South Pacific, the mask played a major role in the attempt to protect one from death or from evil spirits; it was a symbol of supernatural forces—a fulcrum between the living and the dead. Art expresses the anxiety of humans about the finality of death, as in the monuments of ancient Egyptian art, which were state-supported enterprises aimed at overcoming anxiety that attends the death of a king who is revered as a god. Death, in fact, takes on many forms in the history of art: superstitious, religious, political, social, and personal.

Memento Mori

The medieval mind was fascinated by the image of death, generally seen as an animated skeleton wielding a great scythe. In Italian art, the figure of Death is often merged with that of Time. The Old Testament book of Ecclesiastes, a meditation on the vanity of life, inspired much of such imagery. The concern with inevitable death and the moralizing about human vanity produced the memento mori. The solemn words *memento mori*, "Remember that thou shalt die," acquired a special significance for medieval people: it was a call to repentance. The skeleton in the Middle Ages was awe-inspiring or repellent, as opposed to the comic figure it may have represented in classical times. The most drastic means were employed to bring home to the public the sense of impermanence of the physical body and of all earthly things, to teach a moral lesson. A single scene depicting a skeleton and a human being is a memento mori, probably derived from the Dance of Death, or the *Danse Macabre*.

In England, both before and after the Reformation, images reminding people about their mortality were found in all kinds of public and private situations: as furnishings, on the walls of buildings, or carried about on the person. Reminders of mortality were included in countless woodcuts, embroidered samplers, drawings, paintings, and printed books.

A memento mori can be seen in an early fifteenth-century depiction of a manuscript by the Rohan Master. Entitled *Dead Man Confronted by the Lord* from the *Grandes Heures de la Famille de Rohan*, the work depicts an emaciated, naked man surrounded by skulls and bones. The devil and an angel fight over his body, while the Lord's image seems hopelessly ineffective.

The skeleton and the physician were a most popular form of memento mori representation, showing up often in fifteenth-century manuscripts and block books. Examples of this can be seen in *Death and the Physician*, from the *Heidelberg Block Book*, early fifteenth century; *Death and the Physician*, from *Le Grat Dance Macabre* (1499), in Lyons, France, after the original in the British Museum in London; the *Book of Hours* by Simon Vostre, printed by Pigouchet (1502), in Paris; and the *Des Does Dantz* (1489), in Lübeck, Germany. The skeleton can be seen in Hans Baldung Grien's sixteenth-century *Death and the Maiden*.

The figure of Death is often merged with that of Time, featuring an animated skeleton wielding a great scythe and/or holding the traditional sands of time. From the late Middle Ages, the skeleton figure appears in various guises, wielding a giant scythe, flying through the air, or as a horn player or fiddler—in all cases, a reminder of our mortality. Examples include Guyot Marchant, *Dance Macabre: Pope and Emperor* in Basel, Switzerland; *Dance of Death: Two Emperors*, in Basel; Hans Holbein, woodcuts of the *Dance of Death* in Lübeck.

From early seventeenth-century Holland came the morbid association of food with human vanity or life's brevity. In Jean Leclerc's *Memento Mori* (1615–1620), a marriage banquet is interrupted, thus implying a more obvious meaning of the memento mori: the Roman Catholic fear of a death too sudden to permit the last rites.

The skeleton motif became essential in the personal iconography of James Ensor in nineteenth-century Belgium, as can be seen in his drawings *Death Pursuing the People* (1886) and *The Sad and Broken: Satan and His Fantastic Legions Tormenting the Crucified Christ* (1886). For Ensor, the skeleton was a symbol not only of his own mortality, as in *My Portrait in 1960* (1888), but of his art, in which he portrays himself either humorously as a fey creature wearing small slippers, or more seriously as the artist in his studio (*Skeleton Painter in His Studio*, 1896).

The figure of the animated skeleton wielding a great scythe continues into the early twentieth century in such American paintings as Albert Pinkham Ryder's *The Race Track or Death on a Pale Horse* (circa 1910, in the Cleveland Museum of Art in Ohio), but the message is more personal than universal. Here, Death carries its conventional attribute, a scythe (to cut down lives), as it rides a white horse around a race track. No one is present to view the sinister race, which clearly does not have other competitors. The skeleton is used by Ryder to serve

his personal anguish, the death of a close friend who had just passed away. In this light, the work is reminiscent of that of another American, John Steuart Curry. His 1938 *Parade to War* might have been inspired by the death of a high school friend who had been killed in the Argonne during World War I; the work also presages the tumult of World War II. In *Parade to War*, the faces of the marching soldiers are death's-heads, and a young girl in a white dress gazes adoringly into the face of one such soldier and strides alongside him, unaware of the devastation he represents.

The Dance of Death

The Dance of Death was created to express the inevitability and universality of death, along with the inference that immortality resides not in physical preservation but in a spiritual connection with Jesus Christ. The origin of the Dance of Death can be found in the Middle Ages when death was thought of in its horrible and gruesome aspects; death was rarely conceived as a release from suffering or as a rest for the weary. The fear of the agony of death transcended all other emotions; the chief mental image was that of the transitory nature of all things. The obsession with death actually led people to take pleasure in its horrors; hence, a materialistic conception of death developed. The Roman Catholic Church was opposed to this state of fear and offered the possibility of salvation through righteous living. The wandering mendicant preachers made the most of such promises in their sermons. From liturgy, sermons, mystery plays, legends, and poems, together with the morbid psychology and superstitions of the people, evolved a great folk-cultural idea that took the form of the Dance of Death, which was often represented in wall paintings and woodcuts of the period.

The Dance of Death was a kind of satire on social equality in that death makes all humans equal and levels all distinctions. To this democratic concept, religious and political satires were later added, especially during the Reformation. Iconographically, death was personified as a skeleton who collects into a chain representatives of all classes of human society and dances with them to the grave. In short, the Dance of Death is a procession in which both the living and the dead take part. The living are arranged in an order of precedence, such as pope, cardinal, archbishop, emperor, king, or duke. The dance expresses an allegorical, moral, or satirical idea. Media for this imagery varied greatly: including manuscripts and printed books; paintings on wood, stone, and canvas; stained-glass windows; sculpture; embroidery and tapestry; metalwork; engravings on stone or metal; and woodcuts (*Three Living Nobles and Their Dead Counterparts*, from the *Recueil de Poésies Françaises*, circa 1285). Nowhere is the obsession with this theme more apparent than in the work of Francesco Traini. In his *Triumph of Death*, a mid-fourteenth-century fresco in the Camposanto in Pisa, Italy, he paints a symphony of death. At the lower left is the traditional meeting of the Three Living and the Three Dead. While hunting, three dressed noblemen and their friends and attendants come upon three open coffins, each occupied by a corpse: one bloated, the next half-rotten, the third reduced to a skeleton. Worms and serpents play over all three; one nobleman holds his nose at the stench, and even the hunting dogs sniff and draw back in disgust. Young gentlemen and ladies sitting in a grove playing music and caressing pets and one another pay no

attention to the approach of Death, depicted as a terrible, white-haired hag flying toward them on bat wings and brandishing the ax with which she will cut them down. In the center is a heap of Death's recent victims, all richly dressed; above the corpses, demons carry off their souls. This painting is an allegory of the tragic tensions in Tuscany after the Black Death.

The subject of death, the great leveler, is summarized again in Pieter Bruegel the Elder's sixteenth-century *Triumph of Death*, which is a triumph not only over the living but over everything that is human. Earlier that century Hans Holbein the Younger popularized the Dance of Death. His designs for the *Dance of Death* were so popular that by the time he died, in 1543, the set of woodcuts he made was pirated and copied dozens of times over the next 60 years.

The *Dance of Death* depicts the living and the dead mingling in energetic procession, a scene often painted on a wall, usually in a churchyard or some other burial place. The *Dance of Death* was characteristic of the early modern death ritual in two ways: the living appeared in the order of their social rank, emperors and kings followed by nobles, the gentry, and commoners; the dead were displayed as part of an instruction to the living about the nature of death. Viewers took the dance of the living and the dead to refer to their own mortality. Sixteenth-century versions of the theme, Holbein's especially, stressed its didactic application in the tradition of the *memento mori*. Death was ready to strike anywhere at a moment's notice. Holbein's *Dance* stresses social rank. As the king sits at the table, Death pours his wine. The very symbols of power are points of vulnerability. The power of the pope to anoint princes is subverted; that of the emperor to rule princes is challenged as Death removes the crown. The cardinal, about to sell an indulgence, also has his hat removed. The empress in her finery is confronted by a grave as she walks through the city. And always, the hourglass is Death's emblem. The series also focuses on the universality of death: "Who is the man, however strong or great / Who can escape the final destiny?" This kind of sentiment illustrated what was alarming about death; therefore, the focus of the ritual of dying was on devotional or spiritual preparation, which tended to deny class or social differentiation.

The sixteenth-century Dance of Death was closely related to such early publications as *The Art of Good Lyving and Good Eeyng* and to the plot and drama of the confrontation known as the "Three Living and the Three Dead." In the latter, a small group of mortals on a journey are accosted by a party of the dead, with horrendous results. In all such works, the main focus of didactic attention—that is, the means by which the artist tries to persuade viewers to abandon sin and to live a life of virtue—is the contrast between the living and the dead. The living were often shown as well-to-do and fashionably dressed, and the dead as subversive and disrespectful of the niceties of social discourse. The more dramatic and unexpected the confrontation and the more stark the contrast between the social status and physical state of the two groups, the stronger was the didactic appeal.

The Dance of Death could also have its humorous appeal, as in Richard Dagley's *Death's Doings* (1827), in which Death is seen in one scene as a victorious boxer, "The Champion," and in another as a demon bowler in a cricket game. In the 1750s, William Hogarth had used a similar idea in two preliminary

drawings undertaken for a monument to George Taylor, a famous pugilist. The endless fight for supremacy is evident in the titles of the drawings: *Death Giving George Taylor a Cross Buttock* and *George Taylor Breaking the Ribs of Death*.

Martyrdom and Death of Jesus Christ

The central martyrdom of Western civilization is the death of Jesus Christ. In art, the theme of Christ's martyrdom and death is depicted in the forms of the Crucifixion, the lamentation, and the deposition.

The Romans probably borrowed the painful crucifixion technique for executing non-Romans and the worst criminals, mostly slaves, from the Carthaginians, who had inherited it from their ancestors, the Phoenicians. After the victim had been scourged, his executioners nailed or tied him by his hands to a cross while it lay on the ground or stood in the air. It is thought that Christ was nailed rather than tied to the cross, probably when it lay on the ground. But many painters, to emphasize his suffering, include a ladder in their work to suggest that he was nailed to it when it was already mounted. To hasten death, the victim's legs were sometimes broken; this did not happen to Christ.

In the deposition from the cross, all four Gospels describe the treatment of Christ's body after his death on the cross. Luke 23 records the role played by the major participant in the events, the wealthy Joseph of Arimathea. "This man went unto Pilate and begged the body of Christ. And he took it down, and wrapped it in linen . . . and the women also, which came with him from Galilee . . . prepared spices and ointments" (Luke 23:52–56). Because of the significant role of Joseph of Arimathea, a man of standing, the subject of the deposition had a special attraction for wealthy patrons; their portraits in rich garb are often depicted in paintings of the subject. The artist also often included symbolic objects, such as a ladder, skull, and crossbones.

Through the ages, the martyrdom of Jesus has been expressed in almost every stylistic alternative except outright satire. The first portrayals were highly symbolic representations of the human body, denaturalized to dramatize the more-than-human significance of his death. Throughout the Middle Ages, touches of naturalism crept in. Thus, death in the Middle Ages has two faces: tragic pathos and mystical abstractions (classical versus nonclassical elements), and both appear as early as the fourth century in Rome.

In the ivory panel *Apotheosis of an Emperor* (late fourth century), the belief in a life after death—illustrated in the upper half of the panel where the emperor is carried to heaven by two naked and winged genies—is put forth in a manner totally in keeping with the Neoplatonic and Mithraic beliefs that dominated philosophy and religion in late Roman times. The interest here is the supernatural and transcendental as opposed to the realism of classical antiquity, and this is expressed in a total neglect of the third dimension. Figures appear on one plane; no illusion of depth occurs; there is a loss of individual character in the faces; and the rigid, staring eyes and the clumsy attitude of the figures are further testimony to the deliberate protest of the artist to be antirealistic. This work is an attempt to propagate a new art concerned with the abstract relationship among things rather than the things themselves. The spiritual, symbolic, transcendental character of this panel contains the root of

later medieval art, which attempts to seek an escape from the material world, to find refuge and consolation in the spiritual. As opposed to the self-containment of classical art, this art is presented ceremonially: all the figures are conscious of the viewer's presence (Kitzinger, p. 15).

Throughout early Christian art, the medieval church used the death of Christ as a didactic instrument and vehicle for the propagation of the faith. The spiritual, transcendental form, with its rigid symmetry, flat composition without perspective, and strong linear design was not a straightforward development. Art frequently returned to the classical/Hellenistic tradition, especially in Italy, which was continuously subjected to the influence of other styles from the East. From late Roman art throughout the Middle Ages, this struggle—classical versus anticlassical tendencies—is apparent in the depictions of the death of Christ.

The Byzantine style preserved a hieratic style apart from the classical descriptive one, as exemplified in a tenth-century ivory triptych with the Crucifixion and saints. In this Crucifixion, no emotion is shown. All signs of individual life have been suppressed, and the faces and attitudes are stereotyped. In this type of Crucifixion, death is no longer a story; the narrative has been turned into a devotional icon. Depictions of Christ's death swing back and forth between the Hellenistic and the Asiatic tradition.

Sometimes one style triumphs over the other; sometimes they are in harmony. An example of the latter is the eleventh-century mosaic *Crucifixion* in the Monastery Church at Daphne, Greece, which combines classicism with a spiritualized ideal of death. Beyond the Byzantine linear style are the emotions of the figures, a pathos that is restrained, noble, yet suffering. The gestures and facial expressions suggest Christ's sacrificial death and are different from those in early Christian art, in which the Crucifixion was depicted only rarely because the emphasis was on the divine wisdom and power of Christ. While a few earlier examples of this kind of death exist, the Daphne *Crucifixion*, created in the second golden age after the iconoclastic controversy, is the most powerful example of an appeal to the emotions of the beholder.

Crucifixions influenced by this compassionate view of Christ's death include the German *Gero Crucifix* (circa A.D. 975–1000), in Cologne, Germany, in which the wooden sculpture is almost expressionistic in its agony. The monumentality of the piece, the bulge of the heavy body that further stresses the tensions and strain on the arms and shoulders, and the deeply incised angular features show the depth of suffering in death for the first time in the history of Western art.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, depictions of Christ's death depended very much on geographic factors. Siena, Italy, was isolated and medieval; thus its art, at the close of the thirteenth century, held close to the Romanesque-Byzantine tradition of abstraction. A city characterized by mystic religious fervor, it was dedicated more to understanding the death of Christ, not through emotion but through the reading of the story. Hence, Duccio di Buoninsegna's *Crucifixion* from the back of the *Maestà Altarpiece* (1308–1311) describes violence and tragedy through endless detail. In his *Crucifixion*, Duccio depicts not one but three crosses. He has even shown the legs of the two thieves, broken to put an end to their misery, while Christ's legs are left intact in fulfillment of the

prophecy recorded in the Gospel of St. John: "A bone of him shall not be broken" (John 19:36). The penitent thief turns toward Christ; the impenitent thief faces away and is shown in a darker color. The angels do not have any connection with events on the ground, but they hover above the clouds, above Christ. Everyone who might have been present at this event appears in the scene, and the result is crowding and lack of logic or perspective. Figures fill their roles in keeping with the religious text *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, which was probably written in Sienese territory by an early Trecento Franciscan mystic. Thus, Mary swoons below the cross into the arms of the holy women. She looks upward toward the agonized Christ, from whose side blood and water gush in powerful streams.

It was Giotto in Florence, Italy, who translated St. Francis's thoughts on naturalism into a readily understandable image of people and situations. This is made clear in his *Lamentation* for the Arena Chapel, in Padua, Italy. As opposed to the static universal concepts of the Byzantine tradition, Giotto's definitions of time, place, and circumstance permit us to identify completely with the figure he represents. In the *Lamentation*, two groups participate in this death: those on the Earth and those in the sky. On the ground, the figures move in a slow dance of grief; each figure responds individually, according to his or her nature. The women appear to be wailing in despair, and the older men stand in quiet resignation. The face of the Virgin, as she bends to embrace her son, shows excruciating pain and sorrow. No less than the figures on the main stage, the angels in the sky form a synthesis between heaven and Earth, the real and the unreal, the transcendental and the human, by repeating the emotions and poses of the figures on the ground. Giotto emphasizes feeling in this human mourning of a dead, religious figure, a scene that depends on grasping an emotion through movement or choreography.

An example of how the two currents—Florence and Siena—dominated early fourteenth-century medieval art can be seen in Pietro Lorenzetti's depiction of Christ's death in the fresco *Descent from the Cross* (circa 1320–1330) in the Lower Church of S. Francesco in Assisi, Italy). Pietro must have visited Florence and been familiar with Giotto's work. This familiarity can be seen in his Gothic treatment of the figures, the intense humanity of his art, the stronger hands, and the ample proportions of his figures. These all serve to emphasize a more humanistic, painful version of Christ's death, one belonging more to the classical tradition of Florence than to the Byzantine one of Siena. The gaunt body of Christ—the effect perhaps of rigor mortis—and the Virgin pressing the head of her son to her cheek so that the two heads seem united in a way that the dead and the living eyes appear to be on the same line indicate the humanism the artist depicts in this scene of death.

The immediate tragedy inherent in the Crucifixion can be seen in Masaccio's panel *Crucifixion* from the summit of the Pisa polyptych (1426). Sacrifice is Masaccio's theme rather than the historical incident, and the assembled are limited to four figures—Christ, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Evangelist, and Mary Magdalen—to emphasize the formal, symbolic, tragic effects. The Magdalen prostrates herself before the cross, her arms thrown wide so that the cross seems to grow upward from her gesture of despairing guilt, to culminate in the arms of Christ stretched out in pitying self-immolation. The Magdalen's

sinking figure and her traditional yellow hair and red mantle are a contrast to the soft rose of St. John's cloak. Mary stands firm under her son's cross, her hands folded in prayer, her eyes gazing inward rather than upward, her mouth open as she calls to him across the void. Earlier versions of the death of Christ are fused and transfigured by Masaccio's new humanity. In these four figures, Masaccio achieves simplicity, universality, and power.

While Masaccio's Christ makes a strong humanistic statement, it is at the expense of naturalism because all of Masaccio's drama happens in the foreground. Fra Angelico's *Descent from the Cross* (1430–1434) marks the first successful Italian attempt to set Christ and a group of figures into a harmoniously receding landscape space rather than on a foreground stage as in Masaccio's depiction. Fra Angelico's *Descent*—filled as it is with innumerable figures grouped on a flowering lawn and all united by their common adoration of the sacred body—was a milestone in the early 1430s. At that time, few painters could surpass his grasp of the new naturalism; he not only matched his harmony of figures with landscape forms, but he included the death of Christ into this new scenario.

Strong classical tendencies come to the fore in Renaissance sculpture. In Donatello's *Crucifix* (1444–1447) in S. Antonio, in Padua, Italy, the bronze Christ is depicted as a powerful, athletic man with a handsome, rather classical face. His face displays great intelligence and the ability to endure pain calmly in the manner of an ancient Stoic. The classicism of this crucifix is emphasized by the strong arms, extended hands, sturdy rib cage, firm thighs, and the way the artist displays the body more completely; that is, the loincloth is parted to show the nude left flank.

The religiosity, emotion, and anguish so characteristic of Florentine Crucifixions are absent in central Italy. For example, in Perugino's *Crucifixion with Saints* (before 1481), Christ hangs calmly on the cross, in fact he seems almost to stand on the footrest. Mary looks downward, St. John looks upward, and neither betrays a trace of grief. Mary Magdalen's pose is almost a carbon copy of St. John's; there is no difference between them, save for a slight change in the position of the clasped hands. Perugino seems to have made a pattern book of stock poses for saints and repeated them uncritically and endlessly, not only from one picture to the next but even within the same picture. Nature is his real subject, and against this the sacred figures are set with little more purpose than to give human scale to the landscape and the distance to the sky.

As opposed to central Italy, northern Italy displays not only more concern with Christ's death but an obsession with his suffering, as exemplified by the Pietàs by Carlo Crivelli (1470), Giovanni Bellini (1467–1471), and Cosimo Tura (circa 1480). A study of opposites can be made between Perugino's quiet, emotionless *Crucifixion* and Andrea Mantegna's *Crucifixion* from the predella of the *S. Zeno Altarpiece* (1456–1459). Mantegna's *Crucifixion* stresses tragic emotion and is monumental. The cross of Christ is placed so that his toes, deprived of the usual footrest, issue from the junction between the two distant hills. His body is fully silhouetted against the sky, and his arms are thrown wide, in a heroic gesture of suffering. The suffering women, the indifferent soldiers, and the landscape and cityscape are brought together by the grandiose pose of the outstretched

arms of the suffering Christ; all is held together by the restraint of an emotional outpouring within a restrained style.

Mantegna was so obsessed with the death of Christ that he even turned him into a *memento mori*, inventing an unusual type of *memento mori* in the fifteenth century. Instead of the traditional skeleton, Mantegna's *Dead Christ* (1466) is a shocking and realistic reminder of how close human beings are to death. Christ lies on a marble slab with a white cloth over his legs. His head is raised on a pillow so that the viewer can look at the closed eyes, still haunted by pain, and see the slightly parted lips.

This image was indeed a grim reminder of mortality. It is probably the painting that was placed by Federigo Gonzaga, first duke of Mantua, just outside his bride's bedchamber. In the Quattrocento, the death of Christ was a matter for frequent personal meditation. In his *Imitation of Christ*, Thomas à Kempis exhorted his readers to "dwell on the wounds of Christ," which is what Mantegna asked viewers to do. Mantegna's sculptural form gives a most convincing three-dimensionality to the body and the open wounds. The perspective recession has the effect of catapulting the body past the frame and at the viewers, and the viewers cannot escape, because Christ's feet follow them wherever they stand in the room, and the wounds always lie open to their gaze. In the nineteenth century, Édouard Manet's *The Dead Christ with Angels* (1864) seems to be a parody on Mantegna's version. If Mantegna had reinterpreted the theme of Christ's death into a new iconography of compelling drama and visual shock, Manet reduced the theme to such banality that one critic implored the spectators to come and see a "Poor miner pulled out of the coal mines" (Nochlin, p. 57).

The emotion of depicting Christ lessened considerably by the mid-fifteenth century, and nowhere can this be seen better than in the cool rendering of Piero della Francesca's *Crucifixion* for the *Misericordia Altarpiece* (1445). The apex of the altarpiece is a commentary on Masaccio's Pisa *Crucifixion* in its similar minimalism and drama. Yet Piero's work offers no communion between the crucified and his mourners. He has locked the cross to the frame and shown Christ as inert and unresponsive to the grief expressed in the reaching gesture of Mary and the wide-flung arms of St. John. It is as though only the crowned Mother in the image below, robed in the mantle of heaven, can bridge the gulf fixed between God and humankind.

The coolness of Piero's work shows the artist's preoccupation with reason and physical laws. His work is testimony to an age that attempted to combine faith and reason, form and symbol, religion and humanity, art and science. It stands in sharp contrast to the agonized religiosity of Botticelli's *Pietà* of the late 1490s, which is more specifically a lamentation. This work is a transformation of Botticelli's earlier softer style and speaks of the gathering intensity of his own private religious fervor. In this deeply religious work, one sees the influence of Florentine religious reformer Girolamo Savonarola's doctrine: a self-flagellating gloom. Jagged foreboding rocks form the entrance to the tomb and enclose the mourning figures. Inside the tomb is the sarcophagus and blackness. The pose of Christ, with his hanging arm, was inspired by a window designed by Andrea del Castagno for the dome of the Florence cathedral. Botticelli also seems inspired by Pietro Lorenzetti's harsh *Descent from*

the Cross in Assisi. From this work Botticelli borrowed the appearance of rigor mortis and the upside-down confrontation of the Magdalen's face with that of Christ.

Emotion has many faces. While Mantegna stressed realism to the point where the religious message might almost be missed, Matthias Grünewald in Germany stressed emotion to the point of the grotesque. In Grünewald's 1519 *Crucifixion* (*The Small Crucifixion*), the body of Christ is knobby and skeletal. His head protrudes forward in agony. His outstretched arms end in crooked, distorted fingers that seem to make one final appeal. Although Christ's feet were not broken in the Crucifixion, in this work the one foot over the other suggests that they were, adding to the suffering and pain.

The passionate narrative of the suffering of Christ's death took an even more emotional form in the image of the *Pietà*, which was designed to serve private devotion. The *Pietà* (an Italian word derived from the Latin *pietās*, the root word for both "pity" and "poetry") was a representation of the Virgin grieving over the dead Christ. No such scene occurs in the scriptural account of the Passion; it was invented as a tragic counterpart to the familiar motif of the Madonna and Child. An early fourteenth-century example in wood, in the Provinzialmuseum in Bonn, Germany, depicts the scene in exaggerated realism; the agonized faces and the blood-encrusted wounds of Christ are enlarged, elaborate, and grotesque. The bodies are more like thin and rigid bones. The purpose of the work is clearly to arouse an overwhelming sense of horror and pity over the death of Christ and the suffering of his mother, so that viewers could identify with the grief.

The Avignon Pietà (circa 1470), attributed to Enguerrand Quarton, is another example of the motif. Italian and Flemish sources influenced this southern French version; consequently, the agony is somewhat softened and more restrained. The figure types and the expressions seem to be inspired by Rogier van der Weyden's *The Descent from the Cross* (circa 1435). The heavy figures of *The Avignon Pietà* are compressed into a tight rectangle, the body of Christ in the center, unrelieved by any sense of space or perspective. The emphasis on suffering and anguish is reiterated by the cross in the background, which is repeated twice, once as an actual cross and once in the wall itself, which architecturally forms another cross. The emotionalism of the painting centers on the grief-stricken followers of Christ, in both their facial expression and body gestures, and emphasizes a tragic period in Christianity at the end of the Middle Ages. The complex unity of the suffering of the participants was meant to induce the same suffering and empathy with the viewer. This viewpoint is very different from that of Michelangelo's work of the sixteenth century, even though it shares a deep emotionalism with the latter.

Michelangelo's apparent obsession with Christ in his late drawings and sculptures emanated from his belief, in his later years, that salvation depended on one's attitude toward the sacrifice of Christ. This turn to religion may have been a result of his own frustration with art at the end of his life. The strong, spiritual aspect of such works as the *Rondanini Pietà* (1550–1564) reflect this conflict. The rough, almost liquid treatment of the stone reflects his search for the spiritual inner self, as opposed to earlier works that in their muscular structure and clean finish reflected his faith in the world of science and knowledge. In the *Rondanini Pietà*, he has turned away

from the vigorous, healthy, and beautifully classical body in favor of the unfinished, rough, almost eaten-away flesh.

An even more personal approach to Christ's death is found in Pontormo's *Deposition* (1525–1528). The distortions, artificial poses and gestures, shocking colors, and eerie quality suggest a disturbing and mystical interpretation of Christ's death.

The Crucifixion shows up sporadically in nineteenth-century Europe but more often in an antireligious position. The Crucifixion, once a symbol of belief, faith, and love, was contrasted to the modern world's changing social and economic condition. In Gustave Courbet's *Interior of My Studio, a Real Allegory Summing up Seven Years of My Life as an Artist* (1855) and again in his *Funeral at Ornans* (1864), the incongruous Crucifixion motif stands as a reminder that religion has passed. In the former work the Crucifixion aligns itself with the poor and suffering, and in the latter the participants of a funeral, including the dead, do not "behave" in correct funeral form. The motif became a symbol of the confrontation between society and modernity. This point was made more poignant in Manet's anti-Christ painting of *The Dead Christ with Angels* and more blatant in Ensor's *Christ's Entry into Brussels* (1889).

Paul Gauguin returned to the theme of the death of Christ with a renewed interest and enthusiasm in Brittany and in Tahiti because it expressed his generation's search for the pure and the primitive and it expressed his personal feelings at that time. As a self-imposed exile, Gauguin often saw himself as a martyr. *Self-Portrait and Yellow Christ* (1889), *Self-Portrait Near Golgotha* (1896), and *Christ in the Garden of Olives* (1889) are self-portraits in which Gauguin has transformed himself into a modern-day Christ. Ultimately, Gauguin's images stand like ancient pieces of sculpture in a parade or procession of figures that do not interact with one another and that are related only because they are found in the same space. This is especially true of the last enigmatic painting Gauguin did before his death, which was perhaps meant as a suicide painting: *Where Do We Come from, What Are We, Where Are We Going?* (1897). Here then the theme of death seems to have come full cycle, returning to one of the earliest expressions of death, the Dance of Death.

Suicide, Murder, and War

A thin line separates martyrdom from suicide. The hallmark of martyrdom is some cause or belief for which one gives one's life. Others must know and believe in that cause, and the cause must be significant. Suicide, on the other hand, contains within it both the forbidden and the heroic. Sometimes noble, sometimes futile, its form in art does not follow an evolutionary pattern but alternates randomly according to the needs of history. In this respect, it is similar to death as a result of murder or war.

To compensate for the loss of purgatory as part of their religious beliefs, Protestant churches gradually developed the theory of *memoria*, which stressed the didactic potential of the lives and deaths of the virtuous. In the second half of the eighteenth century, this theory gained strong ground in France and England, where artists revived the death theme as an antidote to the then-prevailing excesses of the rococo. To illustrate this didactic theme, images were produced of exemplary "good" deaths. Following the example of Nicolas Poussin's *Death of Phocian* and his *Death of Germanicus* in the seventeenth century, artists

from all over Europe began to produce works depicting the theme of the death of the hero, preferably one from antiquity. Examples of such neoclassical paintings are Gavin Hamilton's *Andromache Bewailing the Death of Hector* (1764), Heinrich Füger's *Death of Germanicus* (1789), José de Madrazo's *Death of Viriathus* (1818), and François Ménégoet's *Death of Leonardo da Vinci* (circa 1781). In 1770, over the objections of Joshua Reynolds and King George III, Benjamin West depicted his *Death of General Wolfe* in modern dress, providing a successful precedent for many other similar paintings.

It was not just the hero on his deathbed, surrounded by friends and family, that gave a new sense of morality and seriousness to art but the variety of death scenes presented. Jacques-Louis David's *Death of Socrates* (1787) and *Death of Seneca* (1773) sang the praises of the ancient heroes about to die; his *The Lictors Bringing Brutus the Bodies of His Sons* (1789) and *Oath of Horatii* (1784–1785) show the hero swearing to sacrifice all, including his own life and his family's lives, for his country. There were also contemporary heroes, like David's *Marat* (1793). Although this was a political murder—Marat was murdered by Charlotte Corday—David emphasized the martyrdom of Marat and raised the banal subject to a religious status.

These death scenes not only introduced a new kind of morality of the nobility of sacrifice to French society, they also stressed gender differences. It is not women who are dying, dead, or about to die, but men. The emphasis of these paintings is on the masculine principle. From a physical and metaphysical point of view, women are literally pushed to the side, perhaps playing a significant role, but certainly a different one from that of their male counterparts. Even when men die and are no longer in the paintings, their presence is still felt by the women portrayed, who seem to exist only to keep alive the memory of the men they lost. This can be seen in the many widow paintings produced at this time, such as Joseph Wright of Derby's *The Dead Soldier* (1789), Wright's *Indian Widow* (1785), Jean-Baptiste Greuze's *Inconsolable Widow* (1763), Angelica Kauffman's *Andromache and Hecuba Weeping over the Ashes of Hector* (1770), and Benjamin West's *Agrippina with the Ashes of Germanicus* (1763).

Along with the emphasis on the masculine principle that these paintings stressed came the principle of optimism. Death is shown not as a punishment, nor as a reminder of the fragility of life, but rather as a moment of glory and a way to prove greatness or nobility of soul or masculinity. Death is taken out of all proportion; indeed, it is raised to such a level of importance that it becomes a focal point of early nineteenth-century French art. This can be seen in the paintings of the romantics.

The morbid preoccupation with the end of life or with some oncoming tragedy that will result in death is best presented in the paintings of Antoine-Jean Gros, Eugène Delacroix, and Théodore Géricault. The joy of suffering, the love of disease, stress, and disaster, the lack of satisfaction with life—these themes are stressed in Gros's *Napoleon at the Plague House in Jaffa* (1804), Delacroix's *Death of King Sardanapalus* (1828), and Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (1819). Moreover, the actual moment of death itself has been removed. Real death is replaced with the threat of death, implied by terminal illness, insatiable desires, or natural disasters. In Delacroix's *Death of King Sardanapalus*, Sardanapalus is threatened with death not

only through the massacre of everything that he holds dear, which unfolds before the viewer's eye, but also through murder of the king himself. In this instance, the *Sardanapalus* is not only a murder scene, but one of suicide. Thus, it falls within the category of Romanticism. The Romantics were in love with suffering. The climax of suffering was proximity to death. *Sardanapalus* is like Francisco de Goya's *Saturn Devouring His Son* (1820–1823). Both have insatiable appetites; neither one can ever be satisfied in life.

Many of the Romantic paintings of death were inspired by literature. William Shakespeare's Ophelia is one such character depicted in both French and English iconography. In Delacroix's *The Death of Ophelia* (1844), Ophelia is very close to the description Shakespeare gave her in his play *Hamlet*. In the painting, she grasps the remains of her garland, her white dress swirls into the river, her face is puzzled and confused, and she clings to the branch above her. Not knowing how she will choose, Delacroix emphasizes her innocent perplexity. She hangs forever in the dark water between life and death, helpless to rescue herself. The Romantic sense of lost innocence and inner torment are captured in this depiction of Ophelia. This is in keeping with the play, which places in doubt the matter of Ophelia's burial. This was a perfect subject for the nineteenth-century Romantics in France and in England, whose depictions of Ophelia show their own ambiguity toward death and women.

Like Delacroix's other great death scene, *The Death of King Sardanapalus*, the traditional portrayal of death—decay, skeletons, and the horrific—have been exchanged for the figure of a beautiful woman. Ophelia represents woman in nature, woman in her most natural surroundings. Delacroix's women are more sensual than suffering, more alive than dead, even when faced with the possibility of death. In the *Sardanapalus*, they are squirming and twisting in poses that are more an affirmation of life than a resignation to death. In his *Ophelia*, instead of a corpse, half a fleshy nude is presented, not on her back but on her side.

Although England was faced with grueling death statistics during this period, death was not a popular theme in Victorian painting. Outstanding exceptions are Arthur Hughes's *Home from the Sea* (1856–1862) and Henry Alexander Bowler's *The Doubt: Can These Dry Bones Live?* (1854–1855). This aversion to the death theme might be connected with the Victorian's distaste for depicting unpleasant realities in their paintings. The young Pre-Raphaelites, a small avant-garde of the Royal Academy, did take up the theme; in keeping with their Romantic style, however, they presented it in a way that denied any real identity between the viewer and death. At most, it was the kind of identity that the viewer had come to expect from more conventional Victorian paintings.

Part of this Romantic tradition was grounded in literature—the poems, plays, and stories of Shakespeare, John Keats, and Alfred, Lord Tennyson, to mention a few—and the literary and intellectual nature of these paintings may have acted as a deterrent to an understanding of these works by the everyday visitor to the Royal Academy. This is true of John Everett Millais's *Mariana* (1850–1851), which appears in both Tennyson and Shakespeare; his *Ophelia* (1851–1852), from Shakespeare; and his *Isabella or The Pot of Basil* (1848–1849), an original story by Boccaccio, retold by Keats. The Pre-Raphaelites dealt

with a new kind of death, not one occurring through natural circumstances. Mariana's fate or destiny depends on a man, without whom she has no desire to live. Ophelia, floating down the river, speaks of self-destruction and madness; and in *Isabella* or *The Pot of Basil*, the theme is related to death through murder.

Even personal death was reshaped into a literary form, showing how literary themes could sometimes serve a double purpose. This is apparent in William Holman Hunt's *Isabella and the Pot of Basil* (1866–1868), based on Keats but this time done more as a memorial to the artist's young wife, Fanny, who had died of cholera in Florence while the couple were on their way to the Middle East. The same can be said for Dante Gabriel Rossetti's portrait of *Beata Beatrix* (circa 1863), which was dedicated to his late wife, Elizabeth Siddal.

Although a foreboding of death appears in the works of the Pre-Raphaelites, they do not treat death in direct terms. The paintings are more mood paintings. Death is not used for moralizing. Instead of the heavy, didactic paintings of neoclassicism, the Pre-Raphaelite paintings are more like poetry in terms of atmosphere and symbolism. This can be seen in Millais's two paintings *Spring (Apple Blossoms)* (1856–1857), and the pendant he painted for it, *The Vale of Rest* (1858). *The Vale of Rest* has many references to death:

The nun on the left is digging a grave, which is positioned ominously to suggest the spectator might be in it with her. The other nun's rosary has a skull attached to it as well as a cross. It is sunset of autumn-time and a vaguely coffin-shaped cloud appears in the sky—a harbinger of death according to Scottish superstition. (Tate Gallery, p. 175)

Nevertheless, *The Vale of Rest*, like *Spring* with its own hints of mortality, remains ambiguous and provoking in different ways.

Death continued to fascinate this group in a more spiritual, occult fashion in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A new source of literature served the needs of the late Pre-Raphaelites (a second group, which included Edward Burne-Jones and William Morris and excluded Millais and Hunt). In Burne-Jones's work, the fairy tale takes on a new importance. Instead of the classic heroines of the earlier period—Ophelia, Mariana, and Beatrice—there are now witches, fairies, and princesses. Death itself has become more abstract, a good example being Burne-Jones's *Briar Rose* series, in which sleep and the trance symbolize a deathlike condition.

In England, death is transformed into the realm of the spiritual, giving sleep, dreams, and repose a much broader, more ambiguous meaning; in France the idea of death is used by the realists to stress their new iconography. Gustave Courbet does away with the body completely in his *Funeral at Ornans*, which emphasizes not the dead person, who no longer exists and is of no interest, but the community of the living—all those who, for an assortment of reasons, attend town funerals. His contemporary, Édouard Manet, invented a new death iconography by emphasizing the nonchalant, matter-of-fact type of death, which had never before been treated. Coverage of historic paintings, like Manet's *The Execution of Emperor Maximilian* (1868), a subject that in the past would have been treated with all the respect due a painting of this scale and importance, were reduced to a one-line sentence in a history book.

The last quarter of the nineteenth century in France saw a great deal of English influence in the works of Paul Gauguin, who imparted yet another meaning to the theme of death in his interpretation of Tahitian culture. Far from the European tradition of death paintings, artists like Gauguin were in search of the self. Death became, as Søren Kierkegaard wrote, the dread of despair at not “being conscious of having a Self” or the “despair at Not Willing to be Oneself” (Kierkegaard, pp. 146–154). In Tahiti, Gauguin found a religion that he equated with simplicity and innocence. This was a kind of primitivism that he translated to his real “self.” He effectively represented this mysterious self in paintings dealing with the superstitions and beliefs of the Tahitians in regard to death or dying. Gauguin’s Tahitian women are often depicted lying in a horizontal position, either asleep or silently listening to the voices of death. These paintings have much of the qualities of English art in their search for truth: simplicity, the self, and a style that insists on a two-dimensional surface with strong, flat lines. Like the Pre-Raphaelites, Gauguin, too equated death with sleep and trances, what he eventually called the “mysterious centers of thought.” His mysterious “center,” or self, is suggested in paintings like *The Yellow Christ* (1889) and *Breton Calvary* (1889). Here a regression in style and subject matter match what he believed was a simpler society; an intensity of faith in which he wished to immerse himself. Ironically, in this primitive definition of self, Gauguin returns to one of the oldest European themes in the Christian world from which he wished so badly to escape: the death and martyrdom of Christ.

The dread of the self takes on a frightening face in the work of Edvard Munch in Norway. In his lithograph *The Death Chamber* (1896), the echoes of Kierkegaard’s fear of “Sickness unto Death” reverberate in every corner of the room. In this homely setting, death has more than one victim. Although the print was based on the artist’s sister’s death, each figure is facing death alone and without comfort. The print is like a modern version of the medieval memento mori. The stark contrasts between black and white and the poses of the figures emphasize not death itself but the fact that, in the final analysis, everyone is alone with his or her self.

Artists looked at death differently in the twentieth century. No longer a vehicle for questioning our spiritual place in the universe, death as something inevitable was not the main concern of the artist. Death as a result of inhumanity toward others and death as a result of stupidity, hypocrisy, and cruelty became the overriding themes; pointless death through war and its consequences preoccupied the modern artist. This was a new point of view. For example, death through war maintained an idealized dignity in the classic period. *The Dying Warrior* from the east pediment of the Temple of Aphaia on the Greek island of Aegina (circa 490 B.C.) represents the idealized spirit of sacrifice stated in universal terms. Little is known of the warrior, certainly not the particular war that he represents. His death is more communal and religious and for public view. He represents national ideals and morality. There are no signs of war, no blood or pain, nor is he romanticized with any superspiritualism. The sculpture is really a prototype that represents universal destiny and resignation.

This warrior is in sharp contrast to the *Dying Gaul* (a Roman copy of a Greek original, circa 230–220 B.C.), which, true to the era of Alexander the Great, stresses suffering and an

active fight against death. As opposed to the *Dying Warrior*, whose pose was clearly dependent on the demands of the architecture, the *Dying Gaul* stresses elements that relate to the anguish of death: the wound in the side, the flared nostrils, the knotted hair, and the battlefield paraphernalia nearby. As different as these works are, they still depict noble deaths. *The Dying Gaul* may stress a realism unknown to the *Dying Warrior*, but he is still represented as a hero, a physical specimen who, even in these last moments, is seated in a pose that stresses the muscularity and masculinity of his character. He is not a victim.

The image of the death of a victim was left to other artists, such as Goya, whose etching *The Disasters of War, Number 36: Nor This Tampoco* (circa 1814) documented the horror resulting from Napoleon’s invasion of Spain. This etching, which could be readily reproduced in quantity, emphasized the horror of war and transgression by focusing on such subject matter as garrottings, hangings, shootings, and beatings.

Unlike Goya, Käthe Kollwitz’s lithographs of war show neither the enemy nor the obvious victim. Kollwitz’s lithographs were influenced not only by her marriage to Karl Kollwitz, a physician dedicated to caring for the poor in Berlin, Germany, but also by the events of World War I and the death of her son. Her 1934 lithograph *Death and the Mother* emphasizes a new kind of death in which Kollwitz stresses the insane terror that grips a mother whose child is about to be taken from her. The power of this image speaks of the horror of war and of the symbolic force of death that goes back to the medieval period.

The major painting of the 1930s that dealt with death in war was Pablo Picasso’s *Guernica* (1937). This work was inspired by the bombing and destruction of the Basque town of Guernica by German bombers in the service of Spanish Fascists during the Spanish Civil War. Many of Picasso’s works reflect the violent and frightening events leading up to 1937 and ultimately find a place in *Guernica*. Some of the forms already show up in the 1920s and 1930s. Around 1930, Picasso made a number of studies for scenes of the Passion of Christ, and he picks up again the theme of the Crucifixion. The suffering depicted looks back to Grünewald’s *Isenheim Altarpiece* and looks forward to the destruction of total warfare in *Guernica*. During the 1930s, many motifs appear in his art that culminate in *Guernica*, such as the Minotaur (the bull-man monster of ancient Crete), the savagery of the bullfight, the Christlike figure on the ladder, the little girl holding flowers and a candle, and the screaming horse carrying the dead woman with bared breasts.

Although *Guernica* is one of the most complete and complicated paintings of war and death—perhaps 100 sketches and related drawings preceded the final painting—other of Picasso’s works created through the end of World War II reflect this savage period in modern history. His paintings and sculptures of this period are deeply disturbing: the theme of the skull is frequent, his colors are dark, and his distortions are extreme and obsessive. The luxury of past times, when artists could indulge in the metaphysics of death had passed. Death in Picasso’s work was a luxury no one could afford.

See also Apocalypse; Beheading/Decapitation; Crucifixion; Destruction of City; Grieving/Lamentation; Hanging;

Love and Death; Martyrdom; Plague/Pestilence; Serpent's Bite; Widowhood

Selected Works of Art

Memento Mori

- Three Living Nobles and Their Dead Counterparts*, from *Recueil de Poésies Françaises*, circa 1285, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
- Traini, Francesco, *Triumph of Death*, fresco, mid-fourteenth century, Pisa, Italy, Camposanto
- Rohan Master, *Dead Man Confronted by the Lord*, from *Grandes Heures de la Famille de Rohan*, early fifteenth century
- Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *Triumph of Death*, before 1569, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Leclerc, Jean, *Memento Mori*, oil on canvas, 1615–1620, Isaac Delgado Museum of Art

The Skeleton

- Baldung Grien, Hans, *Death and the Maiden*, 1517, Basel, Switzerland, Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel Kunstmuseum
- Wright, Joseph of Derby, *The Old Man and Death*, 1773, Liverpool, England, Walker Art Gallery
- Bresdin, Rodolphe, *Comédie de la Mort*, lithograph, 1854, The Hague, The Netherlands, Haags Gemeentemuseum
- Gogh, Vincent van, *Skull with a Burning Cigarette*, 1885, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Van Gogh Museum
- Ensor, James, *Death Pursuing the People*, drawing, 1886, private collection
- Ensor, James, *The Sad and Broken: Satan and His Fantastic Legions Tormenting the Crucified Christ*, drawing, 1886, private collection
- Ensor, James, *My Portrait in 1960*, 1888, private collection
- Munch, Edvard, *Death and the Maiden*, drawing, 1894, Oslo, Norway, Munch Museet
- Ryder, Albert Pinkham, *The Race Track (Death on a Pale Horse)*, 1895–1910, Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art
- Ensor, James, *Skeleton Painter in His Studio*, 1896, Antwerp, Belgium, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten
- Corinth, Lovis, *Self-Portrait with Skeleton*, oil on canvas, 1896, Munich, Germany, Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus

The Dance of Death

- The Art of Good Lywing and Good Eeyng*
- Three Living and the Three Dead*
- Italian School, *Time Passes*, woodcut, late fifteenth century
- Holbein, Hans, *Dance of Death*, woodcuts, 1538
- Hogarth, William, *George Taylor's Epitaph: Death Giving George Taylor a Cross Buttock*, drawing, circa 1750, Marquess of Exeter Collection
- Hogarth, William, *George Taylor's Epitaph: George Taylor Breaking the Ribs of Death*, drawing, circa 1750, Marquess of Exeter Collection
- Rowlandson, Thomas, *Dance of Death*, 1815–1816
- Dagley, Richard, *Death's Doings*, 1827

Martyrdom and Death of Jesus Christ

- Crucifixion and Saints*, Byzantine ivory triptych, tenth century, London, British Museum, Department of British and Medieval Antiquities
- Gero *Crucifix*, wood, circa 975–1000, Cologne, Germany, Cathedral
- Crucifixion*, mosaic, eleventh century, Daphne, Greece, Monastery Church
- Pietà*, wood sculpture, early fourteenth century, Bonn, Germany, Provinzialmuseum
- Giotto, *Lamentation*, fresco, circa 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
- Duccio, *Crucifixion*, from the *Maestà Altarpiece*, panel, 1308–1311, Siena, Italy, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo
- Lorenzetti, *Descent from the Cross*, fresco, circa 1320–1330, Assisi, Italy, Lower Church of S. Francesco
- Masaccio, *Crucifixion*, panel, 1426, for Santa Maria del Carmine, now in Naples, Italy, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali de Capodimonte
- Angelico, Fra, *Descent from the Cross*, 1430–1434, Florence, Italy, Museum di San Marco dell'Angelico
- Weyden, Rogier van der, *The Descent from the Cross*, circa 1435, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Donatello, *Crucifix*, bronze sculpture, 1444–1447, Padua, Italy, S. Antonio
- Piero della Francesca, *Crucifixion*, for the *Misericordia Altarpiece*, 1445, Sansepolcro, Italy, Pinacoteca
- Mantegna, Andrea, *Crucifixion*, panel, from the predella of the *S. Zeno Altarpiece*, 1456–1459, Paris, Louvre
- Mantegna, Andrea, *Dead Christ*, oil on canvas, 1466, Milan, Italy, Brera
- Quarton, Enguerrand, *The Avignon Pietà*, panel, circa 1470, Paris, Louvre
- Perugino, *Crucifixion with Saints*, before 1481, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Botticelli, *Pietà*, late 1490s, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
- Grünwald, Matthias, *Isenheim Altarpiece*, 1512–1515, Colmar, France, Musée d'Unterlinden
- Grünwald, Matthias, *Crucifixion (The Small Crucifixion)*, 1519, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Pontormo, *Deposition*, 1525–1528, Florence, Italy, Sta. Felicità
- Michelangelo, *Rondanini Pietà*, 1550–1564, Milan, Italy, Museo d'Arte Moderna
- Michelangelo, *The Crucifixion with the Virgin and Saint John*, drawing, 1550–1556, London, British Museum
- Courbet, Gustave, *Interior of My Studio, a Real Allegory Summing up Seven Years of My Life as an Artist*, 1855, Paris, Louvre
- Manet, Édouard, *The Dead Christ with Angels*, 1864, New York, Metropolitan Museum
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DESTRUCTION OF CITY

Eugene Dwyer

The following periods and cultures are covered in the discussion of the theme Destruction of City:

CLASSICAL

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

JAPANESE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY

RENAISSANCE



John Martin, *The Fall of Nineveh*, 1827–1828, hand-colored mezzotint, Oberlin, Ohio, Oberlin College, Allen Memorial Art Museum. (Courtesy of the Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin College, Ohio, Friends of Art Endowment Fund, 1974)

The destruction of a city, whether by natural forces or by human agency, is one of the most dramatic and terrifying objects of the human imagination. It emerged as a major (although ambivalent) theme in literature and in the visual arts from their very beginnings, and it retains a foremost position in contemporary thought and expression.

The destruction of a city is represented in one of the earliest masterpieces of Egyptian art, the *Palette of King Narmer* from Hierakonpolis (circa 3000 B.C.). In the bottom register of the obverse side, the pharaoh is depicted in the form of a bull destroying, with its horns, the walls of a fortified city. Thus, from the very beginning in Egypt, regal power is equated with the power of destroying cities as it is with the power of founding them.

The literature of the ancient Near East included the lamentation over the defeated city, a form that originated perhaps in lamentations for a dead god or deceased individual. The city is thus treated as a personification, or at least as the personal property of a sympathetic but, under the circumstances, powerless minor divinity. In the biblical book Lamentations, Jerusalem is mourned as a woman, her former beauty contrasted with her present state. In theocratic cultures, such as those of ancient Mesopotamia, the lamentation for the destruction of a city emphasized the role of divine disfavor or abandonment, seeing the supposed moral transgression of the victims as responsible for the natural and humanly wrought devastation that followed as the consequence of the alienation of the city's tutelary deities. Even Virgil referred to the defeated Troy as *superbum* (proud) (*Aeneid*, III, 2–3), a line echoed by Dante (*Purgatorio*, XII, 61–63) in his choice of the unfortunate city as an emblem of pride. Hence, the imagery of divinely sent thunderstorm, earthquake, and tidal wave is often accompanied by, and confounded with, that of the sack and destruction by a hostile army. In addition to the destruction of walls, temples, houses, and the murder and enslavement of inhabitants, such lamentations often note the introduction of profanations by the new inhabitants. The Israelites covered the fields of the defeated Moabites with stones, and the Romans later sowed salt in the fields of Carthage.

In addition to Lamentations, where the narrator empathizes with the fate of the city, Near Eastern literature contains numerous accounts of the destruction of hostile cities. Such accounts (for example, in the annals of the kings of Assyria and in the Hebrew prophets writing of Nineveh, destroyed in 612 B.C., and Babylon, destroyed in 538 B.C.) are marked by no compassion for the victims and often revel in vicious irony.

I slew their warriors with the sword, descending upon them like Adad when he makes a rainstorm pour down. In the moat of the town I piled them up, I covered the wide plain with the corpses of their fighting men, I dyed

the mountains with their blood like red wool. . . . I erected pillars of skulls in front of his town, destroyed his other towns, tore down their walls and burnt them down. (Shalmaneser III, in Pritchard, p. 277)

The Greeks introduced a note of universal human pathos into their treatment of the destruction of cities, often focusing sympathetically on the fate of specific individuals during the catastrophe. The fall of Troy, for example, witnessed such diverse episodes as the defeats of the Trojan heroes Troilus and Hector by the Greek besieger Achilles; the gruesome murders of Troy's king, Priam (slain by Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, at the altar of Zeus Herkeios) and of Troy's Astyanax (thrown from a tower by Ulysses, the leader of the Greeks); the rape of Cassandra, daughter of Priam, by the Greek Ajax; and the enslavement of the Trojan women. A red-figure hydria in Naples, Italy, by the Kleophrades Painter depicts two particularly heinous acts of sacrilege by the attacking Greeks, namely, the murder by Neoptolemus of Priam, who had taken refuge at an altar, and Ajax's rape of Cassandra before the image of the goddess Athena. The legendary cycle of the fall of the Greek city Thebes also produced episodes sympathetic to the victims, such as that of Antigone, daughter of Oedipus. Sympathy for the victims increases in later treatments, such as those by the painter Polygnotos (whose painting in the Lesche of the Knidians at Delphi survives in the description by Pausanias) and the playwright Euripides (*The Trojan Women*). In his painting the *Fall of Troy (Ilioupersis)*, Polygnotos described the scene of the devastation: the Greeks are striking their tents, some are setting off loaded with spoils, some are still intent on dismantling the walls of the defeated city. The Trojan women—Andromache, Medicate, Polyxena, and others—are grouped together, awaiting an uncertain fate. Here and there lie the corpses of victims. A small boy still clings to an altar in fear. On the faces of all can be seen an expression of their misfortune. The late fourth-century painter Aristides of Thebes continued in the same vein with his picture "of a mother lying wounded to the death in the sack of a city; she appears conscious that her babe is creeping towards her breast, and afraid lest, now that her milk is dried up, he should suck blood" (Pliny, *Natural History*, 35.98). This topos was later used by Eugène Delacroix in *The Massacre of Chios*, shown in the Salon of 1824.

In a culture that was dominated by the image of the fall of Troy, the destruction of individual cities in historical times reemerged as a theme of major importance. The fall of Miletus to the Persians in 494 B.C. was the subject of a drama by Phrynichus staged in Athens. Treatments of the Trojan legend abound in dramatic poetry and in painting of the time. Clearly the fear that they themselves might become subject to such treatment at the hands of the Persians or some other power accounts for the popularity of this theme with the Athenians.

The image of the physical destruction of the city at the hands of an enemy lent itself to related themes of the decay of the city from within, the destruction of the city's inhabitants through epidemic, or the destruction of political autonomy by externally imposed regime. John Martin's *Fall of Nineveh* (1827–1828) thus includes the suicide, together with his companions in luxury, of the last decadent ruler, Sardanapalus, in a panoramic view of civic destruction.

The destruction of the city of Rome is a topos that goes back to the very foundation myth of the city. Romulus was believed to have murdered his twin brother Remus for jumping over his newly built wall, hence breaking the sacred perimeter. After the sack of Rome by Gauls in 387 B.C., the city was long thought to be unconquerable from without, although susceptible to fire and rebellion from within. Until its eventual capture and sack by Alaric in A.D. 410, the myth of Rome's eternity exacted an enormous toll in the repressed anxiety of the Romans as evidenced by their treatment of Carthage, Corinth, and Jerusalem and by the popularity of the Trojan story in later Roman imagination. The fall of Troy, for example, is the subject of a remarkable series of frescoes found in Pompeii. The legacy of guilt became self-fulfilling prophecy. The sibylline oracles predicted the city's end, as did the Christians in their teachings. When the city finally fell to the Germanic tribes, an event hastened no doubt by the removal of the popular leader Stilicho, the lamentation of St. Jerome was sounded from Jerusalem: "It is the end of the world. . . . Captured is the city that captured the entire world" (Letter CXXVII, 12).

Despite the finality of St. Jerome's lamentation, the city of Rome has enjoyed numerous renewals of the myth of its eternity—all, however, containing a germ of the prophecy of destruction. One medieval legend held that so long as the Colosseum stood, Rome itself would stand; when the Colosseum fell, so would Rome. Moreover, as demonstrated by the scholar Arturo Graf in his study of Rome in medieval legend, the survival of the city of Rome (as well as its destruction) was equated by Christians with the survival of the world before the Second Coming of Christ.

To judge from the large number of recorded examples, the destruction of Troy (i.e., the mythical antecedent of Rome) regained paradigmatic status during the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Raphael chose to model his historical painting *The Fire in the Borgo* on the Virgilian scene, making a historical event that took place in ninth-century Rome into an episode from the *Sack of Troy*.

In paintings by Adam Elsheimer and Pieter Schoubroeck, among others, the destruction of Troy was the destruction of every city. During this period, warfare consisted largely of attacks upon cities such as that documented meticulously by Jacques Callot in his *Siege of Breda* (1628). Callot's epic engraving contrasts markedly with the horrific Virgilian image in its presentation of a disciplined and civil army engaged in what appears to be little more than an extreme act of diplomacy. During this period of history, organized warfare presented less a threat to civilization than did the periodic peasant uprisings and the bands of outlaws created by the wars of religion in the seventeenth century. These, however, were more to be feared by inhabitants of the countryside than by those who lived in cities. Callot's two series of engravings, *The Miseries of War* (large and small formats, 1633) vividly portray the

destruction of peaceful life in villages, farmhouses, convents, and the like by renegade soldiers and other lawless elements, setting the stage for Francisco Goya's gruesome etchings of the revolutionary period.

The destruction of the greater portion of London by fire in 1666 is depicted, apparently without moralizing, in Wenceslaus Hollar's engraving of 1669, which contains a map of the area destroyed with a view of the raging fire as seen from the borough of Southwark (Hind, pl. XII–XIII). The same event was represented as divine punishment on a medal contrasting the fire and plague (SIC PVNIT) with the blessings of peace and plenty (MERA BONITAS) (Hawkins, Charles II, no. 173). The destruction caused by the fire was commemorated by the *Monument to the Great Fire*, a 202-foot Doric column designed by Sir Christopher Wren. The column was set atop a tall pedestal covered with allegorical reliefs: haggard London seated on ruins as she is raised up by Time, with Science, Agriculture, and Liberty sent to her aid by Charles II, as Envy lies nearby.

With the Romantics, the repertoire of destroyed cities increased dramatically. In modern times, the destruction of a city has also occasioned the discourse of theocracy, even if in irony. The destruction of Lisbon, Portugal, by an earthquake in 1755 gave rise to numerous contemporary sermons on the iniquity of the victims. Voltaire, who reacted with horror both to the event and to the pietistic reaction that it provoked, treated the event in his deeply pessimistic poem on Lisbon and in the fifth chapter of *Candide* (1759). The recovery, beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, of the buried cities of Herculaneum and Pompeii from the ashes of Mount Vesuvius greatly affected the imagination of Europeans and Americans. Romantics in particular gave expression to the fate of these cities in poems, novels, operas, paintings, and other works. To some, it appeared that the cruel fate that befell the cities had been punishment, justly deserved for the supposed luxury of the inhabitants. As if to confute Voltaire and justify the targets of his criticism, excavators at Pompeii discovered the bizarre graffito "SODOM GOMORA" on a wall uncovered there, doubtless put there by some moralist subsequent to the destruction of the city (and not, as some have suggested, by an ancient Jeremiah predicting the destruction of the city). Pompeii and Herculaneum, although ancient cities themselves, were crucial to the displacement of Troy as the paradigmatic representative of all destroyed cities. The vividness of their destruction, graphically depicted for an eager world audience in literally thousands of images, made the more classical and literary Troy pale in the details, if not in the ensemble.

Building on images of the cataclysmic destruction of the Vesuvian cities, John Martin expanded the iconography of the destroyed city with his dramatic treatments of the biblical cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, Nineveh, Babylon, and Tyre, in addition to Pompeii. Martin's treatments include human figures for pathos, as in his *Fall of Nineveh* (1827–1828) and *Fall of Babylon* (1831). Like Martin, J. M. W. Turner depicted destruction by fire on a sublime scale in his watercolor sketches and oil paintings of the fire that destroyed the English parliament building in 1834. Although conventional contemporary interpretations of Turner's paintings may have settled on the opposition of human vanity to the awesome power of the elements, the paintings anticipate the aesthetic preoccupation of much later painting in their elimination of human figures.

Classical Japanese painting, discovered by European artists shortly after the mid-nineteenth century, had independently arrived at a balance of human drama and aesthetic effect that strikingly parallels the European experience. In his illustration *The Burning of the Sanjo Palace*, from accounts of the Heiji Insurrection of the thirteenth century, the Japanese painter Sumiyoshi Keion balances aesthetic spectacle with human pathos reminiscent of Polygnotos:

Beyond the scene of bullock carriages, armed men, and confusion comes the terror of billowing flames and of the disorder of escape. The words of the text describing the moment when many have thrown themselves into a well read: "Alas, the lowermost are drowned in the water, those in between are crushed to death, while those on top are engulfed in flames." (Paine and Soper, p. 152)

The American Civil War marked the end of civilized warfare and the beginnings of modern total warfare. The burning of Atlanta, Georgia, remains to this day an important icon of the war, memorably recorded in Margaret Mitchell's novel *Gone with the Wind* (1936) and the 1939 film of the same name. The devastation of Paris during the Franco-Prussian War produced similarly grim images, recorded in contemporary photographs. Attracted to the subject matter of Paris at war, Édouard Manet produced a series of pictures that include "corpses . . . strewn before the barricades with the casualness of figures who might be resting in the Paris parks" (Rosenblum and Janson, p. 326). Photographs of the dead from the same era show a similar lack of pathos, calling the traditional rhetoric of the painter of destruction into question.

Around this time, symbolic images of the sinister forces of war began to appear and even to take precedence over realistic images of destruction. V. V. Vereshchagin's *Apotheosis of War* (1871) depicts in vivid color a mountain of blanched human skulls in a landscape of devastation, the only sign of life being the innumerable ravens attracted in the hope of food. On the other hand, the city of Calais, France, opted for classical tradition in selecting a moment of human pathos to commemorate the loss of French cities to Germany during the Franco-Prussian War. Auguste Rodin's statue *Burghers of Calais* (1885–1895) depicts the heroism of fourteenth-century citizens in offering themselves as hostages for their city, a theme reminiscent of the Trojan women.

Total warfare in the twentieth century added new dimensions to the concept of the destroyed city. Despite the scale and the efficiency of destruction, the old psychological and theological components remain valid. The Holocaust during World War II, which entailed the destruction of many cities, in addition to the problems of representing human suffering and assessing human guilt, brought about the necessity of reexamining the very nature of the supreme deity in both Christian and Jewish religious communities. The fact that epic poets and artists had dealt with similar themes earlier in depicting the destruction of the city makes the numerous Holocaust memorials the natural successors of the earlier civic iconographic tradition. The destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan; Dresden, Germany; Coventry, England; Lidice, Czechoslovakia; and other cities during the war continues to haunt the imagination of both the victims and the perpetrators. Despite numerous expressions of will, the number of canonical masterpieces of modern art that have

dealt with the destruction of cities remains small. Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* (1937), commissioned by the Spanish Republican government in exile to commemorate the aerial bombardment of the Basque town of that name, and Alain Resnais's *Hiroshima Mon Amour* (1960), a film that depicts two individual responses to the nuclear destruction of that city, come immediately to mind. More are planned.

See also Death; Excess; Luxury

Selected Works of Art

Classical

The Palette of King Narmer, circa 3000 B.C., Cairo, Egypt, Egyptian Museum

Reliefs from the Palace of Ashurbanipal, circa 650 B.C., Nineveh, Iraq, presently in London, British Museum

Kleophrades Painter, *Sack of Troy*, red-figure hydria, circa 480 B.C., Naples, Italy, Archaeological Museum

Polygnotos, *The Fall of Troy*, fresco, circa 450 B.C., from *Guide to Greece*, Pausanias, Greece, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

The Trojan Horse, fresco from Pompeii, presently in Naples, Italy, Archaeological Museum

Japanese

Keion, Sumiyoshi, *The Burning of the Sanjo Palace*, horizontal scroll painting, thirteenth century, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Renaissance

Raphael, *Fire in the Borgo (Troy Burning)*, fresco, 1514, Rome, Vatican Palace

Primaticcio, Francesco, *Departure of the Greeks After the Fall of Troy*, fresco, 1555–1559, formerly in France, Galerie d'Ulysse, Château de Fontainebleau

Sustris, Lambert, or Schiavone, Andrea (?), *Fall of Troy*, oil on canvas, before 1584, Turin, Italy, Galleria Sabauda

Seventeenth Century

Elsheimer, Adam, *Burning of Troy*, oil painting, circa 1600–1601, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek

Schoubroeck, Pieter, *Burning Troy*, oil painting, 1606, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum; Brussels, Belgium, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique; Antwerp, Belgium, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

Callot, Jacques, *The Siege of Breda; The Siege of La Rochelle*, etchings, 1628, 1631 respectively, from *The Miseries of War (Large and Small Series)*, etchings, 1633

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Nineteenth Century

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- Martin, John, *The Fall of Nineveh*, oil on canvas, 1827–1828, Brussels, Belgium
- Martin, John, *The Destruction of Tyre*, oil on canvas, 1840, Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art
- Martin, John, *The Destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah*, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, Laing Art Gallery
- Cornelius, Peter, *Destruction of Troy*, fresco, 1826–1830, Munich, Germany, Glyptothek
- Briullov, Karl, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, oil on canvas, 1828, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage
- Turner, J. M. W., *The Burning of the Houses of Parliament*, watercolor and oil painting, 1834–1835, Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art
- Cole, Thomas, *The Course of Empire: Destruction*, oil on canvas, 1836, New York, The New York Historical Society
- Vereshchagin, V. V., *Apotheosis of War*, oil on canvas, 1871, Moscow, Russia, Tretyakov Gallery
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Twentieth Century

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DEVOTION/PIETY

Rudolf M. Bisanz

The following motifs, periods, and cultures are covered in the discussion of the theme Devotion/Piety:

VOTIVE OFFERINGS: THE
ANCIENT KINGDOMS AND
ANTIQUITY

SAINTS “IN ORANS”:
EARLY CHRISTIAN AND
BYZANTINE

DEVOTIO MODERNA: FROM
THE PROTO-RENAISSANCE
TO THE BAROQUE

HYBRID DEVOTIONS:
NINETEENTH AND
TWENTIETH CENTURIES



Philippe de Champaigne, *Portrait of Mother Catherine Agnes Arnauld and Sister Catherine de Sainte Susanne (Mother Agnes and Sister Therese in Thanksgiving)*, 1662, painting, Paris, Louvre.
(Courtesy of Alinari/Art Resource, New York)

Devotion, piety, and their equivalents—religious loyalty, fidelity, zeal, affection, reverence, etc.—seem to exist on two levels: the manifesting, as attested by objective proofs of faith through outward signs or actions; and the latent, the internal and subjectively felt. As to the first level, Jesus Christ condemned the hypocrites (literally “actors upon a stage”) who “for a shew make long prayers: the same shall receive greater damnation” (Luke 20:47). Philosopher Immanuel Kant associated outward devotion with “statutory religion” and degraded it to a form of “religious illusion whose consequence is pseudo-service . . . inadvertently deceptive,” as well as “absurd . . . and reprehensible” (Kant, pp. 156–158). A leading contemporary Protestant theologian, Wolfhart Pannenberg, is even more negative.

Defining the nature of deity in terms of the means of manifestation in its works . . . lead(s) to perversion (of faith), which . . . replaces the deity with the finite medium of its manifestation. When fixation on a particular form happens . . . perversion (of religion) takes place.” (Pannenberg, p. 183)

Philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel had inner devotion in mind with his triform definition of the authentic cultus: devotion (the self-moving spirit holding to itself), sacrament/sacrifice (reconciliation), and remorse/repentance (offering one’s heart or inmost self to God . . . the consciousness of one’s own immediate natural state) (Hegel, p. 193). In art, it is necessary to keep both aspects of devotion in mind—its devolving-manifesting branch and its ascending-spiritual branch—even though art has historically favored the former.

In the main, art deals with formalizations of evidential devotion. Historically, it objectified the relation of humans to divinity by representing such tests of fervor as were appropriate to a period’s notions of proper faith. Iconologically, therefore, the topic of devotion emerges as the study of the changes in religion and its effects on ritualistic expression over the centuries. For the most part, the essay will not deal with images *for* devotion—cult objects and icons—but rather with the iconography of artistic representations of *acts* of devotion and piety.

Artistic representations of devotional and pious acts are plentiful throughout most major cultures and periods in art history. One major work of worshipful reverence from antiquity involves two figures: King Hammurabi of Babylon lifting up his right hand in supplication before the flame-engorged sun god Shamash. This relief on the upper part of the *Stele of Hammurabi* served as a reminder to all that the formation of the Hammurabian code of laws and the success of a centralized Mesopotamian government were owing to a king whose devotion to the gods was unassailable. The three-figure neo-

Assyrian grouping of King Melisipak with his daughter before an enthroned goddess surprises with its suggestion of familiarity bordering on the intimate; it may be both an act of private devotional thanksgiving (for a cure?) as well as an act of statecraft via religious ritual. The Egyptians would often picture their pharaohs supplicating before their major gods, as in a relief depicting Mentuhotep II worshipping Amun. In art, the Egyptians would be shown entreating Re, Atum, Horus, Osiris, or other gods for worldly success in war and diplomacy or a safe haven in their tombs and “continued spiritual participation in cosmic processes” (Orthmann, p. 411). A frequent devotional theme in the art of the ancient kingdoms was sacrifice to the gods. An eighteenth-dynasty pharaonic tomb scene, *Servants Offering a Burnt Sacrifice*, depicts servants making a burnt offering to the sun god Amun-Re during a religious festival.

The ancient Greeks regarded their public demonstrations of piety as a civic duty, which they sometimes expressed in grand shows of consecration during high festivals, inaugurations, and thanksgivings for favors bestowed upon them by the gods. Perhaps the most famous of all Greek scenes of public devotion is the representation of the citizens of Athens in their quadrennial procession to the Acropolis in worship of the goddess Athena. Another form of devotional iconography can be found on the many private votive steles showing celebrants of thanksgivings or dedications in humble genuflection and often, as in the *Votive Relief for Cybele and Attis*, before their favorite gods. The best documented and most copiously inscribed of all late Hellenistic works of a personal form of piety may be a relief by Archelaos of Priene, *Votive Relief with the Apotheosis of Homer*. It depicts an elaborate votive thanksgiving to the gods by a victorious author and the overlapping theme of the apotheosis of Homer. The relief depicts more than a dozen identified mythological figures in various attitudes of dedication, presided over by Zeus, king of the gods. The “grateful” author himself views this devotional extravaganza.

Ancient Rome also utilized the votive processional. The iconological context shifted from an invocation of politico-ethical ideality to a more businesslike injunction to self-sacrifice to the commonweal of the state and to devotional patriotism. The *Ara Pacis of Augustus*—with its solemn processionists with their authentic demeanors—represents the finest such achievement of the Romans. It shows a combination of late Republican and very early Imperial ideals of family values, civic life, statecraft, and religious fealty.

War, conquest, subjugation of prisoners, enslavement of populations, and their forced conversion to the religion of the victors are common motifs in the art of antiquity, and the vanquished are often depicted in displays of forced devotion and

loyalty. The Romans of the late Empire probably knew best how to exploit artistically such instances of coercive oblation by their prospective vassals. Among the Roman deities, the emperors themselves figured prominently as enforcers of divine decrees and recipients of devotion. *Trajan's Column*, for example, features the emperor in the roles of high priest, making sacrifices before battle; as supreme commander, exhorting his generals; and as pontifex, forcing the vanquished Dacians to compulsory allegiance and idolatry to his person. Such old habits died slowly. The base of the *Theodosius Obelisk*, an early Christian document of the Orthodox Church, details captive barbarians—Asians and Germans—humbly paying obeisance to the emperor.

In early Christian, Byzantine, and Carolingian-Ottonian art, what appear to be frank and impulsive expressions of devotion actually follow published sentiments of the Apostolic Fathers and the fathers of the church and pagan behavior of worship. Such expressions can be found in innumerable icons or groupings of saints in attitudes of worshipful piety. The Virgin Mary is often shown as the recipient of prayerful devotion by angels or by other accessory supplicatory figures. During this period, the Last Supper also rises in importance among the prominent iconographic vehicles for the conveyance of devotional sentiments.

From the tenth century onward, the growing monastic movement gave dramatic new theological impulses to the depiction of representations of pious acts in art. The rule of Western monasticism, as devised by St. Benedict of Nursia and evolved by St. Bernard of Clairvaux's Cistercian movement, assimilated Augustinian influences and stressed saintly behavior; salvation based on free will, grace, and charity; and the formation of a church "militia" focused on love, austerity, and self-denial. This ecclesiastical program influenced virtually all manifestations of piety and, therefore, virtually all iconographic phrasings of related subjects in art during the following centuries. But it was the Franciscan movement that had the most specific impact on iconography and inspired the most sustained following among artists dealing with devotional subjects, beginning in the proto-Renaissance.

St. Francis's personal and passionate devotion to God, human beings, and nature is attested by his widely read *Canticle of the Sun* (1225), a hymn to his love of divine revelation. Moreover, his movement's enthusiasm for popularizing the Angelus, the Crib, and the Stations of the Cross as expressions of religious fervor offered an iconological cornucopia for specific iconographic exploitation by artists. (It also hastened naturalism in art.) Additionally, the hugely popular collection of stories *Little Flowers of St. Francis* (1325) fired the imaginations of countless clerics and artists to "picture" additional devotional subjects. The colorful and miraculous events in the lives of St. Francis and his fellow Franciscans gave rise to myriad artistic interpretations with their dramatic "attitudinal devotionism," as exemplified by the series by Giotto featuring St. Francis.

Throughout the Trecento and Quattrocento, ecclesiastical life echoed these sentiments and those expressed by Jacobus de Voragine in *Golden Legend* (circa 1255), the perennial medieval "best-seller" about the saints. This work provided artists with background information for their images of piety

and, more particularly, the behavioral model for the depiction of devotion in art. Among favorite subjects pregnant with devotional potential were the Nativity (with the Magi and/or the shepherds), the Last Supper, the Passion Cycle, the *Sacra Conversazione*, the narrative events from the lives of the saints, and portraits of donors and patrons.

Devotio moderna—fostering inner devotion and methodical meditation—permanently framed the spiritual dimension of the life and Passion of Jesus Christ, especially as it was defined by the mystic Thomas à Kempis in his manual of spiritual devotion, *Imitation of Christ* (1418). This manual influenced innumerable artists' conceptualizations of piety, including Albrecht Dürer's. The rapidly growing cult of the Virgin Mary, moreover, enlarged upon the existing range of Mariological subjects in art, providing a sizable portion of devotional scenes in painting. Trecento and Quattrocento artists swept up in these intellectual currents included, in Italy, Taddeo Gaddi, Simone Martini, Gentile da Fabriano, Donatello, Masaccio, Piero della Francesca, Ghirlandaio, the Dominican Fra Angelico, the Carmelite Fra Filippo Lippi, Botticelli, Perugino, and Giovanni Bellini; and in the north, Jan van Eyck, Rogier van der Weyden, Dirk Bouts, and Hugo van der Goes.

Jan and Hubert van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece* contains more than 200 worshipers in diverse attitudes of prayerful devotion before the Agnus Dei. But Dürer's majestic *Adoration of the Trinity* may even exceed it in its iconographic complexity of devotion. Based on Augustinian theology and the doctrine of the City of God, it is replete with many dozens of worshipful figures—sibyls, prophets, prophetesses, saints, popes, and crowned heads—all professing their profound devotion.

Potentially the most effective subject in pressing "inner" devotion is the Lord's Supper, or the sacrament of Communion. St. Paul's first epistle to the Christians of Corinth (I Corinthians 11:23–29) contains the earliest mention of the subject in the New Testament and a three-fold devotional message: remembrance of Jesus; looking forward to the Parousia, or the Second Coming; and the recognition of the spirit of the Lord as present at the meal. As a result of the fusion of its three-fold devotional message, the Lord's Supper is fraught with enormous pitfalls for all artistic translation. For similar metaphysical reasons, the same is true for the Pentecost, the feast commemorating the descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles. Seldom, if ever, therefore, was an artist able to depict successfully the mystery of these subjects; some things simply cannot be visualized.

The philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein suggests that "... what we cannot talk about we must pass over in silence" (Wittgenstein, p. 3). By failing to close the gap between appearance and substance (the spiritually transcendent moment), art may miss visualizing the profoundest reach of religious consciousness, "inner devotion." Despite its monumentality of form and innovative staging, Andrea del Castagno's *The Last Supper* is only one example among many of the failure to come to grips with the spiritual dimension of the institution of the Eucharist. His version's redoubtable virtues to the contrary (or because of them!), Leonardo da Vinci's similar failure presses an indictment of the High Renaissance to fathom the unfathomable with logical techniques of visualization, dramatic intensification, and humanistic aplomb.

The Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation was fostered by the friars of the Capuchin, Theatine, and Barnabite orders, all founded in the 1520s. Their promulgation of the perfect life in Christ affected most Catholic iconology underlying devotional art virtually until the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965). St. Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* (1523) became the method of spirituality and his Society of Jesus, or Jesuits (founded in 1540), the premier spiritual power of the emerging regime of devotional correctness in worship and in iconology. To counter the carnal excesses of High Renaissance art, the Council of Trent (1562–1563) spelled out an iconographic program for religious art. St. Francis of Sales (*Introduction to a Devout Life*, 1609) and St. Carlo Borromeo were major "patrons" of the new devotional practices, which focused on pious meditation upon the lives of Christ and the saints and their miracles, martyrdoms, virtuousness, and saintliness. The revival of the writings of medieval mystics such as St. Bernard, St. Hildegard von Bingen, St. Francis, Meister Eckehart, and Johannes Tauler enriched the iconological mix of ideas. Likewise, such influential writers as the latter-day Spanish mystics St. Teresa of Ávila (*The Way of Perfection*, 1560s) and St. John of the Cross as well as the German mystic Jacob Böhme (*Der Weg zu Christo* [The Way to Christ], 1623) further expanded the range of religious imagination and the conduct of sanctioned spiritual practice. These ministrations furnished the artists with myriad iconographic models for translation into the argot of devotional iconography.

Virtually all art in the Roman Catholic lands was defined by those intellectual premises and consecrated to the proposition that extremes in ecstasy are power to the cause of devotion. This idea was manifested most effectively in the Baroque style. Among the foremost artists showing such impassioned devotion are Agostino, Annibale, and Lodovico Carracci; Domenichino; Caravaggio; Guido Reni; Giovanni Battista Gaulli (Baciccio); Andrea del Pozzo; and Gian Lorenzo Bernini in Italy and Jusepe de Ribera, Francisco de Zurbarán, and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo in Spain.

Philippe de Champaigne's personally intensified but formally subdued devotional style is revealed in his celebrated *Portrait of Mother Catherine Agnes Arnauld and Sister Catherine de Sainte Susanne* (*Mother Agnes and Sister Therese in Thanksgiving*), painted for the miraculous cure from paralysis of his daughter, the Jansenist Sister Therese. It is a riveting moment of poignant and absolute devotion, reverberating with the earnest spirit of her convent at Port-Royal, France, and with the spirit of French scientist and religious philosopher Blaise Pascal's fervent confessional *Pensées* (1669). In *Pensées* Pascal wrote, "Choose carefully the devotional work that you desire . . . for life changing benefits to your soul. Pray seriously and seek someone to help you in the quest" (Houston, p. 317). Champaigne and Pascal were deeply influenced by the schismatic Augustinian asceticism of the Jansenists, who were bitter opponents of the Jesuits.

Discouraged by its clergy, the devotional genre virtually did not exist in the Protestant realm. Consequently, the work of "the painter of the soul," Rembrandt van Rijn, is among the rarest of exceptions; a sizable portion of his work falls within the subject of devotion and piety.

After a slackening of innovation during much of the eighteenth century, the nineteenth century saw a surfeit of representations of devotion and piety in art. Strong influences came from a resurgent Pietism, founded by the seventeenth-century evangelical Philipp Jakob Spener, and from early nineteenth-century intuitive theism, developed by Protestant theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher. In complete iconological accordance, German Protestant painter Caspar David Friedrich (and his many followers of the Dresden School) turned inward through contemplation and psychological devotionism directed at a transcendent God: a Pietist inner vision. Simultaneously, they turned outward through reverence before a God-immanent nature as recipient of devotional fervor: an outer vision evincing natural theology. Friedrich's many memorable compositions with the supine or supplicatory *Rückenfigur* (a figure seen from behind) before a seemingly transfigured nature panorama as incarnation of God's glory on Earth are iconographic fusions comprised of evangelical pietism, virtual pantheism, and psychological insights.

From the early nineteenth century, the German Nazarenes, a Catholic revivalist movement in art (e.g., Friedrich Overbeck), promoted neomedieval visual representations of piety. As a consequence of the movement's subsequent domination of the Munich School and the flourishing Düsseldorf School, Germany, produced sizable quantities of Pietist devotional art throughout most of the century.

Two artists' organizations shared some commonality with the Nazarenes. The British Pre-Raphaelites, founded in 1848, favored a devotional iconography steeped in pathos and ritualistic displays of piety. Some associated the Pre-Raphaelites with the Catholic-leaning reformist Anglican Oxford Movement, which echoed the Cambridge Camden Society for the renewal of medieval liturgy, The Beuron School, founded in 1868 at that Benedictine Monastery in the Black Forest, also dedicated its imagery to ecclesiological reform within a neomedieval iconographic protocol. Via its branch convents in Belgium, Beuron influenced artists there along with several of the French symbolists, including the Nabis painters Paul Sérusier and Maurice Denis. The latter's Catholic iconography favored intimate and psychologically intensified imaging of exquisite devotional moments.

Historicism fostered a plethora of recombinant doctrinal, ethical, and aesthetic premises for devotional styles in art. Many fine salon technicians of various revivalist orientations, as well as naturalists, specialized in a didactic devotional genre: sociologically salubrious or politically ameliorating representations of liturgical practices on the national, regional, and parochial levels (where they appear conflated with the peasant genre), as well as private votive events. Whereas much of the routine academic production in this area suffered from the pitfalls of grinding orthodoxy, susceptibility to sham sanctimoniousness, and a kind of devout voyeurism, notable exceptions exist. These exceptions include the best French specialists of the genre: Jules Breton, Isidore Pils, Alphonse Legros, and François Bonvin.

Jean-François Millet's monumental *Angelus* and his *Man with the Hoe* are outstanding examples of the genre. Influenced by his own early work as a farm laborer, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's discourses on the natural man and ingenuous good-

ness, Catholic spirituality, and possibly a degree of situational socialism, Millet's iconographic armamentarium repudiates decadence and evinces a robust symbolic piety. By contrast, Wilhelm Leibl's *Three Women in Church*, the product of an advanced state of aestheticism, goes in a very different cultural and iconological direction, a nihilistic, post-mystical effacement of the state of desires and self-consciousness. It symbolizes modern antiratiocination—deconstruction of the event of devotion to the central creative act of the artist as artist. Reversing religious introspection to psychic introversion, man becomes a kind of “Heideggerian ‘Creative Workman,’” in an existentialist conundrum and vacuous “state of perennial and ubiquitous consciousness of dread” (Bisanz, “Proto-Modernist . . .”).

The nineteenth century's frequent hypocrisy and simulations of piety in art did little to stimulate continuation of the genre during the twentieth century. Nor did twentieth-century dogma—nihilism, cynicism, positivism—do much to reawaken interest in devotionalist illusionism. The shocks of World War I seemed to reverse the trend temporarily with certain German Expressionists, such as Emil Nolde, Ernst Barlach, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. In a heroic gambit to recapture artistic originality, they autosuggestively regressed to a state of quasi infantilism. In this state of aesthetic tabula rasa, they seemed to have snared, if only fleetingly, the elusive symbolic moment of veritable piety, the iconography of personal “inner devotion.” Similarly, the genre seemed to survive at its most widespread and authentic in neoprimitivism. Its iconography of devotion and piety was born of psychological displacement, substitution, regressive superstition, and a naive wonderment about the mystery of the human relationship to divinity. In the midst of the atomic age, the instinctive, charmed, and deeply religious art of Ferdinand Desnos in France, Tivadar Kosut in Yugoslavia, Edmund Monsiel in Poland, and Gertrude Morgan in the United States, among others, seemed to reconnect with the frank devotional spirit of early Christianity.

See also Arms Raised; Communion; Offering

Selected Works of Art

Votive Offerings: The Ancient Kingdoms and Antiquity

Mentuhotep II Supplicating Amun, Egyptian relief, painted limestone, eleventh dynasty, circa 2020 B.C., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Stele of Hammurabi, Babylonian relief, basalt, circa 1760 B.C., Paris, Louvre

Servants Offering a Burnt Sacrifice, Egyptian relief, limestone, eighteenth dynasty, circa 1365 B.C., Thebes, Egypt, Tomb of Ramses

Head of the Procession, Greek relief, marble, from the east frieze of the Parthenon, 448–432 B.C., Paris, Louvre

King Melisipak Before a Goddess, neo-Assyrian relief, limestone, 1188–1174 B.C., Paris, Louvre

Votive Relief for Cybele and Attis, Greek relief, marble,

Hellenistic, circa 230 B.C., Venice, Italy, Museo Archeologico

Archelaos of Priene, Votive Relief with the Apotheosis of Homer, relief, marble, late Hellenistic, end of second century B.C., London, British Museum

Census and Sacrifice, Roman relief, marble, 115–100 B.C., Ara Domitus-Abhenobarbus, Paris, Louvre

Commander Sacrificing, Roman relief, marble, 40–30 B.C., Civita Catellana, Italy, Cathedral

Ara Pacis of Augustus, Roman sculpture, altar, marble, 13–9 B.C., Rome, Campus Martius

Trajan's Column, Roman reliefs, marble, A.D. 113, Rome, Forum of Trajan

Emperor Trajan Sacrificing, Roman relief, marble, Triumphal Arch, A.D. 114, Benevento, Italy

Saints “In Orans”: Early Christian and Byzantine

Barbarians Paying Devotional Homage to an Emperor, base of *Theodosius Obelisk*, marble, A.D. 390, Istanbul, Turkey

Painted Ceiling with Christ as Good Shepherd and Saints in Orans, catacomb wall painting, fourth century A.D., Rome, catacombs of St. Pietro and St. Marcellino

Saint Menas in Orans, Byzantine relief, stone, fifth century A.D., Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Saint Apollinaris in Orans, apse mosaic, circa A.D. 549, Ravenna, Italy, Sant' Apollinare in Classe

Madonna and Child with the Adoration of the Magi, Syrio-Palestinian ivory panel, sixth century, London, British Museum

The Lord's Supper, Carolingian-Ottonian relief, marble pulpit, ninth century, Milan, Italy, Sant' Ambrogio

Devotio Moderna: From the Proto-Renaissance to the Baroque

Giotto, *Saint Francis and the Miracle of the Spring*, fresco, probably 1297–1300, Assisi, Italy, Upper Basilica of S. Francesco

Giotto, *Saint Francis Receiving the Stigmata*, tempera on wood panel, probably 1300, Paris, Louvre

Giotto, *Lamentation*, fresco, 1305–1306, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Fabrizio, Gentile da, *The Adoration of the Magi*, tempera on wood panel, 1423, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Eyck, Jan, and Hubert van, *The Ghent Altarpiece: The Adoration of the Holy Lamb*, tempera on oil on wood panel, completed 1432, Ghent, Belgium, St. Bavo

Eyck, Jan van, *The Madonna with the Chancellor Rolin*, oil on wood panel, 1435, Paris, Louvre

Weyden, Rogier van der, *The Escorial Deposition*, tempera on wood panel, circa 1435, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Castagno, Andrea del, *The Last Supper*, fresco, circa 1445–1450, Florence, Italy, St. Apollonia

Donatello, *Mary Magdalene*, wood sculpture, circa 1454–1455, Florence, Italy, Cathedral Baptistry

Goes, Hugo van der, *The Portinari Altarpiece: The Adoration of the Shepherds*, oil on wood panel, circa 1476, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

- Bellini, Giovanni, *San Giobbe Altarpiece: Sacra Conversazione*, circa 1485, Venice, Italy, Galleria dell'Accademia
- Leonardo da Vinci, *The Last Supper*, fresco, circa 1495–1498, Milan, Italy, Santa Maria delle Grazie
- Dürer, Albrecht, *The Adoration of the Trinity (All Saints)*, oil on wood panel, 1511, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
- Carracci, Agostino, *The Last Communion of Saint Jerome*, oil on canvas, 1592, Bologna, Italy, Pinacoteca Nazionale
- Zurbarán, Francisco de, *Saint Francis Embracing Christ on the Cross*, oil on canvas, circa 1620, Valencia, Provincial Museum
- Ribera, Jusepe de, *Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew*, oil on canvas, 1630, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, *Saint Theresa in Ecstasy*, marble sculpture, 1645–1652, Rome, Cornonaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria
- Champaigne, Philippe de, *Portrait of Mother Catherine Agnes Arnauld and Sister Catherine de Sainte Susanne (Mother Agnes and Sister Therese in Thanksgiving)*, oil on canvas, 1662, Paris, Louvre
- Hybrid Devotions: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*
- Overbeck, Friedrich, *Christ and the Disciples at Emmaus*, oil on canvas on plywood, 1808, Lübeck, Germany, Behnhaus Museum
- Friedrich, Caspar David, *Women Before the Setting Sun*, oil on canvas, 1818, Essen, Germany, Folkwang Museum
- Pils, Isidore, *Prayer in the Hospice*, oil on canvas, 1853, Paris, Musée de l'Assistance Publique
- Vautier, Benjamin, *Village Church with Congregation in Devotion*, oil on canvas, 1856, Worms, Germany, Stiftung Kunsthaus Heylsof
- Legros, Alphonse, *The Ex-Voto*, oil on canvas, 1860, Dijon, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
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- Gebhardt, E. K. F. von, *The Raising of Lazarus*, oil on canvas, 1896, Düsseldorf, Germany, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf im Ehrenhof
- Nolde, Emil, *Last Supper*, oil on canvas, 1909, Copenhagen, Denmark, Nationalmuseet
- Nolde, Emil, *Pentecost*, oil on canvas, 1909, Muri, Switzerland, private collection
- Schmidt-Rottluff, Karl, *The Way to Emmaus*, woodblock, 1918, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Museum of Art
- Desnos, Ferdinand, *The Bridge of Arts (The Last Supper on the Seine)*, oil on canvas, probably 1930s, Paris, Musée National d'Art Moderne
- Morgan, Gertrude, *Christ is the Head of This House*, crayon, colored pencil, watercolor on paper, 1970s, New York, private collection of Herbert Waide Hemphill

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DREAMS/VISIONS

Elaine Shefer

The following genres and motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Dreams/Visions:

ART AND THE DREAM:
ANCIENT SOURCES

CONFIGURATIONS OF
DESTINY: THE BIBLE
AND OTHER CHRISTIAN
SOURCES

VISIONS OF IMMORTALITY

APOCALYPTIC VISIONS

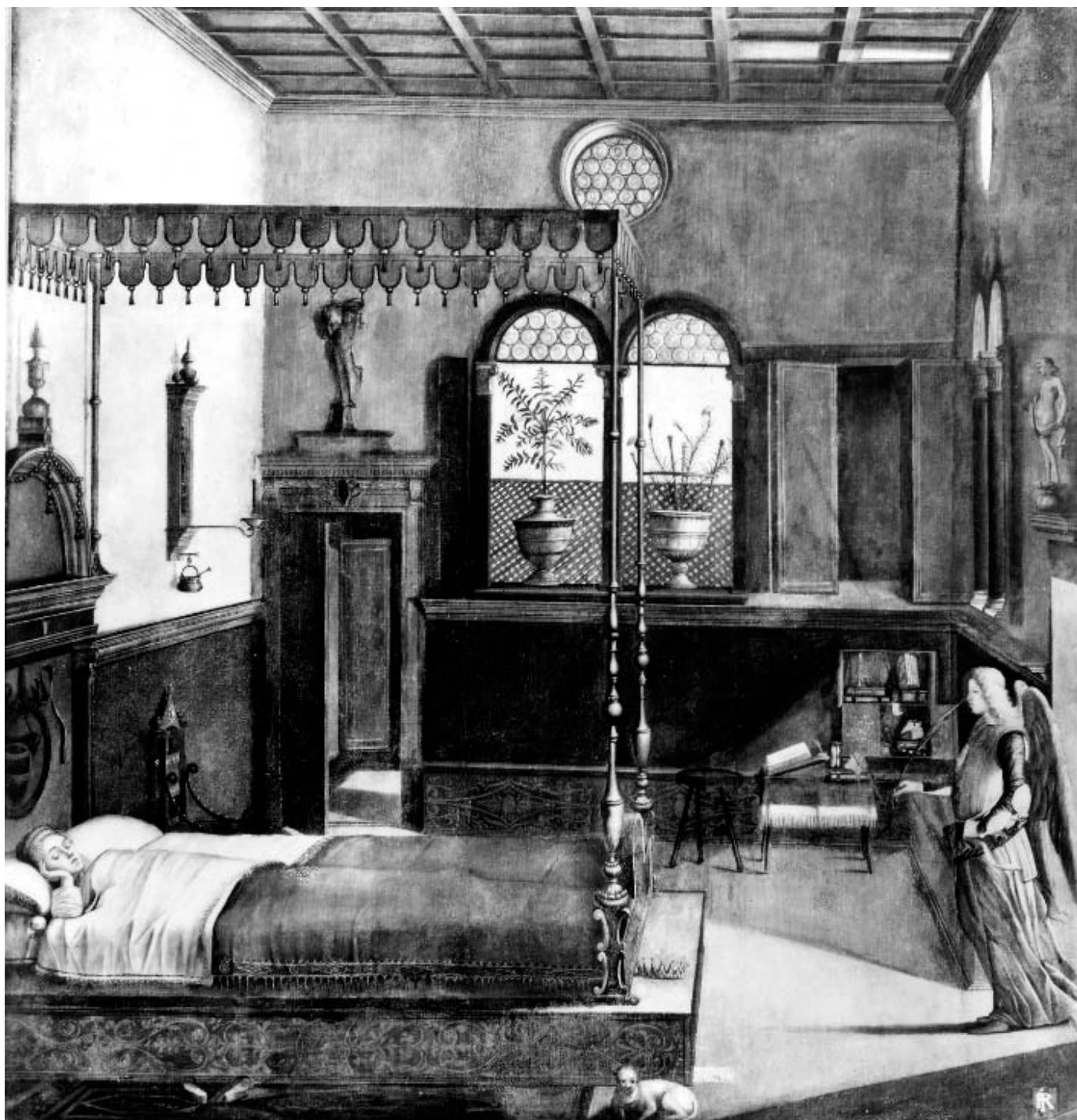
DREAMING

THE ARTIST AND THE DREAM

DREAMS AND HEALING

DREAMS OF NATIONAL
ASPIRATIONS

DREAMS AND UTOPIAS



Vittore Carpaccio, *The Dream of St. Ursula*, 1495, painting, Venice, Italy, Accademia.
(Courtesy of Alinari/Art Resource)

The act of dreaming has forever fascinated and perplexed humankind. From primitive humans to contemporary psychiatrists, we have yet to fathom the depths of the dream's hidden meanings, and as a result it is a subject that has obsessed artists throughout history.

The characteristics of the dream are both particular and peculiar. It is as unconscious as it is conscious. We can be in a dream at the same time we passively stand by as observers. It has neither end, nor beginning. While always composed of images and symbols, both recognized and unrecognized, it sometimes contains words. It is subjective yet universal. Sometimes a dream feels like music, but it never produces sound. It can have color but not odor. It has space yet is spaceless. It can be experienced at night but can occur during the day. It can be happy or sad, haunting or frivolous. It can speak of the past or tell of the future; it hardly ever dwells only on the present. It can speak of unresolved tension or anticipate the fulfillment of desire. It can be the visible sign that stirs a person to action or a sign of one's inability to act. It represents at once truth and illusion; it is both a prophecy and a fantasy.

By definition, an artist is a dreamer. To artists belong the world of dream streets, dream landscapes, dream frontiers, dream fantasies, and dream utopias, all of which the artist records in order to impose a kind of order or rationality on life. This order presupposes a separation between the conscious and the subconscious, between good and evil, between the ordinary and the extraordinary. Those who interpret have gained the power to explain the dream to the dreamer and, therefore, are in charge of separating the good from the evil, the past from the present.

Art and the Dream

Since ancient times artists have been intrigued by the variety of dreams. The ancient Egyptians recorded thousands of dream books. The *Chester Beatty Papyrus* (1300 B.C.) in the British Museum in London is an example of such a dream book. The papyrus illustrates women's dreams about games, drinks, snakes, legal evidence, animals, and more, each one having some arbitrarily imposed opposite meaning. The clay tablets found at Nineveh, Iraq, in the library of the Assyrian King Ashurbanipal (669–626 B.C.), provide a link in a chain of dream theory that stretches from the most remote past to the present. It is believed that Ashurbanipal's dream book was used in the second century A.D. by the Roman soothsayer Artemidorus, whose work in turn inspired every subsequent compiler of dream books.

During ancient times, however, the most important dreams were those dreamed by gods, priests, and kings and were called "great dreams." Predictive and prophesying, they could be political, perhaps foretelling of the coming of a "miraculous"

leader. Tanuath-Amen, the Ethiopian conqueror of Egypt, was said to have dreamed of a serpent lying both to his right and to his left, a dream that has been interpreted as a harbinger of his rule over the two Egypts, Upper and Lower. An Egyptian stele inscribed with an account of the Tanuath-Amen dream was found at Gebel Barkal. Similarly, a large stone inscription in front of the Great Sphinx at Giza tells of the dream of King Thutmose IV, who reigned in about 1450 B.C., in which the god Horemakhu promises him the Egyptian kingdom. It is said that in return, upon attaining the throne, Thutmose cleared the sands away from the Great Sphinx.

Such dreams of prophecy seem to thrive only in a special atmosphere, with historical time and place being the essential ingredients. The most significant dreams—those that are interpreted as having extraordinary power—usually have occurred in times of trouble. The dreams recounted in the Old Testament are a case in point.

Dreams in the Bible: Configurations of Destiny

In Jewish history, dreams of prophecy were most widespread during the Jews' exile. Jewish monotheism was strongly reflected in their dreams. If there was but one God, then only that God could be the source of a divine revelation-through-dream. The God of the Jews was known to speak clearly only to them; dreams containing important messages would appear to non-Jews as garbled or enigmatic, such as pharaoh's dream of seven fat and seven lean cows. A Jew—be it a Joseph or a Daniel—would often be called upon to interpret such a dream, as Joseph did for the pharaoh. Although Jews recognized both the power of the dream and their power to interpret it, they were not all rightful interpreters. Jewish prophets gave warnings against "false" dreams and "false" interpreters, thus suggesting a systematic effort to sharpen the distinction between divine and significant dreams as well as distinguish those that were evil or without significance. The orthodox prophets feared the danger of "religious heresy," the warning against which first appeared in Deuteronomy:

If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams . . . saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; Thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams: for the Lord your God proveth you, to know whether ye love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul. (Deuteronomy 13:1–3)

Dreams in the Old Testament helped to consolidate Judaism; that is, they appear to have confirmed the "chosen people's" claim to a messianic vocation and the spiritual hegemony of its God. Of the approximately 15 dreams in the Old Testament, most have the peculiar characteristic of coming at the begin-

ning of a vital stage in Israel's history, as in the dream of Jacob, which sealed the covenant between the patriarch and his God.

Resting for a night on his journey to Haran (now in Turkey), Jacob took some stones for a pillow and lay down to sleep. He dreamed of a ladder reaching up to heaven with angels in both ascent and descent. From the top, God spoke to him, promising the land Jacob lay upon to his descendants, the Israelites (Genesis 28:10–22). This subject is rendered, in a synagogue in Dura-Europos, Syria. The north wall reveals a portion of *Jacob's Dream of the Ladder* (A.D. 245–256), but the upper right corner, which would reveal what was at the top of the ladder, is missing. As the text describes it, we only know that God “stood above it” (Goodenough, p. 167).

Despite this missing detail, biblical scholars have interpreted this fresco as significant of a momentous occasion through an interpretation of several of its motifs. Jacob's covered hands are said to indicate “coming into divine presence.” The lower part of the ladder rises toward heaven, and the two men who stand on it—presumably royal figures because of the additional cloak attached to their Persian dress (reserved for kings)—were clearly inspired by the biblical account of the angels. Although this fragment seems to invoke controversy more than it offers a clear explanation, scholar Erwin R. Goodenough does suggest it may be an allegory of Israel. As he notes, “he who sees God” correlates with Jacob's covered hands, and Jacob's face was indeed associated with the “throne” of the Merkabah in many references in rabbinic literature (Goodenough, p. 167). The dream of Jacob also appears on a fresco in the catacomb of *Via Latina* in Rome, the *Haggadah of Sarajevo* (*Jacob Dreams and Anoints the Stones*) in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the *Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (*Jacob Dreams and Wrestles with an Angel*) in the Bibliothèque National de France in Paris.

Many of these various accounts of Jacob's dream would appear to be prototypes for later Christian iconography, especially in the Middle Ages, when a vision was often regarded as a “type” of the Virgin Mary, through whom or which a union of heaven and Earth was accomplished. This very theme was repeated in many subsequent paintings.

Although not necessarily associated with Jacob, the idea of dreams signifying destiny continued in fifteenth-century iconography, as is apparent in Piero della Francesca's *Vision of Constantine*, from *The Legend of the True Cross* (1453–1454), a fresco in Arezzo, Italy, in which Constantine's dream prophesizes a battle that was to make him Roman emperor. Constantine's vision takes place in a tent where an angel appears to him in a dream and says, “In this sign thou shalt conquer.” Said to be protected by his faith in the cross, Constantine subsequently vanquished Maxentius at the Milvian Bridge outside Rome.

In Francesca's painting the curtains are parted to show the emperor asleep upon his bed. His servant waits nearby upon a bench, and two soldiers guard the tent. No waking figure is aware that an angel has appeared over the group. The angel's right hand is extended, pointing downward with the little finger, from which extends a miraculous radiance. Although the “true” cross does not appear in the painting itself, it appears inherent in its construction: the central column that holds the tent up and the horizontal line of the tent form a large cross.

Visions of Immortality

The dream-as-vision has also played a major part in dream iconography. Visions dictated messages not only of destiny but also assurances of the immortality of man's soul. Such visions have their representational basis in Cicero's *Dream of Scipio*, part of the sixth book of his *De republica* (circa 51 B.C.). A Roman answer to Plato's *Republic* (fourth or fifth century B.C.), Cicero's *De republica* tells of Scipio Aemilianus's campaign in Africa, where he was entertained by Massinissa, king of Numidia. After falling into a deep sleep, Africanus appears to Scipio Aemilianus in a dream that prophesizes the destruction of Carthage, the end of Scipio's career, and his eventual death. The angel then reveals that there is a place in heaven set apart for the souls of virtuous statesmen. This message is reinforced by Scipio's father, who explains to him that the journey to heaven cannot be reached faster by suicide and that the Earth is insignificant compared to the universe as a whole.

The subject of Scipio's dream is the reward given to good statesmen after death, the immortality of the soul that comes only to those who care for their country on Earth. “The soul of every man is the man, and not that form which may be delineated with a finger” (Hadas, p. 168). According to Scipio's dream, this is all-important and in strong contrast to humankind's existence on Earth, which is transitory and insignificant.

Whatever we achieve in this life, any merely earthly reward will in the end be unsatisfactory. The pursuit of earthly rewards—power, fame, wealth or pleasure—reduces men to the level of slaves of their own desires, and leads to dishonor, injustice and crime. . . . By practicing virtue in both action and contemplation, the good statesman can free himself from earthly contagion and achieve eternal life and happiness after death. (Powell, p. 125)

Cicero's *Dream of Scipio* was preserved with the commentary by Macrobius (circa A.D. 400), in which form it was widely read in the Middle Ages and thereafter. Cicero's vision of the cosmos and the good statesman's rewards of immortality were important for their influence on the literature of the Middle Ages—Chaucer's account of his own dream in the *Parlement of Foules* (1477) starts from his reading of Scipio's dream with the commentary by Macrobius, for instance. It also remained a vital influence on the art of the twentieth century.

The notion of immortality (typically portrayed in art as a hovering vision) preoccupied artists throughout the Middle Ages. In Hugo van der Goes's *The Death of the Virgin* (circa 1478–1480), in the Musée Communal in Bruges, Belgium, earthly existence is represented by an assembly of grieving disciples and by the figure of Christ and his angels descending to receive the Virgin's soul. The humble and the ugly, as represented by the disciples, are thus “elevated” through their expressions of faith and understanding—but not without problems. A harmonious synthesis seems to be absent: the strongly delineated figures appear to contradict the painting's religious message. This apparent conflict—earthly materialism versus heavenly dreams or visions—could reflect van der Goes's own personal conflict (at one time he renounced secular life for a monastic life). However, deep feelings of guilt concerning the

adequacy of his devotion and the conflict between his worldly interests as a painter and those of a strongly ascetic man were thereafter to cause him severe mental problems and illness (Elsen, p. 116). Van der Goes's condition, in which the synthesis of heavenly and earthly values could not be easily or finally achieved, was an affliction of conscience not uncommon during the late Middle Ages.

The conflict between heavenly dreams or visions and earthly materialism was reconciled in the visions of Birgitta (Bridget) of Sweden in the fourteenth century, primarily because her visions steered away from traditional notions of a devoted Christian woman's nuptial ties to Jesus Christ and immortality toward more earthly political beliefs (*St. Bridget of Sweden Writing of her Visions*, German woodcut, fifteenth century, National Gallery in Washington, D.C.; and Birgitta of Sweden, *Revelations Celestes*, MS 498, f. 343v, reproduced in Labarge, p. 136). Birgitta's visions represented a substantial change from the prototypical figure of the female committed to Christ through chastity to that of the committed Christian widow. Different from other medieval women mystics because she was a widow—she had married Ulf Gudmarsson, a Swedish nobleman, and had eight children—she did not lead an officially recognized “religious” life. She eventually used her visions and/or revelations to support various causes—reform within the Roman Catholic Church and an end to the abuses perpetrated by bishops and abbots—as well as to advise princes and kings on various political matters. She was especially concerned for the return of the Avignon Popes to Rome. Many saints experienced visions like those of Birgitta, including Anthony of Padua, Bernard, Catherine of Siena, Francis of Assisi, Helena, Hyacinth, Ignatius of Loyola, Jerome, Peter, and Ursula.

The vision itself was not particularly problematic for post-medieval artists, but the position of that vision was: hovering high above the reach of the dreamer's earthly world. A new formula of heavenly immortality was soon envisioned by artists such as the Italian Vittore Carpaccio, who, in his *Dream of St. Ursula* (1495), portrayed the dreamer and the dream (or vision) sharing the same space, a paradigm much favored by subsequent artists. In Carpaccio's painting, St. Ursula sleeps while a golden-haired angel enters the room. If not for the dramatic lighting and wings, the angel's entrance would seem unremarkable. But this is not just a visitor; it is a vision of what is to come. St. Ursula's palm is held in the angel's hand, a gesture that symbolizes St. Ursula's immortal soul and foretells her impending martyrdom. All of this—the angel, the martyrdom, and St. Ursula's immortal soul—stands in stark contrast to the painting's symbols of secular, material, and earthly delights: the nude statue of a water-carrier that rests over one door and the provocative Venus reclined on her shell that rests over another door.

This is not to say visions were not represented in art prior to the twentieth century but, as Frenchman Paul Gauguin's *Vision After the Sermon* (1888) makes clear, they were visions seen here on Earth that did not concern immortality. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, Gauguin turned his back on the modernism of Paris and its concomitant capitalistic interests and found in the countryside of Brittany a people who still believed in visions. In *Vision After the Sermon*, a vertical tree ostensibly divides the earthly existence of all-believing parishioners from the vision of Jacob and the angel (the parishioners have just heard a sermon from the priest, who is also included

in the painting). Still, for all intents and purposes, they occupy the same space. Gauguin achieves a synthesis: a marriage of heaven and Earth through abstract color and biomorphic form that penetrates the real and the unreal with the same intensity. In Gauguin's painting, the struggle to merge earthly existence with visionary images is over. His people are so pure that the vision does not appear to them after their deaths or in sleep, as it does in the work of van der Goes or Carpaccio, but rather in front of their believing eyes while they are still awake and alive.

Apocalyptic Visions

Not all representations of visions were so positive, however. Nightmarish hauntings of disease, war, and death abound in the history of art. Examples can be found in the works of Hieronymus Bosch, as in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (1480–1505), in the Prado in Madrid, Spain; and of Albrecht Dürer, as in *Seven Trumpets*, illustration of Revelation 8 and 9 from the *Apocalypse* (1498), at Indiana University in Bloomington.

In the twentieth century, apocalyptic political events and a desire to escape restrictive social and sexual taboos inform the work of many European artists. Suffering, impending disasters, and death characterize Ludwig Meidner's *Apocalyptic City* (1913), in a private collection, and his *The Uncertainty of Visions* (1914), in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. The impending nightmare is visualized in these works through an emphasis on unstable diagonal lines, a disintegration of forms, explosive lights, toppling of buildings, and ominous shadows.

Max Beckmann and George Grosz go beyond suggestive visual effects by providing an actual nightmare with which one can identify. Beckmann's *The Dream* (1921), with its amputated, bandaged hands of a man in red stripes, a blinded street musician, and a maimed harlequin, deals with one of humankind's greatest fears: deformation. Grosz also makes powerful use of representations of amputation, as well as facelessness and blindness. In his *Untitled* (1920), in Düsseldorf, Germany, a faceless head, a perfect cylinder, matches the indistinguishable black squares that make up the windows of the buildings across the street. All individuality is effaced as a tribute to the collective citizen, or collective dream. This mechanical absence of individuality carries with it a sense of critique as well as nightmare—what happens to a person when the fate of the individual is no longer important, when individuality is surrendered. Visually, the figure is quite truncated, with neither hands nor expression: a torso rooted in a cube, unable to move. The featureless head is equivalent to the hard, cold, impersonal architecture behind it; it has the soullessness of an automaton.

Is the human like a machine or is the machine like a human? Heinrich Hoerle presents this dilemma in his *Mechanical Men* (1930), in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, which portrays the physical and psychological alienation of those who live and work in the machine age. In this work, manikinlike figures stand in regimented formation, their torsos schematized, hardened, and polished like metal casings. Their limbs have been metamorphosed into nonhuman appendages, and with their closed eyes, they resemble the blind and deformed figures of Grosz and Beckmann's paintings. Strikingly, a trancelike effect, or state of hypnosis, is induced in the viewer of Hoerle's painting through his nightmarish repetition of figure. Similar fears inscribe the

works of Franz Marc, especially his *Fate of the Animals* (1913), which represents “a longing for the destruction of the present world of corruption, evil, and degeneration, and its replacement with a world of innocence, goodness, and purity” (Rosenblum, p. 142).

Dreaming

A person dreaming, above all, is a person in a condition in which he or she has no control. Dreamers appear to be in an unconscious state, even though things that appear to them may come from the conscious world. This lack of conscious control over one's mind has led philosophers and artists to associate dreaming with a wide spectrum of afflictions. According to art historian Erwin Panofsky, in the Middle Ages dreaming was associated with laziness, idleness, and sloth. These notions are duly represented in Dürer's engraving *Dream of the Doctor* (1497–1498). As one critic has described this painting, “An elderly man is asleep on a bench by an enormous, apparently well heated stove . . . his body comfortable resting on thick pillows” (Panofsky, vol. 1, p. 71).

This example of a medieval “morality”—the man slumbers while he ought to work or pray—is similar to another work of art that personified the idea of sloth, *Allegory of Envy and Sloth* (circa 1490), by an anonymous north Netherlandish master, in the Musée Royal in Antwerp, Belgium. The pillow, a prevalent motif in these types of works, appears again here symbolic of the sin of laziness. (“Idling is the pillow of the devil” goes the old medieval proverb). The tradition that lies behind these allegories is summarized in these lines from Sebastian Brant's satirical poem *Das Narrenschiff* (The Ship of Fools, 1494):

A sluggard is no use except to be a hibernating dormouse and to be allowed a full measure of sleep. To sit by the stove is his delight. . . . But the Evil One takes advantage of laziness and soon sows his seeds therein. Laziness is the root of all sin. It caused the children of Israel to grumble. David committed adultery and murder because he lolled in idleness.

Brant's words are in part derived from the belief that “sloth begets lewdness and makes the idler subject to the temptations of Luxury” (from the *Somme Le Roi*, one of the most popular treatises on moral theology [Panofsky, p. 72]).

The Spaniard Francisco de Goya's *Los Caprichos* (1794–1799) is another example of the negative connotations with which dreaming was often associated. Goya connected dreaming with the “sleep of reason,” humankind's departure from reason, the core of our very selves. Other Goya compositions like *Dreams* illustrate how the world of dreams was at one time symbolic of “human errors, vices and follies, and blunders common in every society” (Lopez-Rey, p. 84). The vagary of dreams, the overwhelming power of superstition, and humankind's obedience to passions and obscure impulses were thought by the best minds of Goya's time to be negations of human rational dignity. Goya's etching *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters* (1799) is just such a commentary on human foolishness, passion, and superstition. In this work, a flock of bats and owls fly around a slumbering man, a huge cat by his chair. The bats are said to represent the “infernal deities of

dreams” and once suggested to Father Castenega, the then-famous physiognomist, “an ignoble passion which shuns light” (Lopez-Rey, p. 137). Castenega was a sixteenth-century writer who believed, among other things, that “the devil could give to his train of evildoers the appearance of a fox, a billy goat, a cat, or the like.” Hence, the monsters that surround Goya's slumbering man (while his reason might be said to be sleeping) could be seen as allusions to superstitious belief. However, as Lopez-Rey points out, the owl is also the symbol of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom and the arts. In Goya's etching, an owl stands on a desk and offers a pencil to the slumbering figure, a gesture that perhaps indicates reason should give way to unbridled imagination, so that “imagination, united with reason, may resume her role as mother of all arts, and the source of their wonders” (Lopez-Rey, p. 137).

In opposition to the rationalism of Goya, many artists in the late nineteenth century turned their backs on the doctrines of naturalism, which for them were synonymous with the crass materialism that prevailed in the 1880s. These artists were anxious to explore the different states or stages of dreaming, going beyond the obvious form of sleeping.

Aligning themselves with mysticism and spiritualism, these nineteenth-century artists attempted to create antinaturalistic visual environments. Figures were divested of action, social intercourse, dialogue, and even gravity. An obscure, hermetic iconography destroyed traditional notions of color, line, and perspective: color was of another, antinatural world; line was no longer described; draftsmanship was no longer valued; and perspective became antilogical, subjective, and whimsical. Description was abandoned in favor of suggestion, and understanding was replaced with exclusivity. This new aesthetic was adopted by writers as well, as in the revolutionary manifesto of Jean Moreau, the drug-influenced poetry of Arthur Rimbaud and Paul Verlaine, and the decadence of Joris-Karl Huysmans's novel *À Rebours* (1884; *Against the Grain*).

Influenced by French poet Charles Baudelaire, artists like Gauguin and the Nabis created new worlds of ambiguity where no distinction existed between animate and inanimate or dream and reality: all of nature was correspondent. Adopting the undulating, floating line of the English Romantic poet/artists William Blake, John Flaxman, and Henry Fuseli, Gauguin used an endless arabesque line to merge his people and landscapes, and as a result, space, setting, and time lose their conventional meanings. In his painting *The Loss of Virginity* (1888), the figure of a reclining female nude suggests—in a strange, foreboding way—that the past, present, and future are one and the same. Gauguin's *Where Do We Come From, Where Are We Going, Who Are We?* (1897), in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, suggests dreaming through the combination its figures (who all stand about in dreamlike poses), with the riddle of its perplexing title. As in a dream, the painting contains no answers. Within the strict horizontality of Gauguin's pictorial plane, silence, hypnosis, sleep, and rest might be said to have been captured, perhaps ultimately suggesting death. Other artists whom Gauguin admired and/or worked with have similar macabre strains running through their work. These include Pierre Puvis de Chavannes (*The Dream*, 1883), Émile Bernard (*Madeleine in the Bois d'Amour*, 1893), Lucien Lévy-Dhurmen (*Silence*, 1895), and Odilon Redon (*Closed Eyes*, 1890, and *Silence*, 1911).

In Redon's *The Light of Day* (1891), from the *Dreams* series, the viewer is able to glimpse a segment of a brightly illuminated tree through a window. But as the viewer's focus pulls back from the window, he or she is able to see that this is no ordinary room and that vague, softly luminous shapes hover in the darkness. What the viewer sees through the window he or she can describe, but what lies in front of it can only be suggested, not defined. Redon's painting reminds us of the mysterious dark world that exists behind the human eye.

Redon wrote of his drawings: "They inspire yet cannot be defined. They do not determine anything. Like music, they transport us into the ambiguous world of the undetermined." He deliberately cultivated his subconscious as a source for his imagery, and became especially interested in fantasy and dreamlike states. As he wrote, "Fantasy is also the messenger of the 'unconscious.' Nothing in art is achieved by will alone. Everything is done by docilely submitting to the arrival of the 'unconscious.' The analytical spirit must be quick when it appears, but afterwards it is of little importance to remember it."

The investigation into the unknown, dark forces of dreaming was taken up in the work of Gauguin's English counterparts Edward Burne-Jones and Dante Gabriel Rossetti. In Burne-Jones's *Golden Stairs* (1876), a painting reminiscent of *Jacob and the Ladder*, a dream world is captured where a series of women, each a mirror image of the other, eerily float down an unending spiral staircase in defiance of the laws of gravity. The critic F. G. Stephens has noted that the figures in this work "troop past like spirits in an enchanted dream." In paintings like Burne-Jones's *The Evening Star* (1872–1873), the human figure actually flies. This particular tactic was part of William Blake's signature style, as in *Europe* (1794), an illustration to Thomas Gray's *Ode on the Spring* (circa 1797–1798), and an illustration to Edward Young's *Night Thoughts* (1795–1797). The leaping, soaring, gravity-defying figures in *The Evening Star* represent a psychic energy that is noncorporeal. Both choreographically and symbolically, flying is a movement that symbolizes joy, wishing, and aspiration. It also expresses the energy of sexual desire, as in Blake's *The Whirlwind of Lovers* (1824–1827), one of the illustrations to Dante Alighieri's *Divine Comedy*. Such an effect is achieved in Henry Fuseli's *The Nightmare*, a painting in which a horse is seen flying out a window after it has apparently had sexual intercourse with a woman, who appears sensually sprawled across the bed. Fuseli, in fact, used flying figures of various sorts on more than one occasion. Burne-Jones would have been familiar with these effects and connotations of flying because both he and Rossetti greatly admired Blake (Rossetti was in possession of Blake's notebook). Blake once wrote: "... the Just rise thro the Air . . . the Blessed . . . arise upon the Air rejoicing." Satan was even described by Blake as "falling headlong," Death as what "is dragged down" by a demon. It has been suggested that figures who rise are "governed by powers other than their own; while figures who descend are pictured in that attitude to suggest autonomous energy. The soaring straight-legged figures are drawn upwards as if attracted by a magnetic force" (Warner, p. 123).

For Rossetti, dreaming takes on an even more direct and personal meaning. Instead of employing conventional dream fragments or symbols—like repetition or descent—Rossetti uses a state of mental abstraction that is closest to dreaming itself, a slipping away from full-consciousness. Rossetti's paint-

ings, especially those of his "women" series, create a specific state of mind in that they force the viewer to first focus his or her gaze on a singular image. Although Rossetti employed a variety of women as models, they all look alike in his portraits: heavy-lidded, droopy, or closed eyes; long necks; masculine shoulders and arms; red hair; and exaggerated mouths. It could be said that the spectator is part of the trance or hypnotic gaze of the subject, for in Rossetti's paintings the women are also in a kind of trance. Two motifs suggest this condition: music and flowers. The overpowering smell of honeysuckle almost seems to invade Rossetti's *Venus Verticordia* (1864–1868). Mixed with roses, the same flower again appears in the intoxicating garland of his *La Ghirlandata* (1873). Flowers not only accompany *The Blue Bower* (1865), *Regina Cordium* (1866), and *Monna Vanna* (1866), but in the *Beata Beatrix* (1864–1867) the white poppy—eerily reminiscent of the overdose of laudanum that actually caused the death of model Elizabeth Siddall—contributes even more directly to the dreamlike quality of the painting. Rossetti again suggests the thin boundaries that lie between dreaming, sleep, and death.

Like other artists of this time, Rossetti may have worked under the influence of laudanum, a derivative of opium (often symbolic of death in art), a drug used since ancient times to invoke dreams. His drug-taking certainly appears to have had an influence in the production of these trancelike, hypnotic paintings. As one writer noted of this correlation, the "absent mind which haunts us like a ghost or a dream," the "dozing style," and the "dreaminess of his paintings" appear to have resulted from his "experiences with spiritualism . . . mesmerism, his drinking and drug taking" (Roberts, p. 383).

The desire to explore dreaming, to enter the dreamer's head, was most seriously pursued in the twentieth century by the surrealists. For them, however, dreaming was not a state of escape but a condition preferable over so-called reality. Like the Dadaists, to whom they were initially attracted, the surrealists engaged in automatic writing, an act during which the mind was purged of purposeful thought through free association. Words were not necessarily attached to their literal meanings but rather used to symbolize the often-seething content of the unconscious mind. In his 1924 manifesto, French poet André Breton stressed psychic automatism, a process by which he believed one could express, either visually or verbally, the true function of thought. The manifesto was dictated in the absence of all control of reason and it stood outside all aesthetic or moral preoccupations. Surrealism, then, is based on a belief in the superior reality of certain forms of association heretofore neglected, in the omnipotence of the dream, and in the disinterested play of thought. It leads to the permanent destruction of all other psychic mechanisms and to their substitution in solving the principal problems of life.

Breton's psychoanalytic language reveals his involvement with medicine. Like the ancients, who used drugs for their spiritual process of "incubation," Breton conducted surrealist experiments, or "periods of sleeping fits," during which subjects were self-hypnotized. Without the attendance of their conscious minds, they produced automatic writings, answers to questions, and sudden and striking descriptions. Like a medical student, he wanted to isolate and study the germ of inspiration. In this sense, Breton resembled the nineteenth-century Romantics who, in trying to communicate with their subcon-

scious muse, used such artifices as absinthe, laudanum, opium, and cocaine.

Unlike the Romantics, Breton and his comrades denied that the dream had any supernatural power. In a sense, they went further and claimed that the dream did not imply the recognition of a new or different reality beyond that of the everyday. In his essay *Les Vases Communicants* (1932), Breton stated, "The poet has come into being to overcome the depressing idea of an irreparable divorce between action and dream." On another occasion, he declared, "I believe in the future resolution of two states (in appearance so contradictory), dream and reality, into a sort of absolute reality; *Surréalité*" (Levy, p. 11).

In the surrealists' attempt to discover and explore the "more real than real world behind the real," they came closest to Sigmund Freud's theories, which stated that the dream and the subconscious exist and interact with reality. "Our assumption of the existence of the subconscious is necessary and legitimate, and we possess manifold proofs of the existence of the subconscious" (Freud, p. 99). The surrealists found a way to break down the barrier that lies between fantasy and reality, and the results of this were perceived by some as valuable reflections of actual life.

Surrealism was not, however, just a social doctrine; nor was it an involuntary, hypnotic practice. The artists affiliated with the movement were not content to be mere interpreters. In the passive, or literary phase, the dream (or reverie) would merely be recorded by automatic writing, free association, and similar experimental techniques. This was then followed by an active phase, during which the artist would attempt to elaborate the material and to give the dream a concrete form in reality. From the beginning, surrealism expounded two very different methods of working: illusionistic surrealism, also called "veristic surrealism," and "psychic automatist surrealism." The former method was exemplified by such artists as Max Ernst, Salvador Dalí, and Yves Tanguy, whose highly illusionistic manner rendered irrational content, absurd juxtapositions, and metamorphosed dream states.

Dalí's *The Persistence of Memory* (1931) dramatizes dream imagery through an enhancement of the *trompe l'oeil* technique. In a barren landscape of incongruous forms, time has expired like everything else: a watch is left crawling with insects like scavengers over carrion; three other watches hang limp and useless, one over a rectangular block, one over the branch of a dead tree, and one over a lifeless, amorphous creature that bears a curious resemblance to Dalí himself. This is a dream world based upon the juxtaposition of unrelated objects in an extraordinary situation. It is a surreality, reality above and beyond reality, an enigmatic personal dream.

On the other hand, psychic automatist surrealism, a direct outgrowth of automatic writing, was used to reveal the mysteries of the unconscious, or the state of dreaming, mostly through abstraction. The automatist phase is exemplified in the work of Joan Miró and André Masson.

Miró sought a more universal, less personal form of expression than the other surrealists. He believed the unconscious held a universal imagery that he attempted to reach through spontaneous, or automatic, drawing. Both he and Masson wanted to eliminate all rational thought as they traced their brushes across the surface of the canvas. Organic shapes were believed to be unadulterated by conscious thought and thus drawn from the unconscious. Once the basic designs had been

outlined, a conscious period of work could follow. Because no conscious control was to be exerted to determine the early course of the designs, the automatist method was seen as spontaneous, as employing chance and accident.

In Miró's *Painting* (1933), meandering lines join and intersect to form the contours of clustered, organic figures. Some of these shapes are left void to display a nondescript background of subtly colored squares; others are filled in with sharply contrasted black, white, and bright red pigment. In this work, Miró applied Breton's principles of psychic automatism in an aesthetically pleasing, decorative manner.

Although different in style, both surrealist groups had a common goal: to re-create in visual terms Freud's analysis of the subconscious. As Dalí stated in his address to New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1934:

The subconscious has a symbolic language that is truly a universal language, for it does not depend on special habitude or state of culture or intelligence, but speaks with the vocabulary of the great vital constants, sexual instinct, feeling of death, physical notion of the enigma of space—these vital constants are universally echoed in every human. To understand an aesthetic picture, training in appreciation is necessary, cultural and intellectual preparation. For Surrealism, the only requisite is a receptive and intuitive human being.

Although surrealism has since fallen out of fashion, representations of dreams and dreaming have not disappeared from twentieth-century iconography. However, no group of modern artists has yet to come as close as the surrealists did to resolving the two contradictory states of dream and reality.

Dreams and Healing

Many ancient cultures distinguished between "divine" dreams, which had to be interpreted and obeyed, and "ordinary" dreams. Ordinary dreams could be divided into "good" dreams, sent by the gods, and "bad" dreams, which were sent by demons and demanded of the recipient some sort of cleansing or protective ritual. One of the functions of the ancient priests or magicians, a role that would eventually be taken over by the artist, was to distinguish between these two types of dreams—the good from the bad, the pious from the delusory, the divine from the merely superstitious—and to extricate the dreamer, if necessary, from the wrong dream. Many rituals were used to dispel the effect of the wrong or evil dream, often through interpretations offered by dream books. Once the enigma of the bad dream was worked out, the disturbing symptoms of the affliction were assured to soon pass.

Another method used was known as an incubation: an invocation through elaborate ritual of dreams for healing purposes. During an incubation, the tormented person would be brought to a temple, where they would sleep, fast, and often receive potions to induce beneficial dreams.

In ancient times, an entire caste of priests known loosely as the "masters of the secret things" practiced mysteries and attempted cures in special temples. One such temple, the Temple of Imhotep at Memphis, Egypt, was dedicated to the god of healing, known to the Greeks as Imouthes, who actually had been an earthly architect and medical man during the twenty-

seventh century B.C. After his death, Imhotep was elevated to the status of a deity, and his temple became the center of a healing cult whose beliefs persisted almost to modern times.

In Egypt, the wooden statue of the god Bes was believed to protect sleepers against the demons of the night and to deliver to them good, pleasant dreams. Appeals to Bes took the form of rituals and magic spells that involved strange ingredients such as the blood of a white dove, mulberry juice, cinnabar, rainwater, and myrrh.

Much of this dream incubation has been ascribed to animism, a form of belief held by those who, in fear of gods, demons, and natural forces they could not understand, turned to an armory of devices for protection and reassurance: amulets, magic spells, prophecy, divination, and dream interpretation. It is wrong, however, to attribute such forms of belief only to the ancient peoples of Assyria or Egypt. People in modern times share the anxieties and fears of their ancestors. Nowhere is this better expressed than in art.

National Aspirations: Dreams that Heal

American art is an endless story of dreams: from those of early artists who cloaked such abstract notions as freedom, wisdom, and independence in the guise of a neoclassical vocabulary; to those landscapists who created vast, dreamlike vistas when it was already apparent they no longer existed in such a pristine state. No dream, however, was as compelling as that of the Wild West, a nineteenth-century myth that supplied material for artists, writers, and moviemakers for the next 150 years.

The multifaceted allure of the west, or the frontier, a word impregnated with dreamlike meanings, was once known as "God's country," an untouched land where the millennium would supposedly occur. Unknown and far away, its exotic otherness held many promises, both religious and social: freedom, specifically from man-made laws and regulations; anonymity; privacy; and respect for the individual. Difficult to reach, weighted down with myth, tale, and folklore, the frontier promised adventure, risk, and danger. Throughout the course of the nineteenth century, hundreds of artists brought life to Horace Greeley's cry, "Go west, young man."

For George Caleb Bingham and John Gast, the west was a place to expand the American dream of progress. Bingham's *The Emigration of Daniel Boone* (1852) and Gast's *Westward, Ho (Manifest Destiny)* (1872) illustrate the dream of cultivating and civilizing the untamed, uninhabited west. These paintings also illustrate the dream of bringing the east—its people, education, technical advancements, economy, and industry—to the west. Religious dreams of the west show up in such paintings as William S. Jewitt's *Promised Land* (1850) and James F. Wilkin's *Leaving the Old Homestead* (1854), in which the west was seen as a place to build a morally purified community purged of the sins of eastern urban life. The transcendentalism of this group of artists, grounded in imagination, religion, fanaticism, myth, and especially the spiritualism of the virgin land, helped to persuade the Mormons and other nineteenth-century groups to set up communes throughout the midwest.

Like the dreams of Jacob and Daniel, modern dream iconography appears to answer a particular need of a particular society at a particular time. The myth of the west answered such a need, not only in the nineteenth century but in the first quarter

of the twentieth century as well, when Americans once again needed a dream. At this time the dream was provided by three artists whose bountiful midwestern utopias became the public's antidote from the big cities' depressing, grimy factories and the ravages of the dust bowl.

The fertile, prosperous dreams of the regionalists—a group that included Thomas Hart Benton, Grant Wood, and John Steuart Curry—were located in the roots of the effusive Jeffersonian ideal that was never realized, in a place where time was arrested. Benton, for example, found subject matter in the exploits of Jesse James, Huck Finn, and young Abe Lincoln. In Benton's world, the biblical tale of Susanna and the Elders took place in Kansas City, Missouri, while the ancient goddess Persephone could be found in an American melon patch. Curry dealt with John Brown, Coronado, and the wide-open Kansas prairies. Wood turned his attention to Paul Revere and even once painted a young George Washington, with hatchet in hand, on the front lawn of his new home in Iowa City, Iowa. These were dream worlds based not upon exact history but upon history mingled with substantial doses of myth. The folktales, legends, and lore written by Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, and others inspired the paintings of Benton, Wood, Curry, and early nineteenth century artist John Quidor. In fact, the very impurity of these kinds of tales, rather than their truth, was what attracted these particular artists.

Grant Wood spared no pains to show that he recognized the cherry-tree fable of truth-telling for a barefaced lie, concocted by the shifty Parson Weems. Like the Regionalists' mythic Midwestern farms, their history was neither gospel truth nor precise model for action. Rather, history was a bittersweet reminder that doubt, confusion, and ambiguity have often dogged the nation's footsteps into tomorrow and that the localized deeds of people their neighbors once thought ordinary people have enlivened and ennobled the nation's trek through time. People's history resonates through time; it is also the stuff of dreams. (Schalz, p. 11)

But more than this, these myths also spoke of the nature of the American. Despite the American people's ups and downs, heroic weaknesses and strengths, failures and successes, they have managed to endure. During the Great Depression, Benton, Wood, and Curry once again reminded the American people to never give up on their dreams. These artists are thus connected to the ancient dream world in that their images and "dreams" provide a kind of healing.

Benton, Curry, and Wood uncannily resemble one another not only in their narrative style, but also in their lack of realism. Benton displays a hyperbolic perspective, with larger-than-life figures that seem to jump out of their environment into the spectators' space. The graphic-cartoonist flow of his line has an organic, spiritual quality that can only be compared to the Hollywood myth-making images of the same decade.

The Hollywood musicals of the 1930s were about as far away from the gritty realism of something like Dorothea Lange's photographs as art could possibly be. They were bubbly, frivolous, light, even saucy. A typical musical of the period might have an apple-cheeked kid on his or her way to their big break on Broadway. Another might portray the shenanigans of the wealthy few, a portrayal that supposedly offered amuse-

ment and inspiration to the masses without arousing potentially problematic feelings of social conflict.

Wood's circular trees and curving hills are flatter, stiffer, and more mathematically calculated than the endless biomorphic lines of Benton. Wood's spiraling line takes the viewer out of a modern-day environment into a spiritual no-man's-land where all imperfections and details vanish in a never-ending flow of simple line and pure, flat color. Curry shares with Benton the graphic line, but his animated, fairy-tale figures resemble Walt Disney characters, which allow a spectator to escape into a world of make-believe.

Dreams and Utopias

Dreams can be realized not only by looking back but also by looking forward. Whereas the regionalists looked to the past for a new world, urban painters like the precisionists looked to the future. Just the names of paintings like William R. Leigh's *Visionary City* (1908), Hugh Ferriss's *The Metropolis of Tomorrow* (1928), and Charles Sheeler's *Incantation* (1946) can conjure up the industrial dream. In the paintings of the precisionists, skyscrapers and machines were transmogrified into adulatory symbols of the new culture of tomorrow. "It is not industry as it really exists but the industry of my dreams," Ferriss explained.

Louis Lozowick's *Urban Geometry* (1925–1927) relies upon geometric forms but not their rationale: baseless skyscrapers soar up at disturbing angles, then fall backward, sideways, and forward as though the spectator were racing uncontrollably through space at an incredible speed. Black, opaque rectangles hint at windows that offer views neither inside nor out, and incredible proportions defy both weight and material. A dream perspective, with its typical irrationalities, is offered. Faceless oblongs and rectangles painted in variations of muted pinks and blues cover the surface.

The vacuous faces of Lozowick's skyscrapers, as well as their soaring, flying, almost infinite structure, are repeated in Ferriss's futuristic *The Metropolis of Tomorrow*. Leigh's earlier *Visionary City*—a megalopolis of endless bridges, arches, and buildings—is changed from a dream to a nightmare. Incredible scale and frightening perspective create a sense of soaring, while the unknown heights hint at one of the worst human fears, falling. The aesthetic employed in Ferriss's painting is similar to that of the then-new "streamline modern," the aesthetic that engineers used in designing early twentieth-century trains, planes, cars, and ocean liners. Streamline modern's smooth surfaces, fluid and horizontal lines, and rounded contours suitable for high-speed travel were appropriate for paintings intended to transport the spectator into the world of tomorrow. Whether seen in the construction of a painting or in the construction of a plane, train, or toaster, streamline modern came to be understood as a metaphor for the future. Nowhere was this better realized than at the 1933 Century of Progress world's fair in Chicago, a total environment of visionary optimism that became a utopian dream for the new age.

Dream utopias were not an American monopoly, however, as the works of the Italian futurists, Russian avant-garde, and Dutch de Stijlists attest. The futurists gave form to the power of the city and technology: Emilio Marinetti spoke of "shipyards blazing with violent electric moons . . . bridges that stride

the rivers like giant gymnasts flashing in the sun." In the first stages of futurism, "realistic" images served as metaphors for dreamlike states of being. Thus, the machine or gun stood for violence, aggression, and action; crowds or mobs invoked fear, panic, and revolution; the staircase could represent ascending to a new world (another allusion to Jacob's ladder, which linked Earth and heaven), falling into the unknown, saying hello or good-bye, or the lack of beginning or conclusion. Eventually such images disappeared and were replaced by a new sense of interchangeable space, line, and form defined by such words as dynamism, kineticism, speed, and force. Language played a new role, as did theory, and both had an important impact on the surrealists, who were already working with psychoanalytic dream material. Related to these movements and ideas were Antonio Sant'Elia's *The New City* (1914); Virgilio Marchi's *Futuristic City* (1919); and Alex Korda's film *Things to Come* (1936), based on H. G. Wells's story *The Shape of Things to Come* (1934), with special effects provided by Bauhaus artist László Moholy-Nagy.

Stimulated by Italian futurism and contemporary metaphysical speculations, Kasimir Malevich emerged as the leading dream maker in Russia when he proposed an art grounded on an "intuitional awareness of a new and unfamiliar state of being." Transcending the conventional and predictable, Malevich's art attempted to mimic the subliminal world of feeling and perception. Like Piet Mondrian's de Stijl in The Netherlands and Wassily Kandinsky's experiments in Germany, Malevich's art was distrustful of "appearances." The physical and concrete—illusory images at best—were given up for the mystical and transcendental. In Russia and The Netherlands this was expressed not through dreamlike images but through a condition in which a dream might occur: the inner recesses of a person's mind.

If the futurists used dream feelings—height, depth, speed, flying—the Russian suprematists and the Dutch neoplasticists tried a new approach called "the fourth dimension." The fourth dimension, according to these groups, comprised metaphysical perceptions that would allow one to see beyond the illusory—what people called "real"—into a new world of non-materialist growth. It was an art that spoke of "the state of our inner animation," an art that was superpersonal, that was supernatural and expressive of a cosmic consciousness.

Dream utopias—whether grounded in the agrarian dream of the past or the urban fantasy of the future—all had one thing in common: they were dreams of wish fulfillment and daydreams for a better world.

See also Apocalypse; Automata; Ecstasy; Nightmare; Sleep; Upside Down

Selected Works of Art

Art and the Dream: Ancient Sources

Inscription, Giant Sphinx, Egyptian, circa 1450 B.C., Giza, Egypt

Dream Book, Chester Beatty Papyrus, Egyptian, 1300 B.C., London, British Museum

Egyptian Stele, inscribed with an account of the *Dream of Tanuath-Amen*, found at Gebel Barkal, Egypt

Configurations of Destiny: The Bible and Other Christian Sources

Jacob's Dream of the Ladder, fresco, north wall, A.D. 245–256, Dura-Europos, Syria

The Dream of Jacob, fresco, Rome, Catacomb Via Latina
Jacob Dreams and Anoints the Stones, from the *Haggadah of Sarajevo*, Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Zemaljski Muzej Bosne i Hercegovine

Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (Jacob Dreams and Wrestles with an Angel), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Giotto, *Vision of Anna*, 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
Martino di Bartolomeo, *Five Scenes from the Life of Saint Bridget*, panels, before 1434, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Gemäldegalerie

Simone Martini, *Vision of Saint Martin*, fresco, circa 1528, Assisi, Italy, St. Francesco

Castagno, Andrea del, *Vision of Saint Jerome*, fresco, circa 1454–1455, Florence, Italy, SS. Annunziata

Piero della Francesca, *Vision of Constantine*, from *The Legend of the True Cross*, fresco, 1453–1454, Arezzo, Italy, St. Francesco

Lippi, Filippino, *Vision of Saint Bernard*, 1504–1507, Florence, Italy, Accademia

Bartolomeo, Fra, *Vision of St. Bernard*, 1504–1507, Florence, Italy, Accademia

Veronese, Bonifacio, *The Vision of Helena*, oil on canvas, circa 1560s–1570s, London, National Gallery

El Greco, *Vision of Saint Hyacinth*, before 1614, Rochester, New York, University Art Gallery

Subleyras, Pierre, *Vision of Saint Ignatius Loyola*, sketch, before 1749, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie; painting, Salamanca, Spain, Universidad Pontifica

Visions of Immortality

Goes, Hugo van der, *The Death of the Virgin*, circa 1478–1480, Bruges, Belgium, Musée Communal

Carpaccio, Vittore, *Dream of Saint Ursula*, 1495, Venice, Italy, Accademia

Gauguin, Paul, *Vision After the Sermon (Jacob Wrestling with the Angel)*, 1888, Edinburgh, Scotland, National Gallery of Scotland

Apocalyptic Visions

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Garden of Earthly Delights*, 1480–1505, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Dürer, Albrecht, *Seven Trumpets*, illustration of Revelation 8 and 9, from *Apocalypse*, 1498, Bloomington, Indiana University

Meidner, Ludwig, *Apocalyptic City*, 1913, private collection

Meidner, Ludwig, *The Uncertainty of Visions*, 1914, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Marvin and Janet Fishman Collection

Beckmann, Max, *The Dream*, 1921, St. Louis, Missouri, Morton D. May Collection

Grosz, George, *Untitled*, 1920, Düsseldorf, Germany

Hoerle, Heinrich, *Mechanical Men*, 1930, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Marvin and Janet Fishman

Marc, Franz, *Fate of the Animals*, oil on canvas, 1913, Basel, Switzerland, Kunstmuseum

Dreaming

Weyden, Rogier van der, follower of, *Dream of Pope Sergius*, oil on oak panel, circa 1495, Los Angeles, California, J. Paul Getty Museum

Dürer, Albrecht, *Dream of the Doctor (The Dream)*, engraving, 1497–1498

Lotto, Lorenzo, *A Maiden's Dream*, oil on panel, circa 1505, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Penni, Luca, *Dream of Raphael (Melancholy of Michelangelo)*, engraved by Giorgio Ghisi, before 1582

Blake, William, *Europe*, engravings finished in watercolor, 1794, London, British Museum

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North Netherlandish Master, *Allegory of Envy and Sloth*, circa 1490, Antwerp, Belgium, Musée Royal

Goya, Francisco, *Los Caprichos*, etchings, 1794–1799

Goya, Francisco, *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters*, etching 1799

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Gauguin, Paul, *Where Do We Come from, Where Are We Going, Who Are We?*, 1897, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

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 Rivera, Diego, *Dream of a Sunday Afternoon*, fresco, 1947–1948, Mexico City

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 Kahlo, Frida, *Self-Portrait Dreaming*, pencil on paper, 1932, Cuernavaca, Mexico, Rafael Coronel Collection

Dreams and Healing

Temple of Imhotep (Imouthes), Memphis, Egypt

Dreams of National Aspirations

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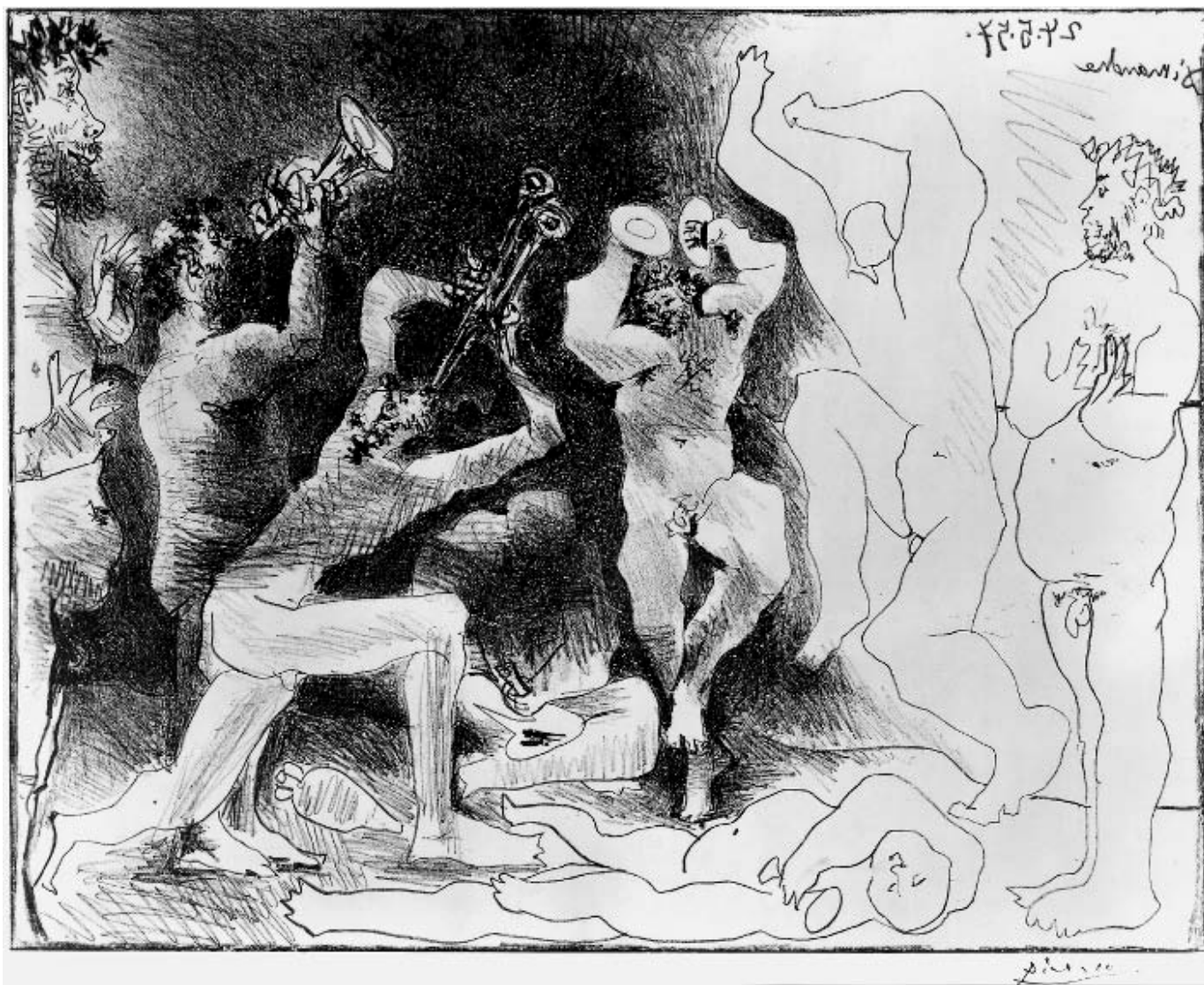


DRUNKENNESS/INTOXICATION

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The following iconographic narratives, genres, motifs, and periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Drunkenness/Intoxication:

EMBLEM	LAPITHS AND CENTAURS	EIGHTEENTH CENTURY:
DIONYSUS/BACCHUS	THE DRUNKENNESS	ENGLAND
SILENUS	OF NOAH	NINETEENTH CENTURY:
BACCHANALS AND RELATED	JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES	FRANCE
SUBJECTS	ANCIENT GREECE	ARTISTS AND ALCOHOL:
THE DRUNKENNESS OF	EARLY NETHERLANDISH	TWENTIETH-CENTURY
HERCULES	SEVENTEENTH CENTURY:	UNITED STATES
THE BLINDING OF	HOLLAND	ARTISTS AND ALCOHOL:
POLYPHEMUS		CHINA



Pablo Picasso, *The Feast of the Fauns*, 1957, lithograph, Harvard University Art Museums, gift of Meta and Paul J. Sachs. (Courtesy of the Harvard University Art Museums)

The act of drinking or offering a drink may refer to conviviality or taste, but a display of drunkenness or intoxication has typically been another matter entirely, as is apparent throughout its iconographic representations. A sixteenth-century emblem depicting a man serving wine to four young women explains:

*En un repas boire un coup, est louable:
Boire deux foyes, est besoing; troys, plaisir:
Quatre foyes boire, est fureur détestable:
Tout le surplus est honte et déplaisir.*

To drink one cup during a meal is praiseworthy,
to drink two is a need; three is for pleasure,
but to drink four cups is indeed detestable,
for all that excess is shameful and unpleasant.
(Henkel and Schöne, p. 272)

Some artists have agreed with this sort of virtue and conviction and illustrated drunkenness and intoxication to portray loose morals, weakness, and sin; others have treated the subject of drunkenness festively, humorously, or dramatically, depending on the context of the narrative or source. Images and stories produced by artists of both schools of thought and taken from Greek and Roman mythology, the Bible, morality tales, and direct observation will be examined and discussed.

Greek and Roman Mythology

The god of wine, known in Greece as Dionysus and in Rome as Bacchus, was delivered from the thigh of his father, Zeus/Jupiter, after his mother, Semele, perished in her lover's fiery embrace. Nursed by the nymphs of Nysa, Dionysus survived through fire and water, like the grapes and wine that were sacred to him (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 3:250–315).

Ancient Greek vase paintings of Dionysus initially characterized the god as a regal, mature, fully clothed, and bearded man—somewhat like Zeus—who demonstrated his love of pleasure with a *kantharos* (drinking horn) in one hand, a thyrsus (a symbol of fertility) in the other, and ivy as his crown (a symbol of his triumph over death). Often he was portrayed in repose, as on a mid-sixth-century black-figure kylix (540–535 B.C.) painted by Exekias where Dionysus lies on a boat entwined with grape vines and surrounded by the Tyrrhenian pirates he had transformed into dolphins (Hedreen, p. 67). On an early fifth-century red-figure stamnos (480–470 B.C.), Dionysus raises his arms jubilantly, a leopard skin tied around his neck, and a goat ripped apart in his hands, a reflection of the animal sacrifices made in his name. Curiously, these early Dionysian images did not display the drunkenness or sexual activity evident in his companions—the silenoi (half-human, half-beast with the hind legs, head, ears, and tail of a horse, and

the shaggy hair and beards of a human), satyrs (a half-human, half-beast at first synonymous with silenoi, then later identified with the pastoral god Pan/Priapus, who had a beard and shaggy hair, as well as a goat's legs, ears, and tail), and maenads (frenzied women who were followers of Dionysus).

In the late fifth century, Dionysus's appearance changed from that of a fully clothed, mature man to that of a seminude youth. This Dionysus and his fellow revelers can be found on a red-figure hydria by the Meidias Painter (circa 400 B.C.) and again in a Roman wall painting in the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii, Italy (circa 50 B.C.), this time with his mortal wife, Ariadne. The late fifth century B.C. also saw an older version of the seminude Dionysus stamped on a Greek bronze coin (circa 460–420 B.C.). In this portrayal, Dionysus is an old, paunchy, bearded man who lumbers along on a donkey, his back toward the animal's head, his legs sprawled over the animal's rump in a state of inebriation. A similar older and drunken Dionysus can be found on a fourth-century B.C. gravestone for the Greek king Philip II (circa 330 B.C.), again seminude, this time embracing or leaning on Ariadne.

The younger and beardless Roman Bacchus influenced future depictions of the god in Italy, evidenced by a Roman wall painting in the Villa Dar Buch Ammera in Libya (early fifth century A.D.); Michelangelo's sculpture of a slightly drunken *Bacchus* (1496–1497); Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* (circa 1520–1522); Caravaggio's *Bacchus* (circa 1595); Annibale Carracci's *The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne* (1604); and Sandro Chia's *Bacchus*. In general, Bacchus represented a “passionate spirit” in stark contrast to Apollo, who represented sobriety and reason (Hall, p. 37).

The handsome and graceful image of Dionysus was not exclusively or universally repeated. In Germany, Hans Baldung Grien created a chubby, boyish god for his engraving *Drunken Bacchus with Putti* (circa 1517); in the Netherlands, Jacob Jordaens invented a middle-aged bearded god with Christlike features for his *The Triumph of Bacchus* (1635–1640); and in Spain, Diego Velázquez portrayed his *Los Borrachos* (circa 1629, *Bacchus Among the Peasants*) as a dark-haired, slightly flabby, coarse-featured teenager amid equally unidealized, seventeenth-century country bumpkins.

Velázquez's contemporary, Jusepe de Ribera, painted an older, ponderous *Dionysos/Bacchus* (circa 1635), whose gray beard and clothing resemble those of the philosophers and apostles of Renaissance and Baroque art. Ribera's composition and concept of Bacchus resemble the *Teoxenia* engraved in Antoine LaFréry's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* (1549), which was itself a copy with some variations of a Roman relief (Darby, p. 140). The decision to paint *Dionysos/Bacchus* in Ribera's case may be linked to his patron, King Philip IV of Spain, who may have considered himself a successor to Bacchus. According to art historian Delphine Fitz Darby,

Rodrigo Caro's 1634 book on the history of the city of Seville describes how Dionysus/Bacchus founded Bética (the ancient name for Cádiz) and ruled until his companion, Pan, took over as regent. The region became known as Pania (Hispania), hence the connection to the Spanish throne (Darby, pp. 146–147).

The god Silenus, a principle companion and mentor for Dionysus, was a lighthearted, chubby old man whose wisdom could spill forth under the influence of wine. Most often, Silenus is shown riding his donkey or reveling among the sileni or satyrs. The earliest known depiction of Silenus appears on a sixth-century Lakonian cup, on which an inscription identifies the figure. He is represented as having an erect penis, with an equine tail and ears, and a shaggy beard. Silenus stands next to a man with a wineskin, indicating that the god had been captured in the only way possible: with an offer of plenty of wine. In later renderings of the god, Silenus's equine features disappear (Carpenter, pp. 76–77).

In literature, Silenus is best known for his part in Euripides' satyr play *Cyclops* (circa 400 B.C.). The humorous story begins with Silenus and his fellow sileni/satyrs captured and enslaved by Polyphemus, the Cyclops. The legendary Greek king Odysseus arrives with his men and together with Silenus they ply the Cyclops with wine until he is drunk. Then Odysseus blinds Polyphemus with a red-hot wooden pole.

In another story recounted by Ovid in *Metamorphoses*, Silenus is found by the legendary King Midas, a follower of Bacchus who knew of their pleasure-loving ways. King Midas feted Silenus for 10 days and then returned him to Bacchus. Happy to see his foster father, Bacchus offered King Midas anything he desired. King Midas asked for the touch of gold, which caused his food to become inedible. Regretful, Midas went to Bacchus to retract his request. In Nicolas Poussin's *King Midas Before Bacchus* (before 1627), the artist depicts a youthful nude Bacchus, a nude Silenus asleep at his side, King Midas down on one knee, revelers in the background, a putti playing with a goat (which was associated with the worship of Bacchus and lust), and a maenad and putto apparently passed out from too much wine.

Although classical literature presents Silenus as wise, in art history he has been associated with evil, gentleness, and foolishness. For example, in Nicola Pisano's *Last Judgment* (1263), a pulpit relief in Siena, Italy, a child wearing a Silenus mask appears among the fallen, a demon now devouring a damned soul (Barasch, p. 18). In Andrea Mantegna's engraving *Bacchanal with Silenus* (early 1470s), Silenus seems to signify gluttony among lust as the hairy satyrs carry his portly body aloft. In the engraving *Silenus with a Group of Children* (circa 1490), he seems gentle and kind, like a fat, nude Santa Claus, as he overlooks a group of cherubs preparing and serving him wine. In Piero di Cosimo's *Discovery of Wine* (circa 1500), a besotted, jolly Silenus arrives on his donkey while nymphs and satyrs rejoice around a tree that harbors bee hives. In the pendant piece, *The Misfortunes of Silenus* (circa 1500), the god falls off his donkey while reaching for the honey in the tree, a broken tree branch broken in his hand from the enormous weight of his fall. On the right side of the work, the maenad and satyrs have begun to help him up, amused by his awkward position; on the left side, nymphs administer mud packs to the bee stings he received. Most unusual of all, Giulio Romano's *Drunken Silenus Put to Bed by Nymphs and Satyrs* (circa

1527) portrays a sad old man in a toga, rather than in the nude, a man somewhat frail or vulnerable in demeanor. In this rendering, Silenus looks like a philosopher or prophet.

Annibale Carracci created two different types of Silenus, both with equine ears. In *Bacchus and Silenus* (circa 1599), Silenus appears somewhat youthful and hefty, rather than chubby, and sits on the ground next to an adolescent, pipe-playing Bacchus. In *Silenus Gathering Grapes* (circa 1599), he is perhaps the same age or older than in the previous rendering, rounder, and held aloft on an animal skin by two spirited men. In Carracci's *Drunken Silenus* (circa 1599), a series of sketches and engravings for a silver cup and basket, an older and fatter Silenus lies beneath a bower while a Silenus and satyr fill his mouth with wine from a wineskin.

Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony Van Dyck, teacher and student, presented Silenus in two different lights. Rubens's dark-haired *Drunken Silenus* (1618) is troubling, the god portrayed staggering about in a lascivious crowd of maenads, satyrs, and putti. Much more amusing is the white-haired Silenus in *The Triumph of Silenus* (circa 1620) encircled by a merry company. Disdainful of the old mythological lush, Van Dyck thrust the weighty, flabby body of Silenus toward the spectator in both of his *Drunken Silenus* paintings (circa 1618 and 1620, respectively), causing both the revelers who support the falling drunk, as well as the viewer of the painting itself, to recoil at such a pathetic sight.

Ribera painted a reclining *Drunken Silenus* (1627) and engraved a similar picture in 1629 in which the bloated Silenus lifts his cup high while one of his attending satyrs pours. Darby has claimed that Ribera meant to scorn idleness by portraying a Silenus who is “. . . losing his shape and sex and strength of limb, [and] lies on his belly like the tortoise and the snake [alongside him] while the goat-men speed his degradation and the cynical ass utters those aspirates that are universally recognized as a cry of derision” (p. 148).

Honoré Daumier drew *The Drunkenness of Silenus* in 1850, probably influenced by Titian's *Triumph of Silenus* (which was available in an etching and engraving by Nicolas Delaunay the Elder in 1777) and Théodore Géricault's drawing of *The Triumph of Silenus* (circa 1816), which was at that time in Paris. Art historians T. J. Clark and B. Laughton believe that Daumier's Silenus looks so particularized that he probably is a caricature of an individual, such as Dr. Véron, the publisher of the newspaper *Constitutional* and a frequent target of Daumier's satire at the time (Ives et al., p. 106).

While Daumier's Silenus seemed slightly sinister, Jules Dalou's sculpture *The Triumph of Silenus* (1885) was considered obscene. Purchased by the French government and placed in the Luxembourg Gardens in Paris, the work consists of an old, naked Silenus teetering atop his donkey, fellow revelers on either side. With legs astride, his torso leaning back, and his penis thrust forward, this Silenus shocked Parisian mothers who requested the immediate removal of the sculpture from the gardens (Le Normand, p. 166).

A Silenus with ivy wreathed around his loins stumbles along a country path in Lovis Corinth's *Homewardbound Bacchantes* (1898). The god is depicted as a portly old drunk staggering along in the company of two young nude maenads and two satyrs. Lost in his stupor, Silenus may be at the end of both his journey home after a festive night as well as his life, so

strong is Corinth's contrast between tired old age and youthful exuberance.

Bacchanals and Related Subjects

In the *Barberini Faun* (circa 220 B.C.), a satyr sleeps off his fill of wine and sexual pleasure. His head is crooked, an allusion to his previous drunken state, and his legs are splayed in a suggestive pose. The satyr epitomizes everything that they and the sileni and maenads symbolized for ancient Greeks and subsequent generations: vulgarity, eroticism, intemperance, and barbarism. The sileni, satyrs/fauns, maenads, and nymphs are creatures often depicted in the company of Dionysus/Bacchus, and sometimes on their own, engaged in orgies known as bacchanals or bacchanalia.

In many sixth-century vase paintings, the sileni and satyrs became one and the same. Looking more like men than centaurs, these creatures had equine ears and tails, shaggy hair and beards, and prodigious phalli, evidence of their hearty sexual appetite. They were usually shown drunk, dancing, playing musical instruments, preparing wine, or in the act of sexual conquest. On a black-figure Attic vase by the Amasis Painter (circa 530 B.C.), sileni/satyrs prepare wine on one side of the vase and imbibe with Dionysus on the other side. Another black-figure Attic vase in Boston's Museum of Fine Arts (circa 520 B.C.) shows tiny sileni/satyrs climbing grapevines surrounding a giant Dionysus, who raises a *kantharos* to his lips.

Guy Hedreen's book *Silens in Attic Black-Figure Vase Painting* (1992) points out that some sileni/satyr scenes do not come from a particular literary text but rather from performances of satyr plays or spectacles. Thus, the physical appearance of the sileni/satyrs on the vases may correspond to the costumes and dances of the period (p. 128).

Maenads (bacchantes or Bacchae) were women who shared the satyrs' love of wine and sexual abandon. On a vase by the Kleophrades Painter (circa 500–490 B.C.), a satyr plays his pipes while a maenad lifts her head, opens her mouth to shout, and shakes her phallic thyrsus. Her actions are ecstatic and sexually charged; she appears to be drunk on wine and sexual gratification.

In general, sileni, satyrs, and maenads represent the wild side of human nature, the reciprocal of reason and discipline. During the Italian Renaissance, satyrs were associated with evil and lust (Kaufmann, p. 81), as in Andrea Mantegna's engraving *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat* (early 1470s), which shows satyrs, putti, and revelers drinking or passed out around a large wine vat. A pendant to Mantegna's *Bacchanal with Silenus*, *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat* presents these revelers in a darker light, suggesting a nocturnal setting and a corrupt atmosphere.

Titian's *Bacchanal* (1523–1525), set on the sunny and dreamy island of Andros, depicts the jubilation of drunken abandon. Based on Philostratus's description of a mythical place where drinking, lovemaking, and singing songs in praise of wine are a way of life, the inhabitants of Andros examine, imbibe, urinate, and sleep off the wine, while Dionysus's ship remains moored in the misty background. To reinforce the focus on wine and drinking, Titian placed a sheet of music in the foreground upon which a French drinking song is written: "*Chi boyt et ne reboyt / Il ne scet que boyre soit*" (He who

drinks and does not drink again / Does not know what drinking is) (Panofsky, p. 100).

Inspired by Titian's *Bacchanal*, which was then in Ferrara, Italy, Poussin painted his own series of bacchanals and narratives about Bacchus's life. Among these works are *The Andrians* (early 1630s), *The Triumph of Silenus* (1635–1636), and *Bacchanal Before a Herm* (1635–1640)—all of which display the joyous side of excessive drinking. Centuries later during World War II, Pablo Picasso, inspired by Poussin's *Triumph of Pan* (1638), painted a riotous *Bacchanal* as Paris was being liberated from Nazi occupation. A second Picasso lithograph on this theme, entitled *Feast of the Fauns* (1957), has four revelers playing instruments and dancing, two clapping, and two sleeping off too much wine.

The Drunkenness of Hercules

Early depictions of a drunken Hercules, the mythical Greek hero, often appear in Dionysian scenes on Roman sarcophagi, such as two from the second century A.D. and one from the third century A.D. Rubens may have been familiar with these sarcophagi (Huemer, p. 566). He certainly knew of a relief, now known from a 1779 engraving, where a besotted Hercules leans against a satyr and what appears to be a man (Stechow, p. 34). In Rubens's *Drunken Hercules* (1604), the mythological hero leans on the shoulders of a female and male satyr while a maenad dances behind and a satyr and putto walk alongside.

A singular purpose or meaning behind Rubens's *Drunken Hercules* is not clear. We know that this painting and *The Virtuous Hero Crowned* (circa 1611) belonged to the Dresden Art Gallery in Germany in 1905 (Rosenberg). More recently, however, art historian Kerry Downes traced the latter work's origins to a collection in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, Germany. Downes suggests that the two works are pendants but cannot account for the literary subject in *The Virtuous Hero Crowned* (Downes, p. 28). Perhaps as pendants the paintings were meant to portray Hercules at the crossroads, a fable invented by the Greek philosopher Prodicus and set down by Xenophon in *Memorabilia* (circa 400 B.C., *Memoires of Socrates*) (Hall, p. 152). The Prodicus fable describes how Hercules was forced to choose between the symbolic characters of Virtue and Vice: Virtue who offered fame, and Vice who offered a life of debauchery.

In Rubens's *The Virtuous Hero Crowned*, a knight—perhaps Hercules—is crowned with laurels by a nude winged woman personifying victory. The hero treads upon Silenus, who lies beneath a snake: an attribute for a follower of Dionysus/Bacchus and a symbol of evil. On the knight's right side, a nude Venus (the Roman goddess of love), a maenad, and a putto look on, apparently spurned by this pure-hearted fellow. If this hero is indeed Hercules, this panel shows him defeating Vice by choosing Virtue. In *Drunken Hercules*, Hercules seems to have chosen Vice, as he is captured leaning on two satyrs who could be said to represent Gluttony and Lust.

The Blinding of Polyphemus

The defeat of the Cyclops Polyphemus was accomplished by Odysseus and his men with wine and a wooden pole to the

giant's eye. In Euripides' late fifth-century play *Cyclops*, Silenus and his fellow satyrs are prisoners on Polyphemus's island. Odysseus arrives, and he and Silenus proceed to get Polyphemus drunk, whereupon Polyphemus drags Silenus to his bed. The opportunity is right, and Odysseus pierces the Cyclops's eye with a red-hot wooden pole. In Homer's earlier version, told in *The Odyssey* (circa 720 B.C.), Odysseus and his warriors act in unison to blind the drunken monster. *The Blinding of Polyphemus* (circa 675–650 B.C.) is featured on the neck of the Eleusis Amphora vase and in a Hellenistic sculpture group (late first century B.C.) found in Sperlonga, outside of Rome.

Lapiths and Centaurs

To fifth-century B.C. Athenians, the battle of the human Lapiths and the beastly centaurs represented the triumph of civilization over barbarism, reason over irrationality, order over chaos, as well as the Athenian victory over the Persians (Pollitt, pp. 81–82). Whether painted on a kylix interior by the Foundry Painter (circa 490–480 B.C.), sculpted for the pediment of the Temple to Zeus at Olympia, Greece (465–457 B.C.), or as the metopes for the Parthenon (447–443 B.C.), the significance of the Lapiths defeating the drunken, vulgar centaurs remained the same. The battle takes place at the wedding of the Lapith king, Pirithous, to Hippodamia. At the height of the celebration, a drunken centaur named Eurytus tries to abduct the bride, throwing the whole party into a violent rage (Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, 12:210–535). During the Renaissance, the theme's popularity and significance was renewed, evidenced by Piero di Cosimo's and Michelangelo's interpretations.

The Drunkenness of Noah

The story of Noah appears in several medieval and Renaissance examples: the fifth- or sixth-century *Cotton Genesis* manuscript; the twelfth-century mosaics in the nave of Monreale Cathedral in Sicily (circa 1183); the thirteenth-century mosaics in San Marco Basilica in Venice, Italy; the late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century frescos executed by Pietro di Puccio d'Orvieto and Benozzo Gozzoli in the Campo Santo in Pisa, Italy; a fifteenth-century painting by Paolo Uccello in Sta. Maria Novella in Florence, Italy; Lorenzo Ghiberti's fifteenth-century reliefs on the Baptistry in Florence; Jacopo della Quercia's fifteenth-century relief in Bologna, Italy; Michelangelo's early sixteenth-century frescos in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican; Bernardino Luini's sixteenth-century painting in the Pinacoteca di Brera in Milan, Italy; and Antonio Zanchi's seventeenth-century painting, now in a private collection.

Benozzo Gozzoli's *Drunkenness of Noah* (1469) typifies most artistic interpretations of this narrative. On the left side of the fresco, Noah cultivates his vineyards; in the middle he drinks the wine produced from his grapes; and on the right side, having fallen asleep drunk, Noah lies naked in his tent where his youngest son, Ham, sees his father naked. Ham tells his brothers, Shem and Japheth, what he has seen. Shem and Japheth avert their eyes and cover their father's nakedness (Genesis, 9:20–23). In most representations of the story, all the personages are clothed except for the drunken Noah, except in Michelangelo's fresco *The Drunkenness of Noah* (1508–1512),

in which all of the sons are nude beneath their capes as they stand over the uncovered Noah.

Interpretations of the significance of Noah's drunkenness vary. Don Cameron Allen, in his book *The Legend of Noah: Renaissance Rationalism in Art, Science and Letters* (1949), points out that the attitude toward the Noah story shifts over time from a medieval symbol of salvation, to a Renaissance commentary that emphasizes the loss of human life through the power of an angry God (portrayed best in Michelangelo's Sistine version) (Allen, p. 173). Both Allen and art historian Charles de Tolnay agree that in Michelangelo's fresco, the healthy, muscular bodies of the sons are in contrast to the old withered flesh of Noah, and thus refer to a confrontation between youth and old age (Allen, p. 173; de Tolnay, 2:25). Robert S. Liebert, in his *Michelangelo: A Psychoanalytic Study of His Life and Images* (1983), extended this observation to a personal level, suggesting that the confrontation between the sons and a fallen father reflected the artist's feelings about his own father's weakness and failures (pp. 40–41).

Liebert and iconographer James Hall also refer to the Christian interpretation of Noah's drunkenness. Noah's salvation prefigures the resurrection of Christ, and the scene between the father and his sons, who cover him in shame, can also be understood as the sons' derision, which prefigures the mocking of Christ by humankind (his "children"). A cup or jug, as in Antonio Zanchi's *Drunken Noah* (1697), left beside the slumbering Noah prefigures the wine of the Eucharist (Liebert, p. 41; Hall, p. 225).

In rabbinical commentary, Ham castrates Noah, reminiscent of the castration of Uranus by his son Cronus/Saturn in classical mythology. In *The Drunkenness of Noah* (1974), Hirsch H. Cohen pursues the sexual overtones of this interpretation by relating the biblical story to the east Mediterranean belief that wine creates sexual potency (i.e., Dionysus and his companions). To support his thesis, Cohen cites the passage in the Bible following the flood and before Noah cultivates the land, where God beseeches Noah to repopulate the Earth (Genesis 9:7). This passage calls into play Noah's sexuality and potency. Cohen then explains the word *tent* in the text may be translated as "her tent," and we may infer that Noah was found in his wife's tent. When Ham finds his father drunk and "uncovered," he is confronted with his father's sexuality, and he has looked at his father's potency or power. It was believed then that the act of looking brought about acquisition. The text (and perhaps iconography) is about the brothers' witnessing Ham's acquisition of power through beholding his father's penis (or what rabbinical commentary has interpreted as removing the penis). However, the acquisition of the power is denied. For, when Noah wakes and hears about what has happened, he curses Ham by condemning Ham's son, Canaan, to servitude among his brethren, nullifying what Ham might have acquired through sight (Cohen, pp. 1–30).

Judith and Holofernes

Wine, sex, and murder contribute to an act of heroism in *The Book of Judith*, a part of the Apocrypha written during the second century B.C. (Garrard, p. 281). In this story, the victim, rather than the hero or heroine, becomes drunk and loses his power and his life as a result.

The story begins with Judith, a Jewish widow, who takes it upon herself to end the war between her town, Bethulia, and the Assyrians. To accomplish her mission, Judith dresses in her finest clothes and goes to the Assyrian camp with her maid, Abra. Dazzling the guards with her beauty, she tells them that she has come to help Holofernes, the Assyrian general. She meets Holofernes, charms him with wine and the promise of herself until he becomes so drunk he falls asleep on his bed. Once he is asleep, Judith seizes the opportunity and beheads him with his own sword. Devastated over the loss of their leader, the army loses its purpose and decides to surrender.

In most representations, the assassination has already taken place, and Judith holds the head of Holofernes like a trophy, or a saint's attribute. However, in a few examples, such as the *Bible of Charles the Bald* (circa A.D. 879), Caravaggio's *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (1598–1599), and Artemisia Gentileschi's *Judith Beheading Holofernes* (circa 1612–1613), the deed takes place before the viewer's eyes. In the *Bible of Charles the Bald*, Holofernes continues to sleep as Judith cuts off his head, but in Caravaggio's and Gentileschi's paintings, his bloodshot eyes are wide open, conveying a last moment of terror as the sword slices through his neck. Although Judith achieved her goals through wine, seduction, and deception, within a Christian context she is considered a prefiguration of the Virgin in her triumph over the Devil (Garrard, p. 292).

Ancient Greece

Moderation was the credo of Hellenic culture but not necessarily the practice of its people. Thus, drinking vessels featured Dionysus and humorous bacchanals in order to celebrate the joys of drinking and the consequences of drinking too much. The Brygos Painter seems to admonish young drinkers in a beautifully rendered red-figure vase painting (circa 490 B.C.) that portrays a scene between a young man and young woman in which both are standing. The young man leans on a staff and seems to be vomiting from too much wine while the young woman holds his head. The delineation of the figures and the subject itself are as fresh and relevant as they were when they were created.

A sculpture of a drunken old woman sitting with a wine bottle in her lap was created during the Hellenistic period, when realism came into vogue, around the late second to early first century B.C. The purpose behind the production of this particular piece is still a matter of conjecture. Art historian and archaeologist Jerome Jordan Pollitt points out in his *Art and Experience in Classical Greece* (1972) that such rustic characters probably come from the Roman period and may have been “used to create a fanciful, illusionistic rural atmosphere in villas or baths” (p. 144) or “were connected with rustic festivals like the Lagynophoria at Alexandria” (p. 146).

Early Netherlandish

In his book *Hieronymus Bosch* (1973), Walter W. Gibson relates two Bosch works, *Ship of Fools* and *Intemperance* (both circa 1495), to an adage by the Roman playwright Terence, “*Sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus*” (Without Ceres and Bacchus, Venus freezes) (p. 46). Gibson notes: “that Gluttony and drunkenness lead to Lust was a lesson that the moralizers never tired of driving home to their audiences” (ibid.). Bosch was just such

a moralizer, one who frequently drew upon contemporary sermons and didactic literature for his images (p. 7).

Art historian Charles D. Cuttler links *Ship of Fools* to Sebastian Brant's poem *Das Narrenschiff* (1494, *The Ship of Fools*), which was translated into Latin (1497), French (1498), and Flemish (1500)—any of which Bosch might have read (Cuttler, p. 172). Gibson also credits the popular medieval concept of the “ship of the church” that guided Christian souls to the “port of heaven” and the “ship of religion” featured in Guillaume de Deguileville's fourteenth-century poem *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man* as relevant to this painting (p. 41).

In *Ship of Fools*, Bosch crowds a merry company of two nuns, one monk, several peasants, and a fool into a small vessel. The fool is perched above the rest of the figures in the branches of a barren tree that serves as the vessel's rudder—the mast of the ship is a live tree rich in foliage. One nun strums a lute (a symbol of love) and sings. The monk sits opposite her and appears to be singing as he bobs for a pancake that hangs between them. The pancake hangs over a board upon which we see a drinking cup and a bowl of cherries. Next to the board a metal wine jug dangles, its strap held by a nearby peasant. The other nun leans toward him and gestures toward the metal jug with one hand while she holds a carafe in the other. This man and woman also exchange a glance of, perhaps, amorous intention. (Gibson points out that a similar wine jug and plate of cherries appear in the “Lust” portion of Bosch's *Retable* [p. 41]). In the water, one swimmer clutches at the hull and another swimmer reaches up with a bowl or cup. Meanwhile, a member of the party on board has ascended the mast and is about to cut down a roasted fowl tied to the tree's branches, as an owl (a symbol of foolishness or stupidity during this period) oversees the festivities from the uppermost branches.

Bosch's *Intemperance* also features drinking, food, and lust. In this work, a clothed fellow sits astride a wine barrel while four swimmers gather around his vessel. One swimmer lifts his cup to the spigot, which releases the barrel's contents. A fifth swimmer passes by with a meat pie on his head. To the right a couple drink and stare into each other's eyes as they sit inside a tent.

Gibson and other art historians explain that these two paintings portray two of the Seven Deadly Sins: gluttony and lust. Thus, they may be part of a larger program. According to compelling evidence published by art historians Lotte Brand Philip, Charles Seymour, and Anne M. Morganstern, *The Ship of Fools* and *Intemperance* were probably two halves of one panel (with the former on the top and the latter on the bottom), a panel that was probably part of an altarpiece (Morganstern).

A similar spirit of folly and moralizing occurs in *Combat Between Carnival and Lent* (1559) by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. More ambitious in its depiction of a town square and its people on Fat Tuesday, it too includes a stout fellow “riding” a barrel of wine, here with a skewer full of meat pies lifted like a knight's lance, ready for battle. Close by, aimed toward the stout fellow, a slender priest brandishes a shovel full of fish. Together they symbolize the license and limitations of the Lenten season.

Seventeenth Century: Holland

Seventeenth-century Dutch paintings of ordinary life called attention to moral issues as Bosch and Bruegel paintings did so

many years before. Tavern scenes painted by Adriaen Brouwer and Adriaen van Ostade in the 1630s show peasants drinking and brawling in an effort to moralize about gluttony, and Jan Steen's *Tavern Scene* (mid-1660s) dramatizes the correlation between gluttony and lust.

In Steen's painting, a young well-dressed woman sits in the center of a tavern as an older man, sitting at her side, offers her a glass of wine. Judging by her ungainly posture, her legs spread open beneath her skirt, she has already had plenty to drink and is ready to accept the advances of the man. Her hand is out and open, palm up, indicating that she expects payment for her favors, and on the ground before her are broken eggshells, perhaps a symbol of her easy virtue (eggs were then considered an aphrodisiac and a symbol for the female gender).

An egg accompanied by wine and oysters (two other aphrodisiacs) appear on a table prepared before another amorous client in Hendrik Gerritsz Pot's painting *Scene in a Bordello* (early 1630s). The moral here may be of a *vanitas* (vanity) theme. In this painting an old procuress receives payment for the young prostitute as the client looks on. The *vanitas* theme may be understood through the juxtaposition of youth and old age.

Eighteenth Century: England

William Hogarth also associated gluttony with lust in *The Orgy*, scene III of *The Rake's Progress*, executed in oil in 1734 and in print in 1735. *The Rake's Progress*, a morality play told in eight etchings, focuses on T. Rakewell, Esq., who inherits the wealth of a rich old man, squanders everything, marries an older woman, squanders her money too, and then ends up in jail.

The Orgy shows a very drunk Rakewell sitting at a table surrounded by prostitutes and clients in a brothel. As the Rake wallows in his inebriation, two prostitutes surreptitiously pick his pockets. In the foreground, a woman prepares to dance while, on the left side, a servant holds a platter with a candle in front of it. Hogarth's interpreter Ronald Paulson explains in *The Art of Hogarth* (1975):

. . . with the dancing girl and the platter, on which she will dance, the beheaded portraits [on the wall] suggest the iconography of Salomé and the platter on which John the Baptist's head was served up. The Rake, in this scene, is going to be both Herod, for whom she dances, and John, whose head she serves up. He is still the judge of the *Judgment of Paris* (on the wall in [scene] 2) and Nero; but he is also being cheated, robbed, gulled, and literally 'burnt up' (like the 'totus mundus' the whore is setting afire) by the syphilis he will catch from the whores" (p. 105).

Nineteenth Century: France

In nineteenth-century Paris, the sight of an absinthe drinker seemed to symbolize all the ills of modern urbanization: alienation, dehumanization, and escapism. This potent anise-flavored drink, made with wormwood, aggressively attacked the nervous system and eventually produced dementia. Because of its deleterious effects, absinthe was eventually banned in France

and other countries, but its significance has not been forgotten. Unlike wine or beer, which were associated with conviviality and sexual encounters, absinthe was a drink associated with losers, loners, and the lonely because the liquor worked at separating the drinker from his immediate world.

In 1863 Daumier produced a lithograph entitled *L'Absinthe, ça vous remonte un homme* (Absinthe, It Makes You a Man), which features two men at a cafe table set against a room full of customers. The man on the left side of the table leans forward, eyes half-closed, mouth slackened, demonstrating the full effects of an absinthe stupor, while his cafe partner sits erect, puffing on his pipe with arms crossed in front of a pitcher and glass of beer. The contrast between the two characters—one who retreats into oblivion and one who remains in control—underscores the artist's sarcastic title and warns against the ill effects of absinthe addiction.

In a less narrative mode, Édouard Manet isolates his *Absinthe Drinker* (1859) with a solid dark background. He is the ragpicker Colardet dressed in his usual eccentric fashion. His enormous black top hat nearly obscures his eyes, and his cape is wrapped around his torso like a serape. He sits on a stone wall or parapet all alone with an empty bottle lying at his feet and a glass of absinthe on the wall beside him. The absinthe, the "green goddess," glows in the darkness of the painting like a ghostly apparition.

Also moralizing, Edgar Degas places a man and a woman at a table across the room from the spectator in his *Glass of Absinthe* (1876). The woman, at the center of the composition, is the model Ellen Andrée, and the man, squeezed into the right side of the canvas, is the artist Marcellin Desboutin. They sit side by side as he stares wearily into space and she looks down into her glass of absinthe, lost in a drunken stupor. Their isolation from each other, which seems full of despair and estrangement, turns this unremarkable candid moment into a haunting and disturbing image.

Artists and Alcohol: Twentieth-Century United States

In the midst of the cubist epoch, when painting itself seemed "drunk" with its own expressionism, Marc Chagall drew *The Drunkard* (1911), an ink and gouache of a young man sitting at a square table with his head falling nearly upside down from his neck. In his right hand a cup is displaying the truncated Russian words *na zdorovye* (to health); in his left hand is a cigarette or cigar; and lying on the table is a bottle that spills its contents in a well-executed meander. Here everything is oddly positioned, tipped in strange directions—literally "tipsy"—especially the sharp angle of the table, all of which cause the viewer to feel kinesthetically the effects of too much alcohol.

That same year, Chagall produced another gouache also entitled *The Drunkard*, this of a seated, decapitated imbibor buttoning his jacket with his right hand and holding a knife in his left. His torso seems to fall away from his floating head, the mouth open in anticipation of the green bottle below its lips. A bowl of fruit and one tiny fish lie on the table, and an upside down painting of a red donkey hangs on the background wall. The mustard yellow of the head, body, table, and wall unify the composition and add an offbeat playfulness to the protosurrealist atmosphere. Ten years later, Chagall's oil painting *The*

Drunkard (1921) also depicted a seated decapitated drinker fingering a jacket button and holding a knife, although in this version the bowl on the table holds a two-headed bird. And while the little fish remains, the picture of a donkey has disappeared.

Most artists portray someone other than themselves as a drunk, but in Elizabeth Murray's *Undoing* (1989–1990), the artist refers to her own problem with alcoholism (Wadsworth, p. 37). Made of three overlapping sheets of paper centered around a hole, Murray creates a vortex of serpentine lines formed from the liquid flowing out of two floating bottles and some oddly floating cords (which some critics have seen as umbilical cords). One hand and two kicking legs emerge from the dark green and brown background. The peculiar angle of the feet and the irregular meander of the serpentine cords create a dizzying effect, like a state of intoxication. One bottle pours its contents toward the central hole, leading the viewer's eye to what may be a mouth, drain, or abyss. In Chagall and Murray's work, the spirit of playfulness counterbalances references to self-destruction: in Chagall's two later versions of *The Drunkard* the figure holds a knife, and in Murray's *Undoing* all forms center around one dark emptiness.

With the rise of the study of psychology during the twentieth century, the artist's response to drunkenness shifted from ridicule or condemnation to analysis and, in some cases, introspection. Certainly, Murray's *Undoing* is a testimony to the latter, and such films as *The Lost Weekend* (1945), *Days of Wine and Roses* (1962), and *Leaving Las Vegas* (1995) reflect the former, providing a more sympathetic view of alcoholism that remains, nevertheless, moralistic.

Artists and Alcohol: China

In China, poets and painters responded differently to the drunken character. Yi Ch'ang-Wu, a Ming Dynasty artist, painted *A Drunkard* of a poet who staggers along in an inebriated oblivion as he leans his portly body on a friend. Chiang Yee, in *The Chinese Eye: An Interpretation of Chinese Painting* (1936), explains, "There is an atmosphere of past glory, as if at any moment the scene might become terrestrial and sordid,—that which had just now been rich in poetry, music and joy" (p. 123). The poet Li Po, a legendary drunk, may have been an inspiration for this work.

Tao-Chi, an artist from the Ch'ing Dynasty, painted *Drunk in Autumn Woods* during the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century. The tiny figures lost in the multiple tiers of trees, grass, and streams that lead to misty mountains bring to mind a poem by the twelfth-century poet Yang Wan-li entitled "On a Portrait of Myself":

The pure wind makes me chant poems.
The bright moon urges me to drink.
Intoxicated, I fall among the flowers,
heaven my blanket, earth my pillow.

In both Tao-Chi's painting and Yang Wan-li's poem, a reference to drunkenness in nature evokes a sense of pleasure and peace.

See also Bacchanalia/Orgy; Ecstasy

Selected Works of Art

Emblem

A Goblet Reached for Many Times, illustration in *La Morosophie*, by Gillaume de la Perrire, 1553

Dionysus/Bacchus

Exekias, *The Voyage of Dionysos*, black-figure kylix, 540–535 B.C., Munich, Germany, Staatliche Antikensammlungen

The Dance of Dionysus, Greek red-figure stamos, 480–470 B.C., London, British Museum

Meidias Painter, *Dionysus Surrounded by Members of His Entourage*, red-figure hydria, circa 400 B.C., Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum

Dionysus Riding a Donkey, Greek bronze coin, circa 460–420 B.C., Athens, Greece, Numismatic Museum

Dionysus and Ariadne, Hellenic sculpture for the grave of Philip II, circa 330 B.C., Thessaloniki, Archaeological Museum

Bacchus on a Panther, wall painting from Villa Dar Buch Ammera, early fifth century A.D., Tripoli, Libya Museum
Michelangelo, *Bacchus*, sculpture, 1496–1497, Florence, Italy, Museo Nazionale

Titian, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1520–1522, London, National Gallery

Caravaggio, *Bacchus*, circa 1595, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Carracci, Annibale, *The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, fresco, 1604, Rome, Palazzo Farnese

Carracci, Annibale, *The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, circa 1604, Vienna, Austria, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

Chia, Sandro, *Bacchus*, sculpture, Fessenburg-Offenburg, Germany, State Park

Baldung Grien, Hans, *Drunken Bacchus with Putti*, pen and ink drawing, circa 1517, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett Sammlung der Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik

Jordaens, Jacob, *The Triumph of Bacchus*, 1635–1640, Kassel, Germany, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

Velázquez, Diego, *Bacchus Among the Peasants*, circa 1629, Madrid, Prado

Ribera, Jusepe de, *Dionysos/Bacchus*, circa 1635, Madrid, Prado

Triumph of Bacchus, copy after a lost painting by Jusepe de Ribera, London, John Cooper Collection

Silenus

Poussin, Nicolas, *King Midas Before Bacchus*, before 1627, Munich, Germany, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen

Pisano, Nicola, *Last Judgment*, relief on pulpit, 1263, Siena, Italy, Duomo

Mantegna, Andrea, *Bacchanal with Silenus*, engraving and drypoint, early 1470s, Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees

Silenus with a Group of Children, engraving, circa 1490, London, British Museum

Brescia, Giovanni Antonio da, *Silenus with a Group of Children*, circa 1500–1504, Vienna, Austria, Graphische Sammlung Albertina

Romano, Giulio, *Drunken Silenus Put to Bed by Nymphs and Satyrs*, circa 1527, Mantua, Palazzo de Te, Sala delle Metamorfosi

Carracci, Annibale, *Bacchus and Silenus*, circa 1599, London, National Gallery

Carracci, Annibale, *Silenus Gathering Grapes*, circa 1599, London, National Gallery

Carracci, Annibale, *Drunken Silenus (Tazza Farnese)*, circa 1599, Naples, Italy, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali de Capodimonte

Carracci, Annibale, study for *Tazza Farnese*, drawing, circa 1599, London, British Museum

Carracci, Annibale, *Drunken Silenus (Paniere Farnese)*, engraving on silver by Francesco Villamena, circa 1599, Naples, Italy, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali de Capodimonte

Carracci, Annibale, study for *Paniere Farnese*, drawing, circa 1599, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Drunken Silenus*, 1618, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek

Van Dyck, Anthony, *Drunken Silenus*, circa 1618, Brussels, Belgium, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique

Rubens, Peter Paul, Studio of, *The Triumph of Silenus*, circa 1620, London, National Gallery

Van Dyck, Anthony, *Drunken Silenus*, circa 1620, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Ribera, Jusepe de, *The Drunken Silenus*, 1627, Naples, Italy, Museo e Galleria Nazionali de Capodimonte

Ribera, Jusepe de, *The Drunken Silenus*, engraving, 1629, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art

Delaunay, Nicolas the Elder, *The Triumph of Silenus*, etching and engraving, 1777, Frankfurt am Main, Germany, Städtisches Kunstinstitut und Städtische Galerie

Géricault, Théodore, *The Triumph of Silenus*, drawing, circa 1816–1817, Orléans, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Daumier, Honoré, *The Drunkenness of Silenus*, drawing, 1850, Alençon, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la Dentelle

Dalou, Jules, *The Triumph of Silenus*, sculpture, 1885, Paris, Luxembourg Gardens

Corinth, Lovis, *Homewardbound Bacchantes*, 1898, Wuppertal, Germany, Von der Heydt-Museum

Bacchanals and Related Subjects

Barberini Faun, circa 220 B.C., Munich, Germany, Staatliche Antikensammlungen

Amasis Painter, *Silenus Preparing Wine*, black-figure amphora, circa 530 B.C., Würzburg, Germany, Martin von Wagner Museum

Dionysos, *Satyrs and Grape-Vines*, Attic black-figure amphora, circa 520 B.C., Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Kleophrades Painter, *Satyrs and Maenads*, red-figure amphora, circa 500–490 B.C., Munich, Germany, Antike Kleinkunst Museum

Mantegna, Andrea, *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat*, engraving, early 1470s, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Brescia, Giovanni Antonio da, *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat*, engraving, circa 1500, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Piero di Cosimo, *The Discovery of Wine*, circa 1500, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg museum of Art

Bacchanal with a Wine Vat, engraving, circa 1510–1515, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Titian, *Bacchanal*, 1523–1525, Madrid, Prado

Poussin, Nicolas, *The Andrians*, early 1630s, Paris, Louvre

Poussin, Nicolas, *The Triumph of Silenus*, copy, 1635–1636, London, National Gallery

Poussin, Nicolas, *Bacchanal Before a Herm*, 1635–1640, London, National Gallery

Poussin, Nicolas, *Triumph of Pan*, 1638, Sudely Castle, England

Picasso, Pablo, *Bacchanal, After Poussin*, watercolor and gouache, 1944

Picasso, Pablo, *Feast of the Fauns*, lithograph, 1957, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum

The Drunkenness of Hercules

Dionysiac Sarcophagus, Roman, second century A.D., Naples, Italy, Museo Nazionale

Dionysiac Sarcophagus, Roman, second century A.D., Rome, Capitoline Museum

Dionysos and Ariadne, Roman relief on sarcophagus, third century A.D., Rome, Vatican Museum

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Drunken Hercules*, 1604, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

The Blinding of Polyphemus

The Blinding of Polyphemus, vase painting, proto-Attic, circa 675–650 B.C., Eleusis, Greece, Archaeological Museum

Lapiths and Centaurs

Foundry Painter, *Lapith and Centaur*, red-figure kylix, circa 490–480 B.C., Munich, Germany, Staatliche Antikensammlungen

Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, Greek sculpture, circa 465–457 B.C., Olympia, Greece, west pediment of Temple of Zeus

Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs, Greek sculpture, circa 447–443, B.C., metopes for the Parthenon, London, British Museum

Michelangelo, *Battle of Lapiths and Centaurs*, 1500, London, National Gallery

Piero di Cosimo, *The Battle of Lapiths and Centaurs*, 1500, London, National Gallery

The Drunkenness of Noah

The Drunkenness of Noah, Christian illuminated manuscript, fifth or sixth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

The Drunkenness of Noah, Italo-Byzantine mosaic, circa 1183, Monreale, Sicily, nave of the Cathedral of Monreale

The Drunkenness of Noah, Italo-Byzantine mosaic, thirteenth century, Venice, Italy, San Marco Basilica

Ghiberti, Lorenzo, *The Drunkenness of Noah*, relief, early fifteenth century, Florence, Italy, north doors of Baptistry

Quercia, Jacopo della, *The Drunkenness of Noah*, relief, 1425–1438, Bologna, Italy, portal of San Petronio
 Uccello, Paolo, *The Drunkenness of Noah*, fresco, circa 1450, Florence, Italy, Sta. Maria Novella
 Gozzoli, Benozzo, *The Drunkenness of Noah*, fresco, 1469, Pisa, Italy, Campo Santo
 Michelangelo, *The Drunkenness of Noah*, fresco, 1508–1512, Vatican, Sistine Chapel
 Luini, Bernardino, *The Drunkenness of Noah*, painting, sixteenth century, Milan, Italy, Pinacoteca di Brera
 Zanchi, Antonio, *Drunken Noah*, painting, 1697, Venice, Italy, private collection

Judith and Holofernes

Judith and Holofernes, Ottonian illuminated manuscript, *Bible of Charles the Bald*, circa 879, Rome, San Paolo fuori le Mura
 Caravaggio, *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, painting, 1598–1599, Rome, Galleria Nazionale Palazzo Barberini
 Gentileschi, Artemisia, *Judith Beheading Holofernes*, painting, circa 1612–1613, Naples, Italy, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte

Ancient Greece

Brygos Painter, *Youth Vomiting and Girl*, red-figure vase painting, circa 490 B.C., Würzburg, Germany, Martin von Wegner Museum
Drunken Old Woman, Roman copy of a late third century–late second century B.C. Hellenistic sculpture, Munich, Germany, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek

Early Netherlandish

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Ship of Fools*, painting, circa 1495, Paris, Louvre
 Bosch, Hieronymus, *Intemperance*, painting, circa 1495, New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Collection
 Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *Combat Between Carnival and Lent*, painting, 1559, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Seventeenth Century: Holland

Brouwer, Adriaen, *Tavern Scene*, painting, circa 1630, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen
 Ostade, Adriaen van, *Tavern Scene*, painting, circa 1635, Moscow, Russia, State Pushkin Museum
 Steen, Jan, *Tavern Scene*, painting, mid-1660s, private collection
 Pot, Hendrik Gerritsz, *Scene in a Bordello*, painting, early 1630s, private collection
 Steen, Jan, *The Effects of Intemperance*, oil on panel, 1662–1663, London, National Gallery

Eighteenth Century: England

Hogarth, William, *The Orgy*, scene III of *The Rake's Progress*, painting, 1734, London, Sir John Soane's Museum

Hogarth, William, *The Orgy*, scene III of *The Rake's Progress*, engraving, 1735, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Nineteenth Century: France

Manet, Édouard, *The Absinthe Drinker*, painting, circa 1859, Copenhagen, Denmark, Carlsberg Glyptotek
 Daumier, Honoré, *L'Absinthe, ça vous remonte un homme*, painting, 1863, lithograph
 Degas, Edgar, *The Glass of Absinthe*, painting, 1876, Paris, Musée d'Orsay

Artists and Alcohol: Twentieth-Century United States

Chagall, Marc, *The Drunkard*, ink and gouache on paper, 1911, Basel, Switzerland, collection of Marcus Diener
 Chagall, Marc, *The Drunkard*, gouache on paper, 1911, Paris, Musée National d'Art Moderne
 Chagall, Marc, *The Drunkard*, painting, 1921, Caracas, Venezuela, Hans Neumann Collection
 Murray, Elizabeth, *Undoing*, lithograph, etching, aquatint, and drypoint, 1989–1990

Artists and Alcohol: China

Yi Ch'ang-Wu, *A Drunkard*, painting, Ming Dynasty, Shanghai, China, collection P'ing-Ten-Ke
 Tao-Chi, *Drunken in Autumn Woods*, painting, Ch'ing Dynasty, late seventeenth–early eighteenth century, New York, collection of John M. Crawford Jr.

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ECSTASY

Valerie (Hutchinson) Pennanen

The following periods are included in the discussion of the theme Ecstasy:

ANCIENT

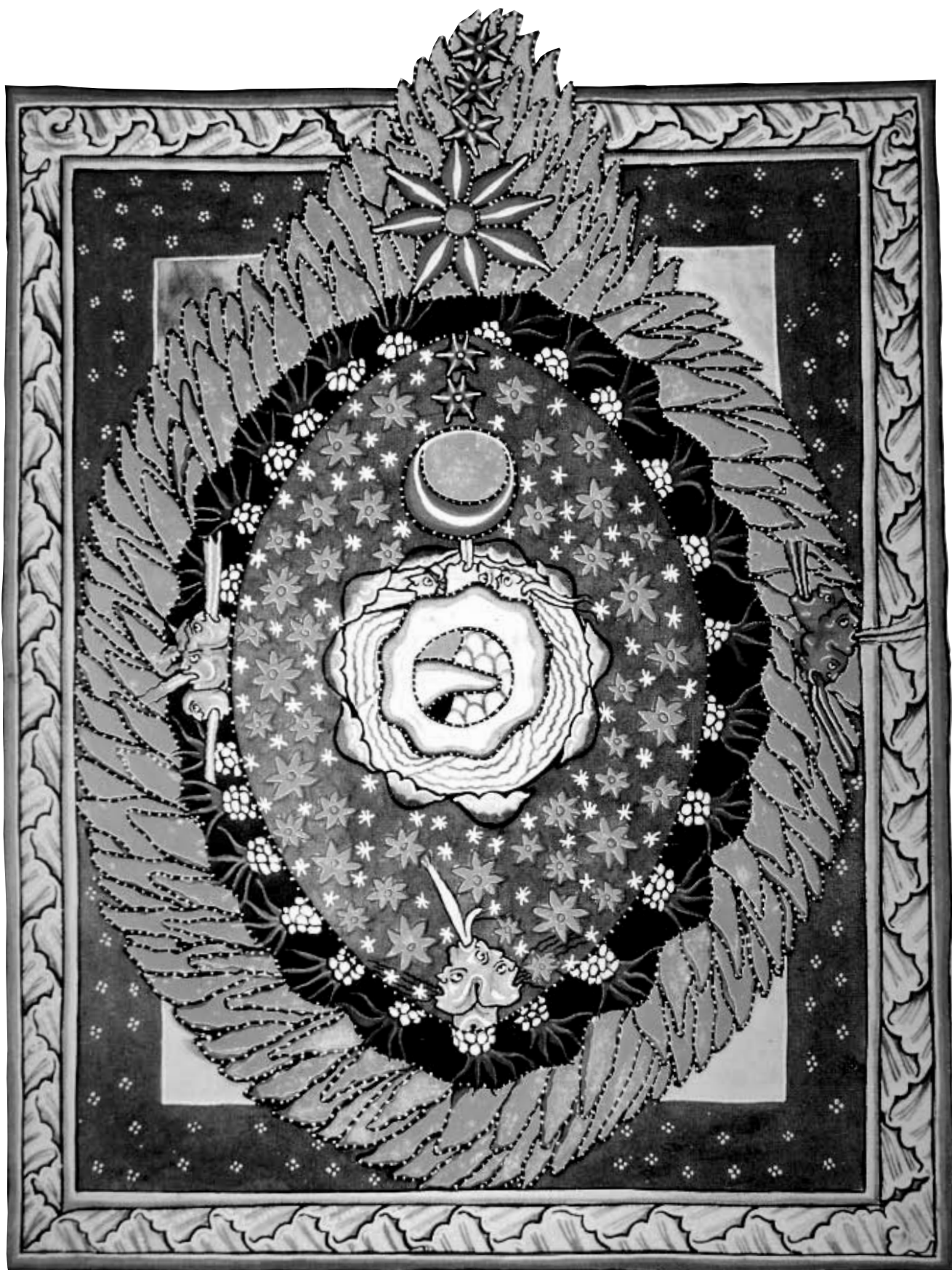
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

MEDIEVAL

NINETEENTH CENTURY

RENAISSANCE

TWENTIETH CENTURY



St. Hildegard von Bingen, *Ball of Fire*, from the *Liber Scivias*, Rupertsberg, Germany, original destroyed in World War II. (Courtesy of Otto Müller Verlag, Salzburg, Austria)

The literal meaning of ecstasy (Greek *ecstasis*) is “a state of being put out of place.” Classical Greek writers used the term loosely to describe almost any abrupt change of mind or mood; in time, however, ecstasy came to mean (in the words of the classicist E. R. Dodds) “a profound alteration of personality” (p. 77). True ecstasy tends to involve both a radical psychic departure from one’s usual self and a sense of deep, miraculous union with another—be that other a fellow human being, God, nature, or the universe. Among the common routes to ecstasy are prayer, meditation, the contemplation of beautiful or stirring sights, singing, chanting, dancing, fasting, physical illness (especially the kind involving vivid dreams or delirium), ingestion of alcohol or other drugs, and intimate (most often sexual) contact with another person. However, merely to enter into such experiences does not guarantee that an individual will reach ecstasy, nor do all ecstatic persons behave in the same way or remain ecstatic for the same length of time. Rather, a unique ecstatic experience is shaped by numerous factors, including the individual’s age, health, strength, temperament, spiritual beliefs and values, and personal history as well as the expectations of the culture in which the person lives. In general, the more religious a community, the more likely its members are to regard ecstasy as a healthful, appropriate response to life’s great moments. Conversely, many of the more secular societies are apt to regard ecstatic behavior with hesitation or embarrassment and as a sign of emotional weakness or instability. It follows that although the theme of ecstasy remains of interest to some late-twentieth-century artists and writers, it is not treated as frequently or with as much richness and variety as in the past.

The earliest portrayals of people in a genuinely ecstatic state occur on Attic Greek vases of the fifth century B.C. Here the subjects are maenads (female devotees of the wine god Dionysus) grasping musical instruments, thyrsi (sacred wands), and/or small animals (whose skins they may also wear). They dance, with evident abandon, in a variety of dramatic postures and gestures. Their dance is usually understood to be rapid, although slow, trancelike versions are not unknown; there are even a few depictions of maenads who have danced themselves into a collapse and are being trodden underfoot by their still-frenzied companions. The theme of Dionysiac ritual ecstasy received monumental treatment in literature by Euripides (whose play *The Bacchae* appeared in 406 B.C.) and in sculpture by Skopas (flourished circa 350 B.C.). Skopas created an eloquent type of maenad tossing her head—a violent, perhaps involuntary gesture that caused her disheveled locks to blow freely in the wind. This type was frequently re-created by later generations of artists, both Greek and Roman, in a wide variety of media.

In addition to possessing violent tendencies and an unearthly strength, maenads were said to be prone to hallucinations—deadly news for the Theban king Pentheus and the musician

Orpheus, whose legendary deaths at the hands of Dionysiac votaries are recounted in Greco-Roman literature and art. On the stuccoed vault of the Underground Basilica at Rome (circa A.D. 50), the tragic figure of Agave, Pentheus’s mother, holding her son’s severed head may well stand for all human sins. On Roman sarcophagi of the second century A.D., the deaths of Pentheus and Orpheus may be meant as allegories for all human death. Yet most ancient portrayals of maenads seem intended to call forth pleasant associations, and the same applies to other ecstatic pagan dancers, for example, satyrs (who in Roman art sometimes make the head-tossing gesture), Corybantes (female attendants of the goddess Cybele, a nature goddess of ancient peoples of Asia Minor), and Pan (an ancient Greek pastoral god). The motif of the blissfully dancing maenad is especially common on Roman sarcophagi, where it seems to reflect the promise of an ecstatic afterlife presided over by Dionysus. Some early Christians even accepted the image of ecstatic dancers as an allegory of their paradise. More than that, Clement of Alexandria went so far as to invite new converts to join “the Bacchic rites of *my* mysteries . . . [where] you too shall dance with the angels around the unbegotten and imperishable and only true God!” (Miller, p. 130, from *Exhortation* XI 120.1).

The sacred dance was not destined to be an integral part of Christian worship, however. Although it survived to some extent in popular festivals of the Middle Ages and remained a powerful metaphor—used to glorious effect by the Neoplatonists and Dante—the dance was an object of deep distrust to most medieval churchmen. Dancing, by nature sensual, infectious, and hard to stop, was held to be a path leading more often *from* God than *to* Him, and it was soon duly condemned to remain outside the walls of the Christian Church. However, the Church did endorse other ways of reaching ecstatic union with God: prayer, meditation, and participation in religious rites (especially the Eucharist) were means open to everyone. That the ecstatic experience was fully understood by monkish artists of the Carolingian age is clear from works such as the *Utrecht Psalter* and the *Gospel Book of Archbishop Ebbo of Reims* (both early ninth century). In the former, to quote art historian George Zarnecki,

The small figures are drawn with great rapidity and with only a few strokes. . . . Everything is movement, gesture, and expression. The crowds swarm like ants, agitated, tense, in constant motion, their robes swirling as if blown by the wind. (p. 191)

The Reims manuscript is best known for its full-page illuminations of the four Gospel writers. In each case, the Evangelist, with shining eyes and nervously moving fingers, is receiving inspiration from his special heavenly symbol. His drapery whips about him, and his hair stands on end, as though he were

seated in the midst of a whirlwind. Meanwhile, the landscape appears to heave up behind him, and the details of the picture's border are also rendered as though blown by wind. Clearly, the experience here is analogous to that of Pentecost, when, according to Acts 2:1–4, Christ's disciples were filled with the Holy Spirit and spoke in tongues.

The Christian ecstatic experience could also be a visionary experience, and visions were an increasingly common subject in art of the later Middle Ages. St. Hildegard von Bingen documented her highly personal encounters with God in both literary and visual terms, most notably in the *Liber Scivias* (*Scivias* meaning *Scito vias lucis*, "Know ye the ways of light"). This brilliantly illuminated work presented some 26 visions, among them the *Ball of Fire*, which Hildegard described as "a huge image, round and shadowy . . . pointed at the top like an egg," with an outer layer of bright fire, a dark membrane farther within, and a great flaming orb and three additional lights at the center (Hartt, pp. 441–442; cf. Flanagan, p. 57ff.).

More generally, a strong visionary element was present in the sculpture of Romanesque churches (e.g., St. Madeleine at Vézelay, France). Here, carved in high relief on the tympanum of the central portal of the narthex (circa 1120–1132) and originally painted with bright colors and gilded, is an intensely dramatic scene of Christ commissioning his apostles. Rays of light stream from the Lord's hands, causing the apostles to start up from their seats, thus initiating their great mission to evangelize the world. The ground is made to undulate beneath their feet, and their drapery swirls, as do the clouds. The lintel and archivolts represent the vast spectrum of needy humanity to whom the apostles must preach. Signs of the zodiac and labors of the months emphasize that the apostles' mission must never cease until the whole world has been won over to the faith. Whether or not the sculptor who designed this splendid work ever had true visions of his own, he certainly knew how to evoke feelings of awe and mystery (and perhaps even ecstasy) from the devout who passed through this portal.

An equally strong gift for creating a mystic atmosphere that invited Christians to deeper communion with God was shared by the makers of Gothic stained-glass windows. Their richly glowing creations, combined with the effects of flickering candlelight, fragrant incense, and the whole intense drama of worship, must have brought many late-medieval souls to blissful ecstasy. Interestingly, during the thirteenth century, the German word *Kunst* (art) was used to denote ecstatic experiences among Christians. This seems to imply that religious ecstasy was something one consciously would prepare for and something to embrace eagerly whenever it came.

The art of the Renaissance includes many uplifting visions but few that could be described as ecstatic. Giovanni Bellini, to be sure, painted *Saint Francis in Ecstasy*, but this subject was little more than a pretext to explore lighting and spatial effects in landscape. St. Francis himself is shown barefoot in the foreground (an allusion to the holiness of God's earth) with his arms extended and face uplifted as he gazes in rapt wonder at the glowing vistas spread out before him. He retains the essential dignity of a Renaissance figure even as he invites the viewer to join him in glad thanksgiving for the created order. Genuine religious ecstasy was left for artists of the next two centuries to reexplore and for mystics and saints of the Counter-Reformation to reexperience.

Correggio's *Jupiter and Io* (circa 1531) is an early example of realistic style applied to the theme of ecstasy. A voluptuous nymph swoons in the embrace of a cloudlike being—the Roman god Jupiter in disguise—who imprints a kiss on her lips. The position of Io's nude body and the blissful tilt of her head, as well as her closed eyes and slightly parted mouth, convey that she is in a state of passionate excitement as she unites physically and spiritually with her lover. A drinking stag appears in a lower corner of the painting, a motif perhaps meant to recall the opening lines of Psalm 42:1–2: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." Such an openly sensuous portrayal of the soul's union with God was bound to inspire some and to shock others; it would certainly have been understood by St. Teresa of Ávila, who wrote much about the "divine union of love" and addressed Christ as her lover. Throughout her life, the frail Teresa had numerous visions of God that were often accompanied by strong physical sensations. She wrote of an angel who repeatedly stabbed her heart with a flaming arrow, causing pain "so great that I screamed aloud; but simultaneously I felt such infinite sweetness that I wished the pain to last eternally . . . the sweetest caressing of the soul by God" (Wittkower, p. 25). This event was immortalized by Gian Lorenzo Bernini in his *Ecstasy of Saint Teresa* (1645–1652), a sculpture made as the focal point for the Cornaro Chapel in Santa Maria della Vittoria in Rome. In this work, Teresa's half-closed eyes, flared nostrils, open mouth (suggestive of moaning), limp arms, and rumpled habit convey her helpless state while a glow of sunlight, admitted through a yellow-paned window and reflected from gilded wood rays, effectively imparts God's presence.

The paintings of El Greco present a fundamentally different view of religious ecstasy. Nothing is corporeal, let alone sensuous, in his portraits of saints and mystics, yet their dark glowing eyes and pale ethereal faces are matchless in their intensity. El Greco is best known for his portrayals of holy men and women and miraculous events from the past. These paintings, of which the *Burial of Orgaz* (1586–1588) is a prime example, use strongly attenuated figures, flickering, jewellike colors, and flamelike brush strokes to create the feel of a divinely inspired dream. This unique blend of pseudo-Byzantine splendor, Venetian color, and Spanish mysticism was much admired in El Greco's day and imitated by his pupils, but it quickly fell out of favor after his death. The immediate future belonged to Baroque artists such as Bernini, whose more physically intimate treatment of ecstasy became the seventeenth-century standard.

Other artists of the period who dealt convincingly with ecstatic themes were Caravaggio (*Conversion of Saint Paul*, 1600–1601), Annibale Carracci (*Vision of Saint Francis*, 1597–1598), and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (*Immaculate Conception*, 1656–1660). Indeed, Baroque church buildings often enveloped the worshiper in an intimate way. Thus, the interior of Francesco Borromini's S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in Rome (1638–1641) is made to "expand" and "contract" in a manner suggestive of a beating heart. Bernini's colonnaded enclosure for the piazza of St. Peter's Basilica (1656–1667) in the Vatican was designed to evoke the feeling of being embraced by Holy Mother Church, "for," as he explained, "she embraces Catholics, so as to confirm them in their faith; heretics, to re-unite them to the Church; and infidels, to enlighten them in the true faith" (Martin, p. 151).

The dawn of modern times saw a marked decline of interest in religious ecstasy. This was true not only in Protestant lands (Protestants had often shunned ecstasy from the start) but also among Roman Catholics. Prominent thinkers of the Enlightenment, such as Jonathan Swift and Voltaire, held that the common man's dignity was threatened by participation in religious "excesses," which they felt the Church did much to encourage. In time, their views on this point came to be shared by many people; thus, a tendency to compartmentalize religion, making it "safe" and manageable, arose on both sides of the Atlantic. This tendency was never universal, and in fact the age of the Enlightenment saw periodic revivals of ecstatic worship. For example, the sacred dance was given new life by groups such as the Shakers (founded in 1747) and the Methodist "Jumpers" (founded in 1760). In general, however, the craving for ecstatic experience has been satisfied in less overtly religious ways since the Enlightenment.

Some modern Westerners (artists among them) have sought to attain ecstasy through contemplation of the natural world. Contemplation may proceed from a Christian standpoint in the tradition of St. Francis but more often is accompanied by a worshipful attitude toward nature itself, a kind of passionate pantheism. Nature is viewed as an ever-shifting drama of which the beholder, too, is a part, and the very clouds and lighting of the sky are seen to be gloriously animated. The late paintings of John Constable (e.g., *Stoke-by-Nayland*, 1836) show the beginnings of this tendency through their loose brushwork and dappled color. More striking pictorial dramas, often with a sharply defined foreground and vast, hazy background, were hallmarks of American painters of the Hudson River School, including Thomas Cole and Asher Durand. Above all, however, the landscapes of Vincent van Gogh contain a transcendent vision of nature or, rather, of the entire universe. As van Gogh put it,

I see in the whole of nature . . . expression, and so to speak, soul. A row of pollard willows sometimes has something of a procession of orphaned men about it. The young wheat can have something indescribably pure and tender . . . as for instance the expression of a sleeping child. . . . It's a question of giving the sun and the blue sky their full force and brilliance, of retaining the fine aroma of wild thyme which pervades the baked and often melancholy earth. (*Letters*, pp. 242, B20)

Little wonder that in *Wheat Field and Cypress Trees* (1889), a great gust of wind seems to animate everything, from the golden yellow wheat and deep green cypresses to the mountains and the sky itself. Similarly, in *The Starry Night* (1889), van Gogh's sky is a whirlpool of deep blue and creamy white shot through with vibrating heavenly bodies of lemon yellow and orange. "Putting little white dots on a blue-black surface," the artist maintained, "is not enough!" (*Letters*, W7).

That a high ecstatic state may also be reached through sexual intimacy is well known and much celebrated in the modern world. No longer confined to the realm of Christian allegory (although it still has a legitimate place there), sexual closeness in its own right has fired the imaginations of modern artists to produce some unforgettable visions. For example, Oskar Kokoschka's great expressionist painting *Bride of the Wind* (1914) shows a couple serenely resting amid a nightmarish

swirl of stormy colors. The woman, asleep, rests her head on the shoulder of the watchful man; farther down, their bodies intertwine and finally merge with the surrounding maelstrom. Although the subjects (Kokoschka and his mistress) are far from conventionally handsome and their refuge far from secure, their union is portrayed as wonderful and triumphant—a miracle of goodness at the heart of an evil storm.

The theme of lovers uniting to transcend the limits of the physical world is treated also by Marc Chagall in paintings that celebrate his love for his first wife, Bella. In *Birthday* (1915), he shows Bella gliding effortlessly across the floor and himself floating directly above, his head swiveled around to give her a kiss.

More explicitly sensual than either the Chagall or the Kokoschka work is a series of intimate black-and-white photographs that Alfred Stieglitz took of his lover (and, from 1924, wife) Georgia O'Keeffe. These document O'Keeffe not only as creator of her own sensual art (see below) but also, and especially, as a sensuous human being who aroused the photographer's passion. As Stieglitz's friend Lewis Mumford observed,

It was his manly sense of the realities of sex, developing out of his own renewed ecstasy in love, that resulted in [these] photographs. In a part by part relation of a woman's body, in the isolated presentation of a hand, a breast, a neck, a thigh, a leg, Stieglitz achieved the exact visual equivalent of the report of the hand or the face as it travels over the body of the beloved. (p. 60)

Meanwhile, O'Keeffe was achieving fame and notoriety for her lush, enormous paintings of flowers that were so sensuous and so exalted that one group, a series of six calla lilies, was dubbed by Stieglitz "The Immaculate Conception." Whereas O'Keeffe's flower pictures to date stand alone among "ecstatic" works of art, Stieglitz's photographs of his wife have inspired many later photographers to work with sexual themes and sometimes, although by no means always, to portray true ecstasy as well.

Ecstasy has long been a valued experience among non-Western peoples, especially in the Far East, the Americas, and Africa, where shamanistic traditions still survive. The shaman (so called by the Siberian Evenki) is an extraordinary individual who "travels" back and forth between the human realm and the spirit world, bearing vital messages for his or her clients or community. Ethnic artists seldom portray the shaman's actual journey, either because it is considered impious or because the spirit realm is held to be irreproducible. (An exception to this rule occurs in a sixth-century tomb painting from Koguryo, Korea, in which a black-and-white-clad shaman rides heavenward on the back of a white goose.) On the other hand, the visual arts may be quite freely and lavishly used in ceremonies designed to help the shaman attain a state of ecstasy. Thus, a professional Korean *manshin* ([one who summons] ten thousand spirits) may require several changes of symbolically colored costume, elaborate feathered headgear (the feathers are believed to act as spiritual "antennae"), ritual fans painted with images of the Chesok-Buddha and other holy ones, and icons of the deceased ancestors whom she plans to involve—all for a single day's performance (*kut*). Similarly, an African shaman, such as the Dodoth

(Ugandan) tribesman whose methods were observed by E. M. Thomas in the 1950s, might need to sit on an elaborately carved stool to begin his lucid dreaming. It should be added that when ethnic craftspeople make musical instruments such as the drum, rattle, bell, and flute—whose sounds have been heard for millennia in ecstatic rituals the world over—they frequently enrich them with decoration so that the instruments, too, become works of art.

Among North American Indian tribes of the Midwest and Great Plains, not only shamans (the so-called medicine men) but also youth on the brink of adolescence sought the ecstatic state. The vision quest required a time of complete isolation, fasting, contemplation, prayer, and sometimes even self-mutilation to win sympathy from the spirit world. Eventually, the devout seeker would be rewarded by a meeting with a personal “spirit patron” (e.g., a horse, an elk, a buffalo, or a whirlwind) that would then reveal to the individual special prayers and charms. The latter might afterward become the basis for painted decoration on the youth’s shield, face, and body. Ecstatic group ritual is likewise well documented among these peoples, as seen in the still-performed Dakota sun dance and the peyote ceremonies of the Native American Church (two rituals that have left their mark on Plains visual arts). Ritual paraphernalia from the sun dance and the peyote cult may be considered works of art in their own right; this is especially true of the “peyote fans,” made from the plumage of various prairie birds. Additionally, the sun dance has been immortalized by the modern Sioux painter Oscar Howe, first in a lyrical, seminaturalistic piece, *Sioux Sun Dance* (1950s), and later in a vibrantly colored, half-surreal, half-cubist work, *Sioux Dancer* (1960s).

Finally, sexual intimacy—with its manifold delights that can make lovers ecstatic—has been celebrated for many hundreds of years in countries around the world. Sexual intimacy receives especially rich treatment in the arts and poetry of India, where, as art historian Charles Fabri observed, “There has always been a marked sensuous element . . . shining, as it were, through the veil of sanctity and spiritualism” (p. 6). The Hindu doctrine of Tantrism holds that there is no greater earthly bliss than the coupling of man and woman. Moreover, through bliss, humans can awaken the spiritual force called *kundalini* and so attain union with the Divine Being. The temple sculptures at Khajuraho (circa A.D. 1000) express this theme repeatedly through the use of full, sensuous figures that, even as they embrace one another passionately, wear a look of deep and tender contemplation. The magnificent colossal bust of *Siva Mahadeva* (Siva the Great Lord) on the Indian island of Elephanta (seventh century) also shows how a Hindu deity (Siva is often androgynous and has multiple facets and roles) may pass into an ecstatic state. In the words of art historian Frederick Hartt, this triple-headed Siva, with nearly closed, heavy-lidded eyes, seems to be “rapt in his own divinity, unconscious of [the viewer’s] existence” (p. 1001).

A being put out of place—a temporary loss of self—a union with another or with “the Other”: regardless of the details, ecstasy is clearly a life-changing event for individuals and sometimes for whole communities. Persons who have been fortunate enough to know ecstasy may describe it as a breakthrough, an awakening, a rebirth, a baptism, or a remaking of the human soul in God’s image. They long to reexperience ecstasy, and as

a rule they do, very often sharing their ecstatic memory with others so that it may be enhanced and relived for generations to come. This priceless gift was bequeathed to humanity by artists as diverse as the Khajuraho sculptors, Hildegard von Bingen, Georgia O’Keeffe, and Oscar Howe. But will even their creations be forgotten by our “civilized” world, in which fewer persons, it seems, have firsthand knowledge of ecstasy? Will there be no artists of the future to affirm, clarify, and expand the ecstatic vision of the past? And if there are not, how great will be our spiritual loss? The popular Roman Catholic writer Matthew Fox put it this way:

Every human person is a bearer of ecstasy and, therefore, of God. . . . [Boredom, and ultimately even] sadism is the price for lost pleasures of ecstasy. . . . We have received. . . . What more dare we ask for, beg for, even pray for than to be an instrument of something bigger than we are: instruments of ecstasy? (pp. 38, 90, 245)

Art critic Suzi Gablik concurred:

[Our] sacramental vision . . . can never be completely uprooted, . . . it can only be debased. . . . [We must now] look for means by which we can approach art again as total human beings. . . . [We must keep alive] the knowledge that life can be transformed by a sacramental experience. (pp. 93, 127, 128)

See also Abandonment; Bacchanalia/Orgy; Communion; Dance/Dancers/Dancing; Love and Death; Martyrdom

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

- Kleophrades Painter, *Dionysos with Maenads and Satyrs*, painted amphora, from Vulci, circa 500–490 B.C., Munich, Germany, Staatliche Antikensammlungen
- Brygos Painter, *Maenad*, interior of cup, from Vulci, circa 490 B.C., Munich, Germany, Staatliche Antikensammlungen
- Eretria Painter, *Dionysos with Maenads and Satyrs*, squat lekythos, from Trachones, circa 420 B.C., Berlin
- Skopas, *Raving Maenad*, sculpture, fourth century B.C., Dresden, Germany, Skulpturensammlung
- Dancing Satyr*, glass gem, from Cairnhill, Scotland, presently in Edinburgh, National Museum of the Antiquities of Scotland
- The Death of Pentheus*, Roman sarcophagus, Rome, Palazzo Giustiniani
- The Death of Orpheus*, Roman sarcophagus, Turin, Musei Civici di Torino

Medieval

- Utrecht Psalter*, circa 820–832, Utrecht, The Netherlands, Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht (MS. Script. eccl. 484)
- Gospel Book of Archbishop Ebbo of Reims*, 816–835, Épernay, France, Bibliothèque Municipale (MS. 1)
- Hildegard von Bingen, *Liber Scivias*, twelfth century, Rupertsberg, Germany (original destroyed during World War II)

Renaissance

- Bellini, Giovanni, *Saint Francis in Ecstasy*, circa 1485, New York, Frick Collection
- Correggio, *Jupiter and Io*, circa 1531, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
- El Greco, *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, 1586–1588, Toledo, Spain, Santa Tomé
- Carracci, Annibale, *Vision of Saint Francis*, circa 1597–1598, London, Collection of Sir John Pope-Hennessy

Seventeenth Century

- Caravaggio, *Conversion of Saint Paul*, 1600–1601, Rome, Santa Maria del Popolo
- Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, *The Ecstasy of Saint Teresa*, 1645–1652, Rome, Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria
- Murillo, Bartolomé Esteban, *Immaculate Conception*, 1656–1660, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Nineteenth Century

- Cole, Thomas, *The Titan's Goblet*, 1833, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Constable, John, *Stoke-by-Nayland*, 1836, Chicago, Illinois, Art Institute
- Durand, Asher, *Scene from Thanatopsis*, 1850, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Gogh, Vincent van, *Wheat Field and Cypress Trees*, 1889, London, National Gallery
- Gogh, Vincent van, *The Starry Night*, 1889, New York, Museum of Modern Art

Twentieth Century

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- Kokoschka, Oskar, *Bride of the Wind (The Tempest)*, 1914, Basel, Switzerland, Oeffentliche Kunstsammlung Basel Kunstmuseum
- Chagall, Marc, *Birthday*, 1915, New York, Museum of Modern Art
- O'Keeffe, Georgia, *Red Canna*, Tucson, Arizona, University of Arizona Museum
- O'Keeffe, Georgia, *Two Calla Lilies on Pink*, 1928, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art
- O'Keeffe, Georgia, *Black Iris III*, 1926, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Nakian, Reuben, *Ecstasy*, bronze, 1946–1947, Washington, D.C., Hirshhorn Collection
- Howe, Oscar, *Sioux Sun Dance*, 1950s, Philbrook Art Museum
- Howe, Oscar, *Sioux Dancer*, 1960s, Denver, Colorado, Denver Art Museum

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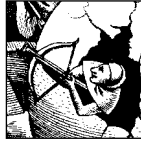
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ENVY

Eugene Dwyer

The following subjects are covered in the discussion of the theme Envy:

ENVY AS AN ALLEGORICAL
FIGURE

ENVY EXEMPLIFIED

CAIN AND ABEL

AGLAUROS

ARTISTS



Pieter Bruegel, *Envy*, from *The Seven Deadly Sins*, circa 1557, plate 42 from H. Arthur Klein, *Graphic Worlds of Peter Bruegel, the Elder* (New York, Dover Publications, 1963).
(Courtesy of Dover Publications)

Envy (Latin *invidia*; Greek *phthonos*; German *Neid*; English *emulation* [obsolete]) may be defined as “sorrow for other men’s good . . . and joy at their harms” (Burton, 1.2.3.7, translating Cicero). Its opposite is mercy or charity. Petrarch opposed envy to fame. As Robert Burton’s formulation states, the object of one person’s envy is always another person. The good enjoyed by the object of envy may be either tangible (i.e., fortune) or intangible (i.e., fame). The object may be a living person or, in extreme cases (e.g., Caligula, as told by Suetonius), the illustrious dead or the gods themselves. Envy is so intimately connected with fame that it is frequently described as its “companion” (*invidia gloriae comes*).

Envy is almost universally held to be the most destructive of the vices, literally “consuming” its victims (French *dévoré d’envie*). Unlike the other vices, envy brings no pleasure to its victims, who are often represented as wasting away and even consuming themselves. “Eat your heart out!” is traditional unsympathetic advice to the envious.

In English, the color green has come to be seen as a symptom of envy, owing to a false etymology. To “green” for something once meant to long after, whence Shakespeare’s “green-eyed jealousy” (*Merchant of Venice*, III.ii.110). Jealousy is distinct from envy in denoting a three-party relationship: as Shakespeare’s “green-ey’d monster [Jealousy] which doth mock the meat it feeds on” (*Othello*, III.iii.166–167); that is, it is feline in its behavior. To be “green with envy” is now a common expression.

The persistent association of envy with nourishment or the denial of nourishment indicates its formative connection with the early stages of childhood development. Psychoanalyst Melanie Klein considered envy “an oral-sadistic and anal-sadistic expression of destructive impulses operative from the beginning of life” (p. 176). George M. Foster noted that given the inequalities that exist in nearly all societies, envy presents a significant danger to human socialization. He considered the fear of envy as a near-cultural universal and described cultural forms and symbolic behavior (such as avoidance of the evil eye) through which humans cope with that fear. Almsgiving and tipping are typical forms of addressing fears of envy.

Given the importance of the eye and of looking in the expression of envy, this vice has especially close associations with the visual arts. The Latin form *invidia*, from *invidere* (“to look upon,” i.e., with an evil eye), makes this relationship explicit. “There seemeth to be acknowledged, in the act of envy, an ejaculation, or irradiation of the eye” (Bacon). Sight and ownership are particularly involved in the relations of men and women. Covetousness being forbidden to the Hebrews by the Tenth Commandment (Exodus 20:17; Deuteronomy 5:21), Job’s “apologia” begins with the verse, “I made a covenant with mine eyes; why then should I think upon a maid?” (Job

31:1). The same connection of envy and sight may be found in the story of Gyges and Candaules, where the one objects to the other’s command to view his wife naked, citing an ancient maxim, “Let each man look upon his own” (Herodotus 1.8).

Writers of the Augustan period were especially interested in *invidia*. In his *Tusculan Disputations*, Cicero classed it among the disorders (*perturbationes*) to which the mind is subject, treating it as the first subcategory under “distress” (*aegritudo*). Nepos told of its effects on the lives of the great. Horace, a self-confessed victim, described its symptoms in his *Epistles*, and Ovid personified it (see below).

In his homily *Concerning Envy*, St. Basil wrote,

. . . some think that envious persons bring bad luck merely by a glance, so that healthy persons in the full flower and vigor of their prime are made to pine away under their spell, suddenly losing all their plumpness, which dwindles and wastes away under the gaze of the envious, as if washed by a destructive flood. (pp. 469–470)

Thus, popular belief in the evil eye transformed the symptoms normally associated with one who suffers envy to the one who is the object of envy. According to the *Malleus Maleficarum*, those possessed of a melancholy temperament are inclined to be envious (Kramer and Sprenger). Robert Burton, on the other hand, considered envy (i.e., emulation) a possible cause of melancholia (1.2.3.7). The iconography of envy may, in fact, be intertwined with that of melancholy. Commenting on an eleventh-century manuscript from Moissac, France, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Ms. lat. 2077), art historian Adolf Katzenellenbogen noted the figure of *Invidia* (Envy): “[fol. 166v left.] . . . sad and morose, head in hand. . . . It is easy to understand how she came to be designated Tristitia (Sorrow)” (p. 13, n. 1). Given the connection that exists between envy and melancholy in contemporary sources such as *The Malleus Maleficarum*, it is surprising that art historians Erwin Panofsky, Fritz Saxl, and Raymond Klibansky failed to add envy to the iconographic pedigree of *Melancholia I*. With her starved dog and her remarkably withering stare, Albrecht Dürer’s figure is an excellent candidate for identification with envy, especially because artists were thought to be among her victims.

Theology identifies envy instrumentally with evil:

for God created man to be immortal, and made him to be an image of his own eternity. Nevertheless through envy of the devil came death into the world: and they that do hold of his side do fine it. (Wisdom of Solomon, 2:23–24)

from which Dante wrote,

He [i.e., the Hound] shall hunt her [i.e., the beast] through every town till he has thrust her back into Hell, whence envy first sent her forth. (*Inferno*, 1:109–111)

In canto 14 of the *Purgatorio*, Dante introduces two classical paradigms of envy: Cain, a son of Adam and Eve, and Aglauros, a legendary young woman of ancient Athens. It is hardly an accident that the two most famous tales of envy concern the rivalry of siblings. Cain murdered his brother Abel because God had preferred the latter's sacrifice to his. The first murder was occasioned by envy. Indeed, Cain's name is very similar to the Hebrew word *qana'* (to be jealous) (Peters, p. 1051). Art historian Meyer Schapiro has shown how the demonic orality of Cain, envious of his brother, contributed to the use in medieval iconography of an ass's jawbone as Cain's murder weapon. The physical brutality of Cain's crime was emphasized especially in paintings of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. In a painting in Naples, Italy, Leonello Spada represented *Cain Killing Abel*, where the animal force of the two combatants is emphasized in graphic detail and with erotic connotations.

Ovid's tale of Aglauros, told in book 2 of *Metamorphoses* (ll. 708–833), is perhaps the classic tale of envy. It contains the *locus classicus* of all subsequent depictions of envy in poetry and the visual arts. The story concerns the daughters of the legendary king and founder of Athens, Cecrops, who are thought to be represented by the caryatids of the south porch of the Erechtheum in Athens. Mercury, the god-messenger of the gods, passing through (or over) Athens, espied Herse in a procession of Athenian maidens and became enamored of her. When he approached the house of Herse, he encountered her sister, Aglauros, who demanded gold as the price of acting as go-between. Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, already angry with Aglauros for uncovering her hidden child, Erichthonius, determined to pay the greedy girl a lesson. Accordingly, she sought out the goddess Envy in her abode. Ovid's portrayal of Envy is one of his most memorable creations:

Pallor o'erspread her face and her whole body seems to shrivel up. Her eyes are all awry, her teeth are foul with mould; green, poisonous gall o'erflows her breast, and venom drips down from her tongue. She never smiles, save at the sight of another's troubles; she never sleeps, disturbed with wakefull cares; unwelcome to her is the sight of men's success, and with the sight she pines away; she gnaws and is gnawed herself for her own punishment . . . her staff, thick set with thorns . . . wherever she goes, she tramples down the flowers, causes the grass to wither, blasts the high waving trees, and taints with the foul pollution of her breath whole peoples, cities, homes . . . (*Metamorphoses* 2.775–794)

At Minerva's command, Envy grudgingly agrees to poison Aglauros. She does this by infecting Aglauros with her venom and by speaking to her of her sister's good fortune. Aglauros begins to waste away as she broods on Herse's success. Determined to block the access of Mercury to her sister's room, Aglauros takes up a position on the threshold. Mercury thereupon changes her with a stroke of his wand into a black, lifeless statue, then returns to Mount Olympus, the legendary

home of the gods. Ovid tellingly omits any mention of Mercury's visit to Herse, as this is really Aglauros's story.

In the context of Ovid's narrative, Envy is a powerful, if understandably reclusive, goddess sought out by Minerva. She works her evil by touching her victim, Aglauros, with her festering hand and breathing "pestilential, poisonous breath into her nostrils." Ovid leaves little doubt that the sight of Envy is also harmful. Even Minerva, who sought her out for the evil deed, must avert her eyes (2.770). "And to fix a cause for her [Aglauros's] grief, Envy pictured to her imagination her sister, her sister's blest marriage and the god in all his beauty, magnifying the excellence of everything" (2.802–805).

The tale of Mercury, Herse, and Aglauros was illustrated by numerous artists of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Sodoma depicted *Aglauros Metamorphosed into a Rock* as one of several Ovidian scenes on the ceiling of the Sala delle Nozze (i.e., the bridal chamber) of Agostino Chigi in the Villa Farnesina in Rome. His reason was doubtless to use the episode as a cautionary tale to protect his patron and his bride from envy. In his series of engravings after Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1589), Hendrik Goltzius devotes three plates to the story of Herse and Aglauros. Goltzius concentrates on the love of Mercury and Herse, treating Aglauros as a malefactor who has to be dealt with. In the first plate, Goltzius represents Mercury flying above a procession that includes Herse. In the second plate, Minerva visits the den of Envy. The third plate shows three separate scenes. In the middle distance, within the house of Cecrops and his daughters, Envy visits Aglauros to poison her. In the background, Aglauros blocks Mercury on the threshold. Finally, in the foreground, Mercury visits the bed of Herse, in contrast with Ovid's narrative.

Paolo Veronese, in his *Mercury, Herse, and Aglauros* in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, England, and Nicolas Poussin, in his painting of the same subject in the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, treated the subject in a single scene. Veronese emphasizes the metamorphosis of Aglauros, adding a figure of Envy concealed behind a curtain. His Herse, seated at a table and with single breast exposed, is remarkably smug. The little dog at her feet may be emblematic of Envy. Poussin chose to cast his subjects in heroic nudity, emphasizing a voluptuous Herse and a graceful Mercury, but played down the psychological element. Renaissance treatments of the subject as an amorous mythology contrast with the greater psychological complexity of later interpretations, such as that of Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson. In a drawing in Montargis, France, Girodet-Trioson depicted the amorous encounter of Mercury and Herse as a dream of the distraught Aglauros.

Ovid's Envy was depicted on her own in works by Andrea Alciati, Cesare Ripa, and others and attained canonical status in the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Pieter Bruegel the Elder represented Envy among his *Seven Deadly Sins*, showing a personification of the Ovid-Alciati type surrounded by images of desolation that support Melanie Klein's notion of the oral- and anal-sadistic nature of envy. Bruegel's image also shows an abundance of shoe imagery, which commentators have attributed to the proverbial use of shoes as signifiers of social class (H. Arthur Klein, p. 193).

A well-known but enigmatic allegory of envy was presented by Andrea Mantegna in his engraving *Battle of the Sea Gods*.

A fearsome hag with wrinkled breasts rises above a group of battling men and tritons. In her left hand, the hag holds a tablet inscribed "INVID," presumably identifying her as Envy. She has been seen here as the demonic force behind the combat of otherwise peaceful folk (Förster). Possibly related to Mantegna's Envy is the figure of an old woman who stands as a disapproving presence between two groups of amorous nude couples in an engraving by Cristofano Robetta, known as an *Allegory of Envy*. In his catalog of the Washington exhibition of Italian engravings, J. Levenson asked, "Is she envious of the two amorous couples standing beside her? Or is she a personification of Envy, whose influence is responsible for the apparent discord between the lovers at the right?" (p. 298).

Other stories that may also represent envy (numerous examples of which are provided by Burton and others) are Cain and Abel (Genesis 4: for favor with God; see above); Rachel and Leah (Genesis 30: for ability to bear children); Joseph and his brothers (Genesis 37: for favor with the father); Saul and David (I Samuel 18: for military prowess) and, elsewhere, David himself (Psalm 73: for the prosperity of the wicked); Jeremiah (12:1: prosperity of the wicked); Habakkuk (1: prosperity of the wicked); Aglauros (see above); Myrsine (Constantine, *Agricultus*, 2.7 [Burton]: murdered by the Athenian women for her beauty); Laïs (Plutarch, *Opera Moralia*, 768A: murdered for her beauty); Salonina, wife of Caecina (Tacitus, *Histories*, 2.20: for her horse and her furniture); and Domitian and Agricola (Tacitus, *Histories*, 2.6: a case of luxury).

Giorgio Vasari's *Life of Michelangelo* describes the powerful force that envy represented in the lives of many artists of the Renaissance, especially Michelangelo. Because his genius had so thoroughly triumphed over his detractors, Michelangelo's catafalque bore, among other allegories, an image of Minerva, or Art, standing over Envy ("a shriveled hag with viperous eyes . . ."). Subsequent artists, such as Ludovico Cigoli, Salvator Rosa, and Pietro Testa, incorporated Envy into their works in important autobiographical contexts. Cigoli left two drawings depicting an *Allegory of Envy*, now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy (Chappell). Whether both drawings be interpreted as an expression of the artist's regard for Galileo—like the painter a victim of Envy—or as an autobiographical record of Cigoli's own troubles with his rivals, they depict the stately figure of a female nude (Virtus) crowned with laurel and hands transformed into laurel branches. At her feet is a thicket of thorns and in the shadow a burning figure of Ovidian Envy. The meaning is plain enough: virtue or talent assaulted by Envy. Salvator Rosa wrote a satire, *Invidia*, describing how his attempt to write his name in the Temple of Fame was blocked by Envy. In his poem, Rosa described the efforts of the classical painter Apelles to overcome his detractors by painting a self-referential allegory known as the *Calumny of Apelles*. N. R. Fabbri has attempted to see a reflection of such an allegorical painting contemplated by Rosa in his illustrated frontispiece made for Carlo de' Rossi. Pietro Testa, who died a suicide, is believed to have been a melancholic and a victim of envy. In numerous allegories of painting and the arts in general, Testa introduces envy as a force inimical to the artist. In an etching known as *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus*, the chariot on which Painting rides rolls over Envy (i.e., here in the Petrarchan sense

as the "companion of Fame") as the latter attempts to grasp the wheel. Art historian Elizabeth Cropper has shown how Testa came to the aid of his teacher Domenichino, another of Envy's victims. When the painter Giovanni Lanfranco accused Domenichino of stealing from Agostino Caracci for his *Last Communion of St. Jerome*, Testa identified Envy as the real author of the charge. A print of Domenichino's painting by Testa's nephew, Giovanni Cesare Testa, bears this inscription (presumably reflecting Pietro Testa's opinion): "The work of the great Domenichino. . . . It forces Envy to marvel and be silent" (Cropper, pp. 122–124). Cropper points to the life of Michelangelo as the paradigm for later artists who experienced the destructive effects of envy.

See also Calumny; Evil Eye; Fame; Humors; Melancholy

Selected Works of Art

Envy as an Allegorical Figure

Confictus Virtutum et Vitiorum, illustrated manuscript, from Moissac, eleventh century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Ms. Lat. 2077, fol. 166v left)

Mantegna, Andrea, *Battle of the Sea Gods*, engraving, circa 1485–1488

Dürer, Albrecht, *Melancholia I*, engraving, 1514

Robetta, Cristofano, *Allegory of Envy*, engraving, circa 1520

Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *Envy*, etching from *The Seven Deadly Sins*, circa 1557

Goltzius, Hendrik, *Envy*, etching from *Jacques Callot*, 1924–1927, Paris

Callot, Jacques, *Envy*, from *The Seven Deadly Sins*, etching, circa 1620

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Divine Love Chasing Envy and Calumny*, drawing for a tapestry, before 1640, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Testa, Pietro, *The Triumph of Painting on Parnassus*, etching, circa 1644

Cadmus, Paul, *The Seven Deadly Sins: Envy*, egg tempera on pressed wood panel, 1945–1949, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Envy Exemplified

Veronese, Paolo, *Mercury, Herse, and Aglauros*, oil painting, circa 1576–1580, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum

Goltzius, Hendrik, *Mercury Enamored of Herse, Daughter of Cecrops; Minerva Commanding Envy; Mercury Entering Herse's Room After Changing Aglauros to Stone*, engravings, 1589

Spada, Leonello, *Cain Killing Abel*, oil on canvas, circa 1615, Naples, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali de Capodimonte

Poussin, Nicolas, *Mercury, Herse, and Aglauros*, oil painting, circa 1625, Paris, École des Beaux-Arts

Ripa, Cesare, "Invidio-Neid," *Joseph and His Brothers*, from *Iconologia*, edited by J. G. Hertel

Lagrenée, Louis-Jean-François, *Aglauros Tries to Hinder Mercury's Suit of Herse*, oil painting, 1767, Stockholm, Sweden, Nationalmuseum

Girodet-Trioson, Anne-Louis, *The Dream of Aglauros*, drawing, before 1824, Montargis, France

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EVIL EYE

Eugene Dwyer

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Evil Eye:

ANCIENT

RENAISSANCE



The Evil Eye Attacked by Its Enemies,
circa A.D. 200, marble relief, Woburn
Abbey, from *Archaeologia*, vol. 19 (1821),
plate VI, facing page 74. (Courtesy of the
author)

Despite its name, the evil eye is not a reified concept but a widespread pattern of symbolic behavior consisting of envy avoidance practices that are more or less comparable in their social and psychic elements. The Greeks knew it as *baskania* (literally, envy), the Romans as *fascinatio* (from the Greek), and modern Italians as *mal'occhio* (evil eye) and *jettatura* (casting or ejaculation).

Fundamental to the belief in the evil eye is the notion that the eyes or the sight of those harboring envy have the power to do harm, even if unintentionally. However, the real psychic power comes from the guilt of the person who thinks he or she has done something deserving of envy. As a result, the “victim” invests persons who may be suspected of harboring envy with an occult power.

Belief in the evil eye is remarkably widespread and remarkably consistent throughout the world (Maloney, intro.). This near universality has been explained by attributing the basis of the phenomenon to early childhood experience, specifically to the infant's nurture at the mother's breast and to weaning. This thesis draws from the belief that the destructive effects of the evil eye are most generally characterized as a loss of fluid (e.g., the mother's loss of milk) through desiccation. The eye is, in effect, a substitute for the breast: the “good” breast or the “bad” breast.

A psychological construct of such importance to individuals and societies naturally plays a significant role in the representational arts throughout the world and throughout history. Anything resembling the breasts and eyes in art or in nature is apt to be caught up in a complex association of related symbols. The sun may appear as an eye, harmful in its power to wither young plants and dry up life-giving moisture. Also, as a consequence of these fundamental psychological associations, the imagery of the breast and the eye is inevitably charged with the emotions of pleasure and abundance on the one hand and envy and scarcity on the other. Perhaps because the belief in the evil eye is a psychological projection—from the person who believes him- or herself the victim on the person believed to be the evildoer—many symbols of the evil eye are ambivalent. Writing of ancient remedies against the eye, scholar Campbell Bonner noted,

the commonest of all amulets to ward off the evil eye consists of the apotropaic design which has been found on numerous monuments, and which, though subject to slight variations, remains the same through several centuries. It represents the eye, wide open, subjected to various injuries and assailed by a variety of animals, birds, and reptiles. (p. 97)

A relief of Roman imperial times from Woburn Abbey in England depicts the familiar eye assaulted by a collection

of symbols, namely, a defecator (cf. Dundes, p. 289, and Holloway, p. 449, n. 14), a gladiator with trident, a lion, a serpent, a scorpion, a stork (or crane?), and a raven. A number of similar amulets are reproduced by Frederic Thomas Elworthy, an early writer on the evil eye (pp. 129–132). The animals—which also include a lizard, a goose, a cock, a dog, a tortoise, a frog, an owl, and a stag as well as a thunderbolt, a star, and a phallus—are reminiscent of the “allies” of the Roman sun-god Mithras in the tauroctony, the bull killing (i.e., raven, dog, serpent, and scorpion). The eye appears by itself, unassaulted, with a scene of ships entering the harbor at Ostia in a relief in the Museo Torlonia in Rome. Its function is apparently “to avert ill fortune” (Meiggs, pl. XX).

The iconography of the evil eye consists mainly of talismanic emblems intended to protect the bearer or user from harm. Recognizing that a pictured gesture or motive was intended to perform such a protective function may be problematic because such recognition depends on understanding a given work's intended function within a specific cultural context. Prehistoric works may be tentatively interpreted by analogy with those utilized in better-known social contexts. For example, the use of maze patterns to confound the evil eye in some Italian and Greek contexts (e.g., in the modern region of Puglia in Italy), including ancient Pompeii, may suggest a similar explanation for certain uses of the interlinked spiral in the prehistoric art of the Aegean and in the use of continuous meanders in certain Greek Geometric contexts.

Representations of the eyes themselves and frontal faces may have served to protect against the evil eye in archaic and classical Greece (Bonfante). Attic “eye cups” and skyphoi of the “glaux” (i.e., “owl”) type may have protected drinkers, who by tradition are most vulnerable to envy. In Greek myth, the tale of the snake-haired Gorgon Medusa embodies the awesome powers of the evil eye more than any other. The horrid face of this Gorgon was supposed to cause death to the unwary person whose eye caught it, but it was also a powerful amulet against the power of the evil eye. Only this belief can account for the popularity of the gorgoneion (or Medusa head) throughout the ancient world from the Archaic period of Greece to the end of the Roman Empire. Associated iconographically with the aegis, the ultimate in defensive armor, the gorgoneion might have been expected to ward off anything. Its visual properties made it ideal for defending against ocular assault. Its use as a talisman is evident in gems, especially “gnostic” gems.

The Romans used other masks, especially those of the drama, as amulets. In addition to numerous ring stones that bear the masks of the stage, many hanging masks of marble, known as *oscilla*, were found in the houses of Pompeii suspended from the rafters of garden porticoes. Disk- and cres-

cent-shaped shields were also found in the same context, suggesting an apotropaic function for these symbols as well (Dwyer).

The bulla amulet, a hollow gold ball worn at the neck, protected its Etruscan and Roman wearers from the evil eye. A knotted leather cord was an alternative for the less wealthy. In the late republic and early empire, such ornaments were worn by young boys until the age of manhood. The Latin author Macrobius wrote during the fourth century A.D. that bullae had earlier been worn by triumphators as a safeguard against envy (*Saturnalia*, I, 6, 9). Similar talismans were worn by young women until marriage (Guhl and Koner, p. 744).

Exposed male or female genitalia have also been considered protection from the evil eye. Archaeologist Larissa Bonfante suggested that evil-eye avoidance might account for some ancient uses of nude figures generally and for specific exposures of the breast, vulva, and penis. The Greek goddess Nemesis, the agent and embodiment of the gods' own displeasure with human excess, was often invoked for protection against the evil eye. Even as early as the classical period, Nemesis was represented grasping the neck of her garment, a gesture that was associated with spitting on the breast as a protection against the eye (Legrand). The excavations of Herculaneum and Pompeii have produced a large number of terra-cotta figures that expose themselves in many ingenious ways. The purpose of such figures was presumably to cause laughter and thus confound the malicious. One type depicts a drunken woman who reveals her breasts (inv. 124844). Although intended as a bottle, it was being used as a decoration in the garden of a house at the time of Mount Vesuvius's eruption. Different in spirit, although probably not in apotropaic purpose, is a terra-cotta jug of a young woman giving her breast to a frail old man, called *Cimon* (*Micon?*) and *Pero*, or *Caritas Romana* (inv. 22580, 124846) after a story told by Valerius Maximus: "The eyes of men adhere and marvel when they behold the painted image of this deed" (V, iv, *ext.* 1). The subject also appears in numerous Roman wall paintings and in Renaissance paintings. Valerius Maximus considered the subject exemplary of filial piety, but the maker and the owner of the jug probably viewed it as a symbol of exposure and of nurture especially appropriate to the table and as a protection against the envious eye.

Archaeologist R. Ross Holloway argued that groups of copulating figures appearing in the decoration of the Tomb of the Bulls in Tarquinia, Italy, protected the owner of the tomb from the evil eye even after death. There is little doubt that the Pompeians employed representations of the phallus (either disembodied or as part of the nude or partially clad male or hermaphroditic figure) as emblems against the evil eye and as concomitant charms for acquiring wealth. The naked putti that abound in Pompeian decoration may well have been viewed as talismanic by their owners. Many of these, used as fountain figures in the garden, were associated with life-giving water (Kaposy, pp. 74–75).

Priapus, the god of gardens and male generative power, was the protector of property and prosperity par excellence. His image was frequently displayed in the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum as a sign of good fortune, and he was the subject of a collection of "leveling" verses, the *Carmina Priapea*. Occasionally, as in a painting prominently placed in the vestibule of the house of the Vettii, Priapus is shown wearing a

Phrygian cap and an oriental robe indicating his Asian origin. In this painting, he holds a pair of scales in which he weighs his own phallus against a sack of coins. A basket of fruit is placed on the ground next to his feet. At Pompeii and in Roman art generally, Priapus was a member of the cortege of Bacchus, the god of wine. This group of licentious, carefree drunkards, like Priapus, protected vulnerable drinkers from harm.

Hunchbacks and dwarfs with large genitalia constitute another genre that may have performed an apotropaic function. Their ugliness tended to provoke laughter or perhaps aesthetic injury to the eye, thus protecting the owner and bringing fortune (Fowler). One terra-cotta statuette from Herculaneum (Naples Archaeological Museum, Italy, inv. 27857) shows a grotesque old man dressed as a bulla-wearing schoolboy. His bald, low-browed, large-eared head and his enormous member reveal his true identity as Priapus. As he tugs at his bulla (recalling a similar gesture of the goddess Nemesis), he signals protection against the evil eye. Other dwarfs with enormous phalli (or phalli with appended dwarfs) were cast in bronze and fitted with chains and rings for suspension from rafters or from trees. Small bells were suspended from them for additional protection.

Finger gestures are a practical substitute for genital display. The *cornua* (a gesture that disguises a representation of the vulva between a pair of horns) has been used for protection in Italy continuously from Etruscan times to the present. This gesture is made by a dancer in the Tomb of the Lionesses in Tarquinia and in certain portraits on Volterranean urns (where it is disguised as a hand holding an inverted *phiale*). Another "vulva" gesture found in Hellenistic-Roman sculpture is that made by joining the index finger and thumb and extending the three remaining fingers of the hand. This gesture is supposed to have been a cult gesture of Venus, the goddess of love. Hands or gesturing hands were common as amulets in ancient Pompeii and are common today in Naples. The most popular gesture, both then and now, is a fist with the thumb protruding between the clenched index and middle fingers (Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 433). Another gesture may be represented in the "Sabazius" or "pantheistic" hands found in Pompeii and Herculaneum (Elia). These hands raise the index and middle fingers while closing the ring and little fingers. A magnificent bronze tripod (inv. 27874) found in the first excavations of Pompeii and now in the Naples Museum shows three satyrs with erect phalli. Each holds his right hand on his hip with the index, middle, and little fingers extended and the ring finger curled under while extending the left hand palm outward in an "averting" gesture. Each of the fauns is thus triply apotropaic.

Holloway accounted for the presence of certain animals, such as bulls and lions (or lionesses) in Etruscan tombs, as protection from the evil eye. He also explained the presence of the leopards in the *Gorgon Pediment* from the archaic temple of Artemis, the Greek moon goddess, in Corfu, Greece, as part of an amalgam of symbols designed to thwart the evil eye. Other symbols present are the Gorgon herself and two groups in which Zeus dispatches an opponent by piercing him with a sword or spear—piercing being treated as another traditional threat to the eye. Among the animals that offered protection against the eye, the stork was doubly powerful. Its long bill was a natural enemy of the eye, as depicted in the Woburn Abbey relief. The bill was its chief weapon in combating evil animals

such as the serpent, a victory celebrated in an Aesopian fable by Babrius and in many works of Roman art. The heads of storks commonly appear on Roman silver as subsidiary ornaments, such as handle attachments. Two fine cups from the Boscoreale silver treasure are devoted entirely to scenes of storks feeding crabs, snakes, and the like to their young. A scene of nurture by an apotropaic animal is especially relevant to the function of the vessel on which it appears. Perhaps even more appropriate to the object that they decorate are the two storks attacking serpents that they will feed to their nearby young. This is found on a pair of gladiator's greaves from Pompeii.

Christian art subsumed, if it did not wholly replace, pagan talismans against the evil eye. The cults of St. Sebastian and St. Roch, both protectors against the plague, were (and still are) considered efficacious against the evil eye because they are believed to work by a similar contagion. Some current symbols used in Italy, such as "*la sirena*," the mermaid with split tail joined above her head, are not specifically Christian. Others are "Gobbo," the hunchback, and the ubiquitous red pepper.

Elworthy noted the appearance of several apotropaic hand gestures like the *cornua* in the Ravenna mosaics of the fifth and sixth centuries. Art historian Regina Stefaniak suggested plausibly that Andrea Mantegna's *Madonna della Vittoria* (1496) "presents . . . a complicated icon, thick with remedies against the evil eye, including coral branches, beads and rosaries, an eye-patterned agate throne, and a carbuncle-centered dossal decorated with more coral" (p. 215). Such talismanic protection would have been especially appropriate for the triumphant Francesco Gonzaga, who was exposed to envy from, among others, the Jews, who had been obliged to bear the expense of the commission.

With the growing fame of individual artists in the Renaissance, the theme of envy and enchantment enters into the biographical tradition. The young Leonardo da Vinci, as described by Giorgio Vasari, displayed much interest in subjects related to the evil eye, such as the head of Medusa and knotted cords. Vasari explicitly attributes to envy the malicious efforts made during Leonardo's lifetime to attack his propensity for leaving projects incomplete. One such incident recorded in the *Life of Leonardo* involves his lengthy commission painting *The Last Supper* for the Dominicans in Milan, Italy. Accused by the prior of the order of inactivity, Leonardo had his revenge by depicting the unfortunate man as Judas. Leonardo's gesture was all the more effective to his contemporaries because figures of Judas were known to cast the evil eye (Gombrich, p. 113).

The iconography of the evil eye, mainly restricted to talismans, appears in art only as a series of esoteric motifs. Although a popular hermeneutic tradition exists, only in discussions of the art of Etruria and Pompeii have scholars reached much consensus on this subject.

See also Bacchanalia/Orgy; Envy; Excess; Gaze; Masks/Personae

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

Gorgon Pediment, from Temple of Artemis in Corfu, Greece
Tomb of the Bulls, fresco, sixth century B.C., Tarquinia, Italy

Tomb of Lionesses, fresco, sixth century B.C., Tarquinia, Italy
Hunchback, bronze statuette from Alexandria, Hellenistic Period, Hamburg, Germany, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg

Priapus as Schoolboy, terra-cotta, statuette from
 Herculaneum, before A.D. 79, Naples, Italy, Museo
 Archeologico Nazionale

Pair of Gladiator's Bronze Greaves, Pompeii, before A.D. 79,
 Naples, Italy, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

Pair of Silver Cups with Storks, from Boscoreale, before A.D.
 79, presently in Paris, Louvre

Wall Plaques with Phalli, terra-cotta reliefs, before A.D. 79,
 Pompeii, Italy

Ithyphallic Tintinnabula, bronze, before A.D. 79, Naples,
 Italy, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

The Evil Eye Attacked by Its Enemies, marble relief, Roman
 imperial period, circa 200, Woburn, England, Woburn
 Abbey

Torlonia Harbor Relief, marble from Portus, Roman Imperial
 period, Rome, Museo Torlonia

Renaissance

Mantegna, Andrea, *Madonna della Vittoria*, canvas, 1496,
 Paris, Louvre

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EXCESS

Eugene Dwyer

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Excess:

ANCIENT

RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH–NINETEENTH
CENTURY

MODERN



Eugène Delacroix, *The Death of Sardanapalus*, 1827–1828, oil on canvas, Paris, Louvre.
(Courtesy of Giraudon/Art Resource, New York)

The iconographic category of excess includes the ancient Greek terms *koros* (superfluity), *hybris* (excessive pride), and *hyperbole* (exaggeration); particularly the Latin term *luxuria* (excess); the French *outrance* (excess); and others. The concept of excess is predicated on the concept of natural limit. In classical European thought, all forms of life, both plant and animal, are governed by strict laws to which they must conform. Humans alone have the ability to transgress natural limits or limits set by God. Thus, human offenses against natural limitation constitute moral or legal offenses. The dual standard that exists for humans as opposed to all other forms of life results in some strange linguistic conventions. For example, in Greek, the quality of *hybris* may be found in spirited horses or in a fast river but in humans only as a moral flaw. Similarly, in classical Roman thought, the concept of human moral excess (*luxuria*) is linked with the morally neutral concept of natural abundance, especially the abundance of vegetation. *Luxuria* is thus permitted to the realms of flora and fauna while it is denied to humans.

The Greeks and Romans thought that excess was characteristic not only of nature but also of the marginal peoples of the world, who often were portrayed as giants or as having more offspring than civilized peoples. These qualities were attributed to the Germanic peoples at various times before and after the fall of Rome, although Edward Gibbon sensed the real reason: "The innumerable swarms that issued, or seemed to issue, from the great storehouse of nations [Germany], were multiplied by the fears of the vanquished and by the credulity of succeeding ages" (*The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1776, vol. I, p. 194).

The giants who sought to capture Olympus and overturn the order of the world embodied excessive violence. Their failed attempt, born of *hybris*, and their defeat by the Olympians, is the subject of the *Gigantomachy*, or the *Battle of Gods and Giants*, shown most notably in the metopes of the east facade of the Parthenon (circa 445 B.C.), on the interior surface of the shield of *Athena Parthenos* as sculpted by Phidias, and later in the sculpted frieze of the Altar of Zeus, at Pergamum (second century B.C.). In the earlier archaic representations of the *Gigantomachy* (e.g., the north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphi, Greece, circa 525 B.C.), the giants were depicted as an organized military force (i.e., *combat à outrance*). Later, with Phidias, they were shown as antirational, chthonic, terrestrial forces deployed against the heavens (Vian, pp. 149–150, *passim*). This change to a moral allegorical interpretation resulted in changes in the depictions of the giants. With Phidias, the giants begin to carry animal skins or fight entirely in the nude (Vian, p. 148). Judging from surviving monuments that reflect the shield of *Athena Parthenos*, the giants were arrayed within a lower circle (or sphere)

against the Olympians in an upper or an outer circle. The giants fought with great stones, attempting either to hurl them or to pile them atop one another in an effort to reach the heavens. Thus, their defeat is, from the time of Phidias, characterized as the victory of order and rationality over disorder and excess.

Most related to the human concept of excess are the appetites for violence and sensual indulgence (seen as two extremes of human activity) in that sensual indulgence is thought to enervate. Ironically, the metaphor of oral consumption extends to both extremes, even to the sphere of violence, as in the "thirst for blood." Historically, the Greek poets Homer and Hesiod seem to have taken more notice of excesses of violence than those of sensuality. Later, with increasing attention to personal morality, poets like Callinus of Ephesus in Asia Minor (flourishing in the mid-seventh century B.C.) condemned sensual indulgence because it sapped the potential for war. Presumably addressing a group of idle young men of the city, he railed,

How long do you intend to lie about? Will you ever be of strong heart, young men? Are you not ashamed to lie so excessively [*lian*] idle before your neighbors? . . .
(Fragment 1, 1–3)

The term *koros* (surfeit) is used neutrally by Homer: "There is a limit [*koros*] for all things, even sleep and sex" (*Iliad*, XIII, 636). However, later moralists saw *koros* as an inherent evil and so personified it as a vice. Solon called *koros* the father of *hybris* (i.e., of "overweening pride") (Fragment 5, 9D). Pindar called *hybris* the mother of *koros* (*Olympian*, XIII, 10). Herodotus—or the seer Bacis, quoted by him in Book VIII of *Histories*—agreed, referring to the Persians' designs on Athens in the line "*Hybris*, the rough-spoken mother of *koros*." In fact, it is a recurring motif in Herodotus that the Persians are affected by *hybris*, as they are by *koros*: They are continually guilty of transgressing the moral limits set for human beings (i.e., Greeks) and thus resemble the giants.

Limits set for humans can be defined in terms of divinely ordained "human nature" or in terms of a mean between two extremes. The Greek adages "The mean is best" (*metron ariston*) and "Nothing in excess" (*meden agan*) provided classic ethical formulations of the concept of excess. These moral precepts were associated with Delphic Apollo, the god of prophecy, whence Apollo came to represent the principle of moderation and Dionysus, his alter ego, the principle of excess. Artistic expression of the "Delphic maxim" can be seen most notably in the sculpture of the west pediment of the Temple of Zeus at Olympia, Greece. Here, drunken centaurs are shown assaulting Lapith women and boys—an act of *hybris* punished by the heroes Theseus and Pirithous and by Apollo himself.

The concept of excess is also expressed in the form of mythical examples in ancient art. Those who during their lifetimes transgressed moral or natural limits (Ixion, Sisyphus, and Orion) and were punished in Hades for their sins were favorite subjects in the visual arts. Because the concept of excess (*luxuria*) is essentially a moral concept, it is most appropriately represented in allegorical or symbolic imagery, that is, imagery drawn from the imagination rather than from nature. As an allegory or personification, Excess (Latin *Luxuria*) may be represented as a vice (van de Waal, pp. 11–36).

Following Hesiod, fifth-century philosopher Prodicus (recalling the judgment of Paris) characterized the choice offered to the young Hercules between Virtue and Vice as the choice between two women, one natural and the other adorned (i.e., transgressing natural limits). By representing Vice as a wealthy temptress, Prodicus established the pattern for many subsequent depictions of the eroticized Excess (Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, 2.1.21). The first-century A.D. *Pinax*, falsely attributed to Cebes of Thebes, purported to be a description of a painting of an allegory of human life, including numerous temptresses in the fashion of Prodicus, Fortune being the most prominent. Like Prodicus's Vice, the pseudo-Cebes's Fortune is possessed of two natures, one good (to those who receive her gifts) and one bad (to those from whom she takes away). After Fortune, and allied with her, come Incontinence (Akrasia), Prodigality (Asotia), Greed (Aplestia), and Flattery (Kolakeia) to complete her work. All these specific vices were to be subsumed under the Roman concept of Excess (*Luxuria*).

The evils of excess notwithstanding, the Greeks also believed that moderation might be a cruel deity and that excess had its redeeming qualities. Where Socrates, in his moderation, was a victim sacrificed to Apollo by a populace given to excess, Alexander the Great was destroyed by his own excess, a victim to Dionysus. In reality, Alexander probably died of a fever brought on by excessive celebration, but in the romanticized biographical tradition that sprang up following his death, he became the model of the mortal ruler who probed and exceeded the limits set for humanity. He passed the physical limits of the world known to the Greeks by crossing the Indus River in the east, by ascending into the air in a chariot drawn by griffins, and by descending into the sea in a diving bell. Alexander's desires to exceed the known limits resulted in a personalized *pothos* (desire), or longing for immortality. In his portraits, this characteristic was expressed as an upward turn of the head, an elevation of the features, and a flamelike eruption of the hair (i.e., the *anastole*). Many Hellenistic monarchs subsequently imitated Alexander—and Dionysus.

Chief among the adherents of excess for reasons of religious statecraft were Ptolemy II, called Philadelphus because of his marriage to his sister Arsinoe II (incest being previously forbidden to humans despite its practice by the Olympians), and Mark Antony, who, as consort of Queen Cleopatra of Egypt, consciously stepped out of the role of Roman citizen and into the role of Dionysus. Ptolemy's Alexandrian excesses were memorably enacted and recorded in a procession (described by Athenaeus) that took place from the appearance of the morning star to that of the evening star—an astronomical impossibility. The same monarch competed in architectural excesses

with legendary Eastern rulers such as Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus. Honors given to statesmen that rightly belonged only to the gods are the objects of Plutarch's diatribes in his lives of *Demetrius* and *Antony*. The excesses of Antony and Cleopatra were a favorite subject of Renaissance painters (e.g., Cecchino Salviati, Paolo Veronese, and others; see Reinach, p. 160).

Paul Veyne described the concept of excess in Roman culture (with Horace as the most eloquent spokesman) as a "philosophical anthropology . . . hinged on the notion of extravagance." According to Veyne, the most widespread form of excess is greed, the desire for wealth. The Greeks categorized very neatly three specific temptations to excess in the myth of the judgment of Paris. Of the three goddesses among whom Paris must choose, ancient allegorists saw Aphrodite, the goddess of love, representing erotic desire; Hera, the consort of Zeus, representing desire for wealth; and Athena, the goddess of wisdom, representing desire for knowledge. According to the ancients, no choice was correct because the offended goddesses would surely bring ruin on the hapless Paris. (A similar parable of excess is found in the legend of Faust.)

Although ancient moral philosophers developed the concept of personified excess (i.e., *Koros*, *Luxuria*), it was left for the Middle Ages and the Renaissance to develop an iconography of Excess per se. In the schematization of morals that characterized the medieval period, Excess (*Luxuria*) appeared as a specific vice (e.g., Prudentius, *Psychomachia*) and as one of the series of deadly sins. The representation of *Luxuria* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder incorporates the personification (a nude woman being fondled by an enthroned fiend) into a bizarre landscape filled with emblems of lechery inspired by Hieronymus Bosch. Included are objects suggestive of sexual organs (bottles, clamshells, hollow trees, and fountains) and reptilian humans engaged in various forms of sexual behavior. The Latin caption reads, "Excess saps the strength, effeminizes the limbs." The personification of luxury as a temptress also flourished in Italy. A remarkable drawing of Antonio Pisanello depicts *Luxury* as a nude in a pose of erotic provocation. Despite the lack of a caption, no one has ever had difficulty interpreting this figure as a personification of excess. She gives new meaning to the phrase "action in repose." Quite different is the *Luxuria* that has been recognized in the figure of Vulcan, the god of fire, in the frescoes by Cosimo Tura in the Sala dei Mesi of the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara, Italy. The astrological program calls for a *Triumph of Vulcan*, but the figure that dominates the month of September (Libra) is anything but the familiar Olympian. To the left is the cave of the Cyclopes, who are at work on the net at their forge. To the right, Venus lies on a bed with Mars, apparently immobilized and under the eyes of the other Olympians. In the center, a grotesque and effeminate Vulcan, riding atop a car drawn by apes, points at his genitals (or at the agents of his dishonor?) with the index finger of his right hand. By an illogical but familiar transference, the cuckold has become the embodiment of his dishonor, the personification of excess.

Symbolic representations of excess may also take more topical forms through the use of exempla. Illustrative examples may be taken from traditional sources such as the Bible or classical literature. By the late Middle Ages, the subject of Aristotle and Phyllis had become a popular narrative example (*fatto*) of

the moral concept of excess. Similar narrative subjects illustrating the power of women over men were often treated in series of engravings or woodcuts or were enacted in pageants. In addition to classical history and mythology, vulgar proverbs and suggestive objects also served as examples of excess.

Hieronymus Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights* looks like a Triumph of Excess without the personification. Mention has been made above of Bruegel's debt to Bosch for his numerous symbolic depictions of excess. Indeed, no artist has ever treated the subject more effectively than Bosch, who made clever use of natural creatures such as birds, mice, and insects and lush, natural settings as he exploited the paradoxes of human morality, adding bestiality to the sins of excess.

Like classical antiquity, the Renaissance recognized the embodiment of excess in Bacchus above all and even in Venus. Bacchic subjects abound from the end of the fifteenth century. Many, such as Andrea Mantegna's engravings *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat* (circa 1475) and *Bacchanal with Silenus* (1475–1480), show the results of drinking to excess. The tradition of such pictures includes Titian's *Bacchanal of the Andrians* (circa 1520) and finds contemporary expression in Diego Velázquez's *The Drunkards* (1628). Whereas François Rabelais attempted to find common cause with the ancients in the traditions of abundance and excess in his own country, Dutch painters such as Pieter Aertsen saw an opportunity to express the old ideas in the profuse display of food in their own crowded markets.

An oriental setting offered virtually unrestricted opportunities for the pictorial imagination. From Herodotus to Eugène Delacroix, one of the most important narrative examples of excess has been Sardanapalus, the last Assyrian monarch. In his lifetime, Sardanapalus had lived a paradigmatic life of sensuality. When told that his city, Nineveh, had fallen into the hands of his enemies, he chose to die by having himself burned with his concubines. His story was told and retold by ancient historians, beginning with Herodotus, from which sources it entered into Renaissance pictorial iconography. In the 1758–1760 Hertel edition of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, the Ripan figure of Lust (*Impudicitia*, *Lussuria*) appears with a *fatto* (i.e., an exemplary scene) illustrating Sardanapalus bedded with his concubines and unmindful of his obligation to his kingdom. Inspired by George Gordon, Lord Byron's, play *Sardanapalus* (1821), Delacroix painted his monumental *Death of Sardanapalus* (Salon of 1827–1828) as a psychological study of the cruelty and sensuality embodied in the concept of excess. The oriental venue is consistent with the marginalized giants and barbarians, prodigious of limb and of sexual prowess, found in earlier iconography.

Perhaps the most widely known modern picture of excess is Thomas Couture's *Romans of the Decadence* (1847). Couture's picture is the visual expression of the Enlightenment historians Montesquieu (*Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des romains et de leur décadence* [1734]) and Edward Gibbon (*The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* [1776]). Montesquieu wrote,

I believe that the Epicurean sect, introduced into Rome at the end of the Republic, contributed much to the debasement of the heart and spirit of the Romans. (Chapter 10)

Here, all the familiar themes are transferred from the marginal barbarians to the Romans themselves: sensual excess in the form of drink and sex that saps the spirit for making war. The contrast with the rigid morality of earlier Romans is made through the abuse of the stately portraits by the tipsy crowd. The new manners weaken the vitality of the state and will bring on its downfall. The spirit of the Republic calls out for the rejection of this selfish excess.

See also Bacchanalia/Orgy; Choice/Choosing; Luxury; Vices/Deadly Sins

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

- Battle of Gods and Giants*, frieze of Siphnian Treasury, circa 525 B.C., Delphi, Greece
- Phidias, *Battle of Gods and Giants*, metopes of east facade of Parthenon, circa 445 B.C., Athens, Greece
- Phidias, *Athena Parthenos*, gold and ivory statue, circa 435 B.C., Athens, Parthenon (lost)
- Altar of Zeus, Pergamum, Greece, second century B.C., Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Renaissance

- Pisanello, Antonio, *Luxuria*, drawing, before 1455, Vienna, Austria, Albertina
- Tura, Cosimo, *September*, fresco, circa 1470, Ferrara, Italy, Palazzo Schifanoia, Sala dei Mesi
- Mantegna, Andrea, *Bacchanal with a Wine Vat; Bacchanal with Silenus*, engravings, circa 1475–1480
- Bosch, Hieronymus, *Garden of Earthly Delights*, oil on panel, circa 1500, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Titian, *Bacchanal of the Andrians*, oil on canvas, circa 1520, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *Luxuria*, engraving by Pieter van der Heyden, 1557

Seventeenth–Nineteenth Century

- Velázquez, Diego, *The Drunkards*, oil on canvas, 1628, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Ripa, Cesare, "Impudicitia," *Iconologia*, edited by J. G. Hertel, 1758–1760
- Delacroix, Eugène, *The Death of Sardanapalus*, oil on canvas, 1827–1828, Paris, Louvre
- Couture, Thomas, *Romans of the Decadence*, oil on canvas, 1847, Paris, Louvre

Modern

- Cadmus, Paul, *The Seven Deadly Sins: Lust*, egg tempera on pressed wood panel, 1945–1949, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

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EXPULSION

Sarah S. Gibson
Paul Grimley Kuntz

The following iconographic narratives and genres are covered in the discussion of the theme Expulsion:

DISCOVERY OF CALLISTO'S
PREGNANCY

FALL OF THE REBEL ANGELS

EXPULSION FROM THE
GARDEN OF EDEN

EXPULSION OF THE MONEY
CHANGERS

EXPULSION OF HELIODORUS

OTHER EXPULSIONS

GENRE: EXPULSION

GENRE: EMIGRATION



Ford Madox Brown, *The Last of England*, 1855, oil on canvas, Birmingham, England, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery. (Courtesy of the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery)

The act of removing people from their present location, their homes, or their homeland through force or threat of force, commonly called expulsion, occurs in several different contexts in mythology, religious narratives, and history. Many narratives of journeys begin with flight from threat or uncomfortable situations, such as Aeneas fleeing from Troy, the Holy Family embarking on their flight into Egypt, or emigrants leaving the old world for the new. (These narratives are also covered in the essay *Journey/Flight*.) This essay deals more directly with narratives that focus on the actual act of driving people out of their home or land and the events leading up to these expulsions or emigrations.

In the Christian tradition, the oldest expulsion is that of Satan, or Lucifer, who, with his followers, is expelled from heaven to the lower regions when they rebel against God and try to supplant Him. The story is alluded to in the Old Testament (Isaiah 14:12–21), and Jewish legends about this rebellion were adapted by Christian theologians in the apocryphal Book of Enoch, the New Testament (Revelation 12:7–9), and Jacobus de Voragine's *The Golden Legend* (circa 1296). The rebel angels are those who had sinned and whose prince, Lucifer, envying Adam, caused him to sin in turn. It was also believed that Adam and Eve had been created so that their offspring would fill the places left vacant by the fallen angels (Gibson, p. 54). Hieronymus Bosch shows the expulsion of Adam and Eve in conjunction with the fall of the rebel angels in two triptychs, the *Last Judgment* (circa 1485–1500) in the Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Vienna, Austria, and *The Haywain* (circa 1485–1500) in the Prado in Madrid, Spain, thereby effectively linking the two episodes. The fall of the rebel angels seems to have been a favored topic in the sixteenth century as Raphael, Gerard David, Frans Floris, and Pieter Bruegel the Elder painted versions of the theme. Other artistic expressions include William Blake's illustrations to John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and versions by John Martin and Edward Burne-Jones.

The climax of God's creation of the world is the creation of Adam and Eve (Genesis 1–2). Their story, as depicted in art, is based on the second and third chapters of Genesis: the story in the Garden of Eden. Adam is to tend the Garden and live with the animals, which he names. How and why Adam is given Eve and how they lose paradise through disobedience, are expelled into a cursed world, and cursed with hard labor—man's labor and woman's labor—are stories painted, carved, and reproduced innumerable times. Although different aspects of the story have been symbolized over the centuries, the creation, temptation, fall, and expulsion are inextricably linked.

The expulsion from the Garden of Eden is a primary Christian image, one of the most powerful renditions of which

is Masaccio's fresco (1427) in the Brancacci Chapel in Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence, Italy, in which the two protagonists are expelled by a sword-wielding angel. Michelangelo's *Expulsion of Adam and Eve* (1508–1512) in the Sistine Chapel's ceiling frescoes also eloquently portrays the grief of leaving Eden. Albrecht Dürer, in a woodcut (1510), endows his figures with similar power, and the sword-bearing angel is still present.

Even in medieval times, artists welcomed the opportunity the story offered: to paint, sculpt, or draw the human forms as beautifully as God created the first male and first female, naked and unashamed. We can see these forms in the marble bas-reliefs of the creation in the pilaster of the Cathedral of Orvieto, Italy. The serpent is coiled around the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. Although the serpent, with its long, forked tongue, is speaking to Eve, Adam, equally innocent, reaches out his hand to take the apple. Eve does not seem any more tempted than does Adam; they are equally disobedient. The four rivers of Eden are symbolized as four streams from a central octagonal pool. The boy and girl are caught and questioned by God, and only when the angel with a flaming sword pushes them out does Adam show, by his hand, that he is ashamed of his nakedness. The brutal clubbing to death of Abel, the first murder, seems to be true depravity. Adam and Eve disobeyed and evaded the honest truth, but Cain is the epitome of violence.

We may be tempted to generalize that northern European artists were less comfortable with Adam and Eve in full nakedness, because Hugo van der Goes pictured Adam standing with his hand concealing his genitals while Eve, talking with a human-faced tempter, holds a leafy branch to hide her private parts. Similarly, Dürer's *Temptation* (1504) has leaves artfully positioned to prevent immodesty. But such a generalization is only partly true of Lucas Cranach the Elder, who also did many temptingly erotic Eves similar to his Venuses. Was lust the fatal fruit? It is not uncommon for lusty men, such as Count Leo Tolstoy, to place the blame on women, who are accused of luring and trapping them.

Should Adam be painted as trying to resist the temptation of the serpent's invitation? Michelangelo's temptation scene in the Sistine Chapel seems to show Eve willingly accepting the fruit while Adam remonstrates. In the expulsion scene in the same fresco, both turn away from the avenging angel, and Eve hides her face in her hands.

In Michelangelo's temptation fresco, the serpent has the face of a woman. Who is she? An interesting account holds that she is the horror of married bliss, the "other woman." It may well be Lilith, the central female in Jewish demonology, sometimes also referred to as the Devil's Wife. According to folklore, she

was the female made of clay (like Adam) on the sixth day of creation. But she was unwilling to forgo equality and even disputed the mode of intercourse. She flew off, pronouncing the ineffable name of God (YHWH), and angels had to protect Adam. She bore many evil offspring and tries even now to strangle babies, who, with their mothers, need protection (Sholem, "Lilith").

The Christian story of the expulsion has some precedents. In a painting from Muslim sources, the first man and woman according to Zoroastrian legend are called, respectively, Mesha and Meshyama. They had 50 years of bliss before the evil god Ahriman tempted them with a pomegranate. There is a similar decline from the Age of Gold (so called by Greeks, such as the poet Hesiod), to the ages of Silver and Bronze, and finally to the Age of Iron.

Why are paintings of the temptation and the expulsion so varied iconographically? Because the body language is so brilliantly imaginative. In Tintoretto's *The Fall* (1550–1553), Eve, holding the tree trunk, leans toward Adam, holding the apple out to him while he leans far back, as though shrinking from the poisoned fruit. In the background, tiny figures flee an angel of light. Probably the grimmest painting of the expulsion is that of Masaccio (1427). The bodies of Adam and Eve evoke a powerful sense of despair (the leaves around their loins were added by another hand).

Cranach painted a *Last Judgment* in a triptych in which the whole first scene, the left wing, consists of various stages of the story in the Garden of Eden leading to the expulsion. God the judge sits enthroned above. Thus, the fall can be read as a first judgment.

William Blake created a *Temptation* with several novelties. The tree is of fantastic thorny bark and jagged, exposed roots. Adam is studying the tree's branch while the serpent coils itself around Eve. She responds erotically by caressing the serpent, which, with its mouth, places the fruit in her mouth. Was original sin then a combination of Adam's diversion from the real scene into theory and Eve's fall into bestiality? Thomas Cole's *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden* (1825) shows how a landscapist of the Hudson River School pictures the contrast between a garden and wilderness.

Temptation and yielding to temptation can be anything but a pretty picture. Max Beckmann painted several versions of this scene. In *Adam and Eve* (1917), Adam is ungainly, skinny, awkwardly tall, and surly looking. Eve is misshapen, with a heavy body on disproportionately thin legs. Rather than holding out the forbidden fruit, she holds out a breast for the man.

Not all interpreters of the expulsion agree that the descendants of Adam and Eve were forever barred from reentering paradise. One of the great dreams of mystics was to reunite the human spark with the divine fire. For example, George Fox, founder of the Quakers, held out the hope of being in the state of "Adam before the fall." It is difficult to think of a return to innocence after experience, and this is one of the great themes explored in poems and visual art by Blake. Is there really for us a sequel to *Paradise Lost*, as in Milton's second epic, *Paradise Regained*?

In the eighteenth century, European disgust with civilization fed the hope of finding unspoiled noble savages. The saving

example of trouble-free adolescence and guilt-free sexuality was *Coming of Age in Samoa*. Only recently has anthropology revealed that Margaret Mead was dreaming of a return to Eden in blissful Samoa (Freeman). Among painters, Paul Gauguin is most noted for presenting the unspoiled Eves of Tahiti. As an alternative to civilization that was driving him to suicide, he looked to his string of lovers to save him from despair.

Other expulsions related to biblical themes include that by Abraham of his concubine, Hagar, and their son, Ishmael, an inherently dramatic story. They are sent into the wilderness lest Ishmael share the inheritance of Isaac, Abraham's son by his jealous wife Sarah. Claude Lorrain, in his painting *Departure of Hagar and Ishmael* (1668), chose to show Hagar as resigned rather than despairing, as if she were embarking on a brief journey to a neighboring land. The scene of Hagar's expulsion has been interpreted as a foretype of Jesus Christ's driving the money changers from the temple.

Two other biblical expulsions are linked typologically: The expulsion of Heliόδorus from the temple was seen in the Middle Ages as a prefiguration of Christ's expulsion of the money changers from the temple, which in turn was seen by some in the Reformation to prefigure Martin Luther's condemnation of the sale of papal indulgences. Renaissance humanists also associated the mythical ancient Greek hero Hercules cleaning the Augean stables with these scenes. Christ, erupting in uncharacteristic anger, made a whip of bunched cords (a detail found only in the Gospel According to John), lashed out at the sacrificial animals being sold, overturned tables, scattered money, and cleared the temple precincts (Matthew 21:12; Mark 11:15, 17; Luke 19:45–46; John 2:14–16). Interestingly, Christ's objection to the changers was not that they were exploiting their customers or even that they were dishonest but that they carried on their business in the Court of the Gentiles, thereby thwarting Gentile worship of the God of Israel at the temple. Numerous examples of Christ's expulsion of the money changers from the temple can be found, among them Dürer's woodcut (1510) from *The Little Passion* series and a painting by Bernardo Cavallino (circa 1645). El Greco painted the expulsion of the money changers from the temple a number of times in different versions, starting before 1570 and extending to 1610–1614.

The Apocrypha relates the story of Heliόδorus, a high official of Syrian King Seleucus IV Philopater, who was dispatched on a journey by the king to confiscate the temple treasury at Jerusalem, a depository for widows and orphans. The plan was thwarted by divine intervention in the form of a horse whose rider wore golden armor and was accompanied by two strong young men. The horse attacked Heliόδorus with its hooves, and the youths scourged him (II Maccabees 3:7–14, 22–26). Revived by the prayers of the high priest Onias, Heliόδorus returned to Seleucus and testified to the power of the Supreme God.

Raphael's fresco of the Heliόδorus story (1511–1512) in the Stanza d'Eliodoro in the Vatican may also have incorporated the notions of the Roman Catholic Church's triumph over schismatics and of a continuous struggle to protect the Church from those who, like Heliόδorus, would despoil her treasures (Ettlinger, p. 182). Art historian John Shearman notes that when Pope Julius II commissioned the work in 1511, he was

engaged in a dispute with secular powers about Church revenues. With this as background, the Heliodorus story may be seen as illustrating divine sanction for the Church's temporal possessions and as a metaphor of the papal position on the moral issue of licit and illicit treasure (Shearman, pp. 83–84). Raphael's painting is full of fire and drama and must surely have impressed all who were received by the pope in this particular room.

Expulsions were not only biblical but also historical. The Irish evictions were detailed in such accounts as the *Illustrated London News* report of December 16, 1848 (with accompanying engravings of the ejection of the Irish tenantry) and shown in paintings by Frederick Goodall, such as *The Irish Eviction* and *Watching the Departure of the Emigrant Ships* (both 1848), which are now lost. George Frederic Watts was moved by the accounts of the great Irish potato famine of 1845–1849 to paint *The Irish Famine* (1846–1850) in the Watts Gallery in Compton, England, which shows a displaced and starving Irish family in a bleak, monotone landscape. A painting by Walter Deverell, *The Irish Vagrants* (1853–1854), in the Johannesburg Art Gallery in the Republic of South Africa details the same plight. Other nineteenth-century artists took up the theme of expulsion based on the notorious Highland clearances in Scotland in 1782–1820 and 1840–1854. John Watson Nicol, in *Lochaber No More* (1883), shows a woman prostrate in despair, surrounded by her meager belongings on the deck of a ship and her dog in typical quasi-human Victorian pose trying to offer comfort while her husband gazes stoically, if bitterly, into the distance (whether looking ahead or behind is not clear). Similar sentiments of sorrow and despair are expressed in Thomas Faed's *The Last of the Clan* (1865), now in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum in Scotland, where an old crofter astride a pitifully small and tired Highland pony contemplates the eviction of his people (one of whom holds the seemingly requisite little dog). Unfortunately, the success that such sentimental pictures enjoyed in Victorian England did not help the Highlanders. It is not only the loss of a home that makes these works of art so poignant; it is also the fear of the unknown in the journey that lies ahead.

The theme of expulsion has at least one source in classical mythology. Callisto, one of the nymphs of Artemis (Diana), the moon goddess, had the misfortune to attract the attention of the king of the gods, Zeus (Jupiter), who, in the guise of Artemis, seduced and impregnated her. Callisto tried to hide her pregnancy, but one day when the nymphs were bathing, Artemis noticed her changing shape. The angry goddess of chastity drove the pregnant nymph from their midst. Callisto eventually gave birth to a son and was changed into a bear by the jealous goddess Hera (Juno), consort of Zeus. Later, Zeus transformed Callisto into the Great Bear (Ursa Major) constellation. Several paintings depict the moment when Artemis discovers Callisto's condition and expels her from the group of nymphs.

A few nineteenth-century paintings dealt with the theme of the expulsion of a family member from his or her own home, usually for some act offensive to the head of the family. Richard Redgrave's *The Outcast* (1851) in the Royal Academy of Arts in London is one of the most poignant of this genre. In the cen-

ter of the scene, a stern and unforgiving paterfamilias opens the door of a modest cottage to show the snow drifted against it and a cold night waiting outside. He gestures toward the night with his hand, indicating the direction to a young woman (the dreaded fallen woman of Victorian society), who clutches a small baby to her breast. To the left of the painting, the rest of the family register their dismay at the father's action: A young woman, probably a sister, is on her knees at the father's feet, begging mercy for the young woman and child while another young woman beats her fists against the wall. A young man, probably her brother, buries his head in his hands and weeps while two other figures, an older woman and a young man, look on in dismay. A crumpled letter on the floor has apparently played its part in revealing the fate of the woman and precipitating her expulsion from the family home. Redgrave's painting elicits sympathy for the young mother but also presents a moral lesson for those who stray outside the bounds of Victorian morality.

During the nineteenth century in England, emigration became an important subject for artists, especially because of a series of emigrations connected with sentencing criminals to serve time in Australia, evicting peasants in Ireland followed by a series of potato crop failures, and discovering gold in Australia. Many genre paintings depicting this subject focused on the departure of the emigrants, some showing hope, some with a sense of great foreboding, but all with a sense that they might never see family and homeland again. In Richard Redgrave's *The Emigrant's Last Sight of Home* (1858) in the Tate Gallery in London, the emigrating family pauses on the crest of the hill that will block the sight of their old home. The husband turns for a last wave of farewell while his wife, with two small children clinging to her, looks close to tears.

Ford Madox Brown's well-known painting *The Last of England* (1852–1855) in the City Museum and Art Gallery in Birmingham, England (a version is also in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, England), was inspired by the lack of economic opportunity in England and the plans of his friend Thomas Woolner to immigrate to Australia. Using self-portraits of himself and his wife and child on a ship outward bound from England, Brown imagines leaving England because of hard economic times. Whatever personal reasons may have underlain Brown's choice of theme, he spoke of it as a history painting and described in some detail what he intended to portray:

It treats of the great emigration movement which attained its culminating point in 1852. The educated are bound to their country by closer ties than the illiterate man, whose chief consideration is food and physical comfort. I have therefore in order to present the parting scene in its fullest tragic development, singled out a couple from the middle classes, high enough through education and refinement, to appreciate all they are now giving up, and yet depressed enough in means to have to put up with the discomforts and humiliations incident to a vessel "all one class." The husband broods bitterly over blighted hopes and severance from all he has been striving for. The young wife's grief is of a less cankerous sort,

probably confined to the sorrow of parting with a few friends of early years. The circle of her love moves with her. (Newman and Watkinson, p. 89)

Although Brown is probably not accurate in saying that a couple from the middle classes suffers more than one from the lower classes, the picture itself is a severe indictment of a wealthy country forcing its people into exile. The sad irony is underscored by the name of the ship—*Eldorado*—inscribed on a lifeboat in the background. James Collinson's *The Emigration Scheme* (private collection) and Erskine Nicol's *The Emigrant's Departure* (1864) in the Tate Gallery in London are further examples of this genre. Occasionally, an artist will depict the landing of the immigrant, as in *An Irish Immigrant Landing at Liverpool* (1871) in the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh, or even the return of the emigrant, as in George Bernard O'Neill's *The Return from Australia*.

In depicting expulsions, some artists, especially in the case of Adam and Eve, choose to dwell on the cause of the expulsion and make the temptation and fall an integral part of the treatment of it. Other artists, especially those depicting the money changers and Heliodorus, leave the cause unexplained and dwell on the violent flurry of activity involved in the action itself. Those treating the fall of the rebel angels usually show the immediate aftermath, the helter-skelter downward plummet of the falling angels. Still other artists, especially those treating the Irish and Scottish evictions, reveal more sympathy for the victims of expulsion. From being a cautionary tale about the grave results of disobedience, the theme of expulsion moves to a righteous display of anger and the depiction of the tragic results of ruthless economy and sexual irresponsibility.

See also Journey/Flight; Sin/Sinning; Temptation

Selected Works of Art

Discovery of Callisto's Pregnancy

Titian, *Diana and Callisto*, circa 1566, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Bril, Paul, *Diana Discovers the Pregnancy of Callisto*, before 1626, Paris, Louvre

Tassi, Agostino, *Diana and Callisto*, circa 1626, London, National Gallery

Clerck, Hendrick de, *Diana Discovering the Pregnancy of Callisto*, before 1629, Paris, Louvre

Fall of the Rebel Angels

Limbouurg Brothers, *Fall of the Rebels Angels*, illuminated manuscript, *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, 1413–1416, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé (Ms. 65, fol. 64v)

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Fall of the Rebel Angels*, from *The Haywain* triptych, painting, circa 1485–1500, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Fall of the Rebel Angels*, from *Last Judgment* triptych, painting, circa 1485–1500, Vienna, Austria, Akademie der Bildenden Künste

Blake, William, *Satan Arousing the Rebel Angels*, pen and watercolor, 1808, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Blake, William, *The Rout of the Rebel Angels*, pen and watercolor, 1808, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Martin, John, *The Fallen Angels Entering Pandemonium*, circa 1840, London, Tate Gallery

Expulsion from the Garden of Eden

Jacopo della Quercia, *Expulsion*, marble panel on main portal, 1425–1438, Bologna, Italy, St. Petronio

Masaccio, *The Expulsion*, fresco, circa 1427, Florence, Italy, Sta. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel

Goes, Hugo van der, *The Fall*, late fifteenth century, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Mantegazza, Christoforo, *Expulsion from the Garden*, marble bas-relief, circa 1480, Pavia, Italy, Certosa

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Expulsion of Adam and Eve*, from *The Haywain* triptych, painting, circa 1485–1500, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Expulsion of Adam and Eve*, from *Last Judgment* triptych, painting, circa 1485–1500, Vienna, Austria, Akademie der Bildenden Künste

Michelangelo, *Expulsion of Adam and Eve*, fresco, 1508–1512, Vatican, Sistine Chapel

Dürer, Albrecht, *The Expulsion from Paradise*, from *The Little Passion*, woodcut, 1510

Dürer, Albrecht, *The Fall*, woodcut, 1511

Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *Adam and Eve*, woodcut, 1526

Tintoretto, *The Fall*, oil on canvas, 1550–1553, Venice, Italy, Gallerie dell'Accademia

Merian, Matthäus, *Adam and Eve Are Sent from the Garden of Eden*, engravings from *Merian-Bible*, 1630

Blake, William, *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden*, pen and watercolor, 1808, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Cole, Thomas, *Expulsion from the Garden of Eden*, oil, 1825, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Lanoue, Félix-Hippolyte, *Adam and Eve Expelled from the Garden of Eden*, painting, 1841, Paris, École des Beaux-Arts

Watts, George Frederic, *Expulsion of Adam and Eve*, oil on canvas, circa 1873–1898, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum

Strang, William, *Expulsion of Adam and Eve*, painting, 1901, private collection

Beckmann, Max, *Adam and Eve*, oil on canvas, 1917, private collection

Escher, Maurits Cornelis, *The Fall of Man*, engraving, 1927

Expulsion of the Money Changers

Ghiberti, *Jesus Driving the Merchants from the Temple*, relief on north door, 1405–1424, Florence, Italy, Baptistery

Pacher, Michael, *Expulsion of the Moneychangers from the Temple*, altarpiece of St. Wolfgang, painting, 1471–1481, Austria, Sankt Wolfgang am Ambersee

Christ Driving Out the Moneychangers, manuscript illumination, *Book of Hours*, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Library

- Dürer, Albrecht, *Christ Expelling the Moneychangers from the Temple*, from *The Little Passion*, woodcut, 1510
- El Greco, *Expulsion of the Money Changers from the Temple*, oil, before 1570, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- El Greco, *Expulsion of the Money Changers from the Temple*, oil, circa 1572, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Minneapolis Institute of Art
- El Greco, *Expulsion of the Money Changers from the Temple*, oil, after 1600, New York, Frick Collection
- El Greco, *Christ Driving the Money Changers from the Temple*, oil, circa 1595–1600, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum
- El Greco, *Christ Driving the Traders from the Temple*, oil, circa 1604, London, National Gallery
- El Greco, *Expulsion of the Money Changers from the Temple*, oil, 1610–1614, Madrid, Spain, Várez-Fisa Collection
- Cavallino, Bernardo, *Christ Driving the Merchants from the Temple*, painting, circa 1645, London, National Gallery
- Jordaens, Jacob, *Jesus Cleansing the Temple*, 1684, Paris, Louvre

Expulsion of Heliodorus

- Raphael, *The Expulsion of Heliodorus*, fresco, 1511–1512, Vatican, Stanza d'Elidoro
- Cavallino, Bernardo, *The Expulsion of Heliodorus from the Temple*, painting, mid-seventeenth century, Moscow, Russia, State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts

Other Expulsions

- Raphael, *Expulsion of Attila*, fresco, 1513–1514, Rome, Vatican, Stanza d'Elidoro
- Giordano, Luca, *The Rejection of Hagar*, painting, circa 1660, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
- Lorrain, Claude, *Departure of Hagar and Ishmael*, painting, 1668, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinacothek

Genre: Expulsion

- Watts, George Frederic, *The Irish Famine*, 1846–1850, Compton, England, Watts Gallery
- Goodall, Frederick, *The Irish Eviction*, painting, 1848 (lost)
- Goodall, Frederick, *Watching the Departure of the Emigrant Ships*, painting, 1848 (lost)
- Redgrave, Richard, *The Outcast*, 1851, London, Royal Academy
- Deverell, Walter, *The Irish Vagrants*, 1853–1854, Johannesburg, South Africa, Johannesburg Art Gallery
- Faed, Thomas, *The Last of the Clan*, painting, 1865, Glasgow, Scotland, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum
- Nicol, John Watson, *Lochaber No More*, 1883, present location unknown

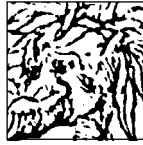
- Fletcher, William, *Evicted*, circa 1887, Queensland, Australia, Queensland Art Gallery
- Herdman, Robert, *Landless and Homeless: Farewell to the Glen*, painting, 1887, present location unknown

Genre: Emigration

- Brown, Ford Madox, *The Last of England*, oil on panel, 1852–1855, Birmingham, England, City Museum and Art Gallery
- Brown, Ford Madox, *The Last of England*, 1852–1855, Cambridge University, Fitzwilliam Museum
- Redgrave, Richard, *The Emigrant's Last Sight of Home*, oil, 1858, London, Tate Gallery
- Quidor, John, *Embarkation from Communipaw*, oil on canvas, 1861, Detroit, Michigan, Detroit Institute of Arts
- Nicol, Erskine, *The Emigrant's Departure*, 1864, London, Tate Gallery

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FAME

Liana De Girolami Cheney

The following are covered in the discussion of the theme Fame:

EMBLEMS

PAINTINGS: FAME

PAINTINGS, DRAWINGS,
PRINTS: TRIUMPHS

PRINTS

SCULPTURE

ARCHITECTURE

CLASSICAL SOURCES

ALLEGORICAL PROGRAMS IN
THE RENAISSANCE

NINETEENTH AND
TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Ex literarum studijs immor-
talitatem acquiri.



Neptuni tubicen, cuius pars ultima cetum,
Aequoreum facies indicat esse Deum:
Serpentis medio Triton comprehenditur orbe,
Qui caudam inserto mordicus cre tenet.
Fama viros animo insignes, praeclaraq; gesta
Prosequitur: toto mandat & orbe legi.

Andrea Alciati, Emblem 132, *Ex literarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri* (Immortality is achieved by literary studies), woodcut from *Emblemata* (Milan, 1531). (Courtesy of the author)

This essay discusses the classical sources for the personification of fame, describes the attributes and associated concepts, alludes to the appearance of Fame in death and triumph imagery, discusses the *uomini famosi* (famous men) and the *donne famose* (famous women), and makes a detailed comparison of the Renaissance use of the personification of fame in several decorative programs. This essay also comments on the role of fame in art since the Renaissance.

Classical Sources

Pheme is the Greek word for the goddess of fame, who was a messenger of the king of the gods, Zeus (Jupiter). She descended to Earth to announce the crimes and infamous actions of the gods in vindication of the death of the giants, her children, whom the gods destroyed. In the literature of ancient Rome, she personifies unverifiable rumor and an individual's reputation. Ovid describes her as a messenger of simultaneous and indistinguishable truth and falsehood and Virgil as a hideous creature with multiple, constantly blabbering mouths and tongues.

Fame is usually represented as winged because of her continuous flight both night and day. She brings both good and bad news, and she is identified as the good goddess or bad goddess, respectively, by the presence or absence of a flying bat as her attribute.

In ancient mythology, the thunderbolt (lightning) was a sign of Fame because no other sound was as powerful as thunder. Moreover, lightning represented a celestial fire and an active, dynamic force of creation, such as Zeus. According to Hellenistic legend, Olympia, the mother of Alexander the Great, claimed that on her wedding night she felt as if thunder had penetrated her, an allusion to the divine birth and future fame of her son. In his portrait of Alexander the Great, the painter Apelles placed a thunderbolt in one of the emperor's hands as a sign of his fame (Ronchetti, vol. I, p. 376).

The trumpet as an attribute of Fame appears to be a Roman invention. The Romans wanted to honor the achievements of Saturn, the god of agriculture; therefore, they portrayed tritons, demigods of the sea, with their tails hidden and blowing horns in front of his temple, alluding to the fact that before the accomplishments of Saturn, the Earth lay in darkness.

Fame's trumpet, an invariable attribute of Renaissance and later art, is long and straight and may have wings. Fame may hold a palm branch, the symbol of victory, for which she is generally the reward. She may, for the same reason, wear a crown. She sometimes sits on a globe, a sign of her ubiquity.

Good Fame is accompanied by such companions as Honor or Virtue (a figure holding a laurel crown), Scream (a figure with large, swollen eyes from yelling so hard), Noise (a figure

with a sonorous, thunderous voice), and Glory (a triumphant figure granting honors). In contrast, bad Fame's companions are Calumny, Disgrace, Infamy, Reproach, and Blame.

Fame, like the messenger god Mercury, may be associated with the Five Arts, the Seven Liberal Arts, or the Muses, as when she leads them up Mount Olympus. In each case, the winged horse Pegasus occurs as another attribute of Fame. His poetic and victorious endeavors, such as his association with the Muses and his conquest of the Chimera, a mythical she-monster, earned him this association with Fame. After accomplishing his deeds, Pegasus flew to the heavens and was transported into the constellation bearing his name (Hyginus, *Fables*; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, IV; Homer, *Iliad*, VI; Hesiod, *Theogony*).

When Mercury is identified with Fame, he employs some of her attributes, such as the trumpet, as seen in Andrea Mantegna's *Mercury* (1470s), a tarot card, where the god blows a trumpet and holds a caduceus. Another Mantegna tarot card, *Judgment*, shows an angelic figure blowing one or two trumpets. This is a reference to the angel of judgment or Michael the archangel, who on the Judgment Day will announce the good and evil deeds of humanity. During the Middle Ages, it was expected that at the end of the world Christ would appear in majesty on the clouds and call on Michael the archangel to sound the last trumpet, at which point the dead would rise from the graves to be judged.

The personification of Fame as female was well known in classical antiquity. She is found in the company of the illustrious dead and occasionally among the living, whom she bears away on her tireless wings (Horace, *Odes* 2, 2:7–8). This concept was assimilated by the emblematic tradition of the sixteenth century, where Fame is found in association with historical figures and is often seen on funerary sculpture. Andrea Alciati's Emblem 136 *Strenuorum immortale nomen* ("The fame of men of action is immortal") illustrates the nude sea goddess Thetis seated in a shell supported by a dolphin, floating toward the tomb of Achilles, her mortal son. She places an amaranth (wreath) on top of the tomb to honor the hero's death. Another representation of the power of Fame over death occurs in the depiction of the triumph of Fame, in which she overcomes death while riding in a car drawn by elephants.

The Roman triumph was a celebration that followed a military victory, clearly a moment imparting fame. Fourteenth-century humanists such as Dante and Petrarch assimilated this triumphal concept in their writings. Cantos 29–31 of Dante's *The Divine Comedy*, inspired by the Roman description of triumph and historical heroism, expanded this concept to the victory of Christianity over paganism. In Botticelli's illustration (1482) for canto 29 of *The Divine Comedy*, Beatrice appears in the triumphator's car accompanied by the apocalyptic beast,

the 24 elders, and the Virtues. This religious concept of fame is later introduced into Christian art in pictures such as the triumph of Christianity or the Eucharist, in which the chariot bears a cross or a chalice instead of a human figure.

Fame is noted by Petrarch in his *Trionfi* series of allegorical victories, each succeeding victory overcoming the last. The triumph of Love is overcome by Chastity and the triumph of Chastity by Death. They are followed in turn by Fame, Time, and Eternity.

A series of triumphs, associated with months and the deities presiding over them, was depicted in the *Salone dei Mesi* (Hall of the Months) in the Schifanoia Palace in Ferrara, Italy. For example, in Francesco del Cossa's painting *April* (circa 1470), Venus, the presiding deity of that month, is seated on a triumphal barge drawn by swans. Mars—conquered, subdued, and chained to the barge by fetters of love—kneels before Venus, the goddess of love, while fashionably dressed couples engage in amorous dalliance on the banks. The god of war pays homage and subservience to the goddess of love.

Those whom Fame had rewarded were frequently depicted in works of art. It was common in ancient Rome to decorate a house with portraits of kinsfolk and notables. The Roman tradition of honoring one's lineage is illustrated in the sculpture *A Roman Patrician with Busts of His Ancestors* (circa 30 B.C.) at the Capitoline Museum in Rome. The interest of quattrocento artists in painting portraits of famous men derives from the Italian humanists Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, who in turn were influenced by the Roman writers, especially Cicero and Virgil. In their writings, these Romans emphasized that a good society depended on the achievements and virtues of its citizens. The artist illustrated these qualities of fame and virtue by painting portraits of illustrious people. Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* (*On Famous Men*), written after 1337, contains a series of biographies on Roman generals and statesmen. Between 1367 and 1379, Francesco Carrara the Elder, ruler of Padua and patron of Petrarch, commissioned the artist Guariento to paint a room in the ducal Paduan palace to illustrate Petrarch's *uomini famosi* of ancient Rome. All the frescoes in the room, called the *Sala dei Giganti* (Hall of the Giants) because the figures were larger than life size, have been nearly destroyed. Portraits of *uomini famosi* were painted on the walls of many secular and religious buildings, such as those in the Ducal Palace in Urbino, Italy, painted by Justus van Ghent and assistants, and those on the walls of S. Apollonia in Florence, Italy, painted by Andrea del Castagno (circa 1450).

The subjects of *uomini famosi* were drawn from the regular *dramatis personae* of the Bible, from history (ancient and medieval), and from legend. Other representations of *uomini famosi* are found in Andrea del Castagno's frescoes for the Villa Carducci (1445–1450) at Legnaia, Italy, now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. This unusual group comprises three trios that include three heroines of antiquity (Queen Tomyris, the biblical Esther, and the Cumaean Sybil), three *condottieri* (mercenary captains famous in Florentine history as liberators of the city), and three literary humanists of Florence (Dante, Boccaccio, and Petrarch). This group of *uomini famosi* and *donne famose* was accompanied by Adam and the Virgin and Child. The whole program alluded to original sin and redemption, which ultimately was made possible by *arete* (virtue)—the

highest achievements of human body and mind as exemplified by the Florentine humanists.

Antonio Averlino, known as Filarete, described an ideal city called Sforzinda in his architectural treatise of 1464 (Prinz, p. 10). In this city, an architect's house is decorated with wall paintings, architectural views, and portraits of inventors, heroes, and artists.

Allegorical Programs in the Renaissance

In the Chamber of Fame in the Casa Vasari at Arezzo, Italy, Giorgio Vasari continued the quattrocento and cinquecento tradition of the artist immortalizing his own house by painting allegories of the fine arts and portraits of famous artists. Vasari provided a general characterization of this ceiling in his autobiography:

I painted [on the ceiling] . . . all the Arts connected with design or dependent on design. In the middle, Fame, seated on a terrestrial globe, blows one golden trumpet and throws away another of fire, which represents slander. Around her are all the Arts, with their attributes. Not having time to finish, I left eight ovals for portraits of our leading artists. (Prinz; Winner)

When he eventually painted portraits of "our leading artists," he included himself among them.

Vasari described his depiction of Fame as "blowing a trumpet and discarding one of flames and seated on a globe" and as "a woman having two trumpets, one of gold the other of fire, seated on a globe with some cicadas close by" (del Vita). He further explained that the figure of Fame "sings and praises the deeds of the virtuous" (Vasari and Milanesi, vol. VII; Liana Cheney). In part, his conceit for the allegory draws on the traditional cinquecento depiction that represents Fame as winged, bare-breasted, seated or standing on a globe, and, most important, holding up two trumpets. This configuration of attributes can be seen in Caravaggio's *Fame* (1524) from the Salone of the Villa Lante (now in the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome); Domenico del Barbieri's *Gloria* (circa 1540); and Francesco Salviati's *Fama* (1544) from the fresco cycle of the Sala dei Fasti in the Palazzo Farnese in Rome (Iris Cheney). These elements combine in Vasari's painting to provide Fame's affirmation of success. The representation recalls Cesare Ripa, who noted that Fame, as well as Glory, holds a trumpet symbolizing "the loud sound universally dispersed for all humans to hear" (Ripa, 1603). And Fame's act of blowing is reminiscent of Andrea Alciati's Emblem 132, *Ex literarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri* ("Immortality is achieved by literary studies"). In this emblem, the sea god Neptune or Triton blows a conch. Alciati's composition is encircled by a snake. The epigram of this emblem further states, "Fame favors the complete persons of letters and makes known their situation which it causes to resound until the earth and sea are astonished at the glory of their reputation."

However, Vasari's deviation from this traditional depiction is as marked as his adherence to it. In addition to holding the trumpet, which affirms achievement, Vasari's Fame also casts away a flaming trumpet, a sign of the rejection of slander. The latter appears to be solely a Vasarian invention, as he explains

in his autobiography. According to Ripa, the figure of Slander (*Maledicenza*) is portrayed as holding a flaming torch in each hand, symbolizing the fomentation of slander by hate.

Ripa has evidently drawn on Vasari's image, although Vasari substitutes a flaming trumpet for a flaming torch. On the west facade of the Cathedral of Modena in Italy, a relief, sculpted by Master Wiligelmus, shows a putto leaning on an inverted, burning torch in each scene. Perhaps Vasari knew of these representations and in his figure of Fame substituted a trumpet for the inverted flaming torch. The meaning of the inverted flaming torch is still unclear. According to Aurelius Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, the flaming torch is an attribute of Cupid, the god of erotic love, referring to his dual personification as *amor carnalis* (romantic love) or *amor divinus* (heavenly love) (Panofsky, pp. 94–95). Thus, Vasari's Fame takes on a dual role: the affirmation of Fame and Glory and the rejection of Slander. His concern with slander surely derived from the sort of reflections proffered by Virgil, with whom he was familiar. Virgil discussed the fickleness of Fame and the problem of overcoming it: Fame can as quickly depart or detract from one's life as it can enter and benefit one's life in the first place. One danger is the propensity of others to slander those who achieve Fame. If Fame is to be sustained, the threat of slander must be nullified (Ripa).

Each of the artists portrayed beneath the depiction of Fame managed to sustain the fame they achieved in their respective lives. In her affirmative role, the allegorical figure of Fame is blowing the golden trumpet in the direction of the allegorical figure of Painting. Assuming this not to be accidental, we may note that Vasari refers to his early success as a painter as due to his training with Michelangelo and Andrea del Sarto, whose portraits are included below Fame and adjacent to Painting.

Years later, Vasari again painted the iconographic motif of Fame in the Sala dei Cento Giorni (1546) in the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome. Here, the traditional depiction of Fame, not including the act of discarding a flaming trumpet, has been used, but Paolo Giovio, not Vasari, formulated the program for this room. Here, Fame blows her trumpet to note the achievement of the Farnese family, including their positions in the Roman Catholic Church and the contemporary political situation.

Vasari's decoration of his own house with portraits of ancestors and famous artists represents a fusion of Roman and quattrocento custom. Likewise, in the cinquecento, humanists such as Paolo Giovio provided in their programs portraits of ancient Romans and other famous people (Sala dei Cento Giorni) and decorated their homes with portraits of *uomini famosi* (Giovio Museum). Vasari's familiarity with Giovio's plans to decorate his house with portraits of humanists, princes, soldiers, and prelates must have had a strong influence on the artist's program for the Chamber of Fame, wherein Vasari painted portraits of well-known artists (Michelangelo and Andrea del Sarto). According to Vasari scholar Wolfram Prinz (pp. 8–10), Vasari had no knowledge of Filarete's treatise until around the time of the publication of the second edition of his *Vite* (*Lives*), where he first mentions it. However, perhaps Vasari was familiar with Filarete's ideas through other humanistic sources.

A comparison of the portraits and allegorical paintings of the Chamber of Fame in Vasari's Aretine house with those of

his Florentine house reveals significant contrasts. The latter are found in the *sala*, the only painted room in the house in Florence, and were executed in 1561, about two decades after the completion of the Chamber of Fame. By the 1560s, Vasari's reputation as an artist was well established, as by then he had become court painter for Cosimo I, Duke of Tuscany.

The Fine Arts appear on a wall of the *sala* and frame narrative scenes dealing with the judgment of art. Unlike the allegories of the Casa Vasari in Arezzo, these are enclosed in separate niches performing their artistic roles. Also, all these figures are winged, emphasizing the allegorical, poetical, or metaphorical quality of their existence.

As in the Chamber of Fame, the *sala* contains portraits of artists, including Giotto, Perino del Vaga, Giulio Romano, Raphael, Fiorantino Rosso, and Cecchino Salviati. These portraits are presented to the viewer in an escutcheon format located in a decorative frieze above the niches and narrative stories. This stylistic elaboration of the *sala* reflects the unquestionable changes in Vasari's circumstances and the probable changes in his self-image after the execution of the Chamber of Fame. When Vasari painted the Chamber of Fame, he had just begun his career as a painter and had strong dependent attachments to the community of Arezzo. But by the time Vasari painted the Florentine *sala*, he had begun to paint the program for the Palazzo Vecchio. The Chamber of Fame is characterized by the simplicity, stylistic naïveté, and personal depiction of the famous. Vasari's organization of the program is unique. Many of his ideas about art and portraiture, originally presented in the Chamber of Fame, are restated more fancifully in the Florentine *sala*. The fancifulness sets the tone for Vasari's reference to his enhanced social position, which is conveyed through his quotation from the decorative style of the Roman Court. The type of ceiling decoration, the elaborate friezes, the large herms, and the simulated architectural design recall Vasari's early Roman work in Sala dei Cento Giorni, Perino del Vaga's Sala Paolina, and Francesco Salviati's Sala dei Fasti in the Palazzo Farnese.

Vasari's depiction of the Fine Arts in the Chamber of Fame expresses the cinquecento artist's sentiments concerning the aim, value, and status of the artist and the arts. Art is no longer considered a craft based on imitation and technique but rather a noble humanistic endeavor requiring, like poetry, invention. Likewise, the artist is to be regarded not as artisan but as a creative, educated being and a member of a humanist society. The artist who would fully pursue this enhanced status must endeavor to demonstrate the qualities and capacities outlined by Baldassare Castiglione in the *Book of the Courtier*. Castiglione notes that the touch of fame and glory on one's life establishes a reputation and immortality. Among the requirements that secure and enhance one's status as a gentleman are knowledge of the liberal arts (especially painting), the construction of a memorial (preferably in a painting) to one's achievements, and the possession of personal nobility achieved through one's ancestry, deeds, and personal attributes. In many respects, the Chamber of Fame is a testimony to this social and cultural upgrading of art and the artist and demonstrates that Vasari has heeded the counsel of Castiglione. Vasari provides evidence of his own nobility, as manifested by the fruits of his talent, by the homage to his ancestors Lazzaro Vasari and Luca

Signorelli and by his self-portrait, which presents a handsome, elegant man surrounded by the established artists of Arezzo and Florence.

Displaying the new conception of art, the artist has set Fame among the arts and the artists. At the center of the ceiling, Fame blows her golden trumpet toward Painting, as if to acknowledge the importance of painting and of Vasari as a painter. In this context, it is important to recall that this room is the entrance to the house. The Chamber of Fame serves as a memorial to Vasari's activity and as a greeting hall for visitors and friends entering the new house.

In another representation of Fame (1560), in the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, Vasari paints her with wings and decorates her clothes with tongue motifs that allude to her ability to rise above mundane situations because of her good and heroic deeds. She also holds two trumpets—one of fire, a symbol of slander, and the other of gold, a symbol of honor and praises—while seated on a terrestrial globe. Vasari painted a tree trunk with two cicadas next to the globe and explained that these representations allude to the Italian proverb, “*A persona di villaggio, tromba di legno*” (For a peasant villager, a wooden trumpet). Thus, the Fame of Folly is represented by an old woman who blows a wooden trumpet, and the cicadas represent the common people who want success at someone else's expense (Vasari and Milanesi, vol. VII).

Cesare Ripa elaborates on Alciati's and Vasari's images in Emblem 149, thus focusing on the *Fama Chiara* (good Fame), which illustrates an image derived from a Roman medal of Antinous where a beautiful nude figure of Mercury, as Fame with winged helmet and ankles, holds a caduceus and runs with the winged horse Pegasus. This image refers to the ancient legend, Ripa states, that Jupiter honored Mercury with the task of being messenger of the gods by virtue of his eloquent rhetoric and efficacious voice, which would expand and broadcast to all the good and heroic manifestations. The wings on his helmet and ankles allude to the quick spread of the words, whereas Pegasus alludes to how quickly good Fame may be distributed throughout the universe.

Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

By the nineteenth century, the use of allegory and personification had largely disappeared (with the exception of memorial sculptures). The many cast bronze sculptures of war heroes, statesmen, and literary figures that populate most cities and many towns sometimes included a winged female figure, usually found on the base of the sculpture. The iconography and attributes are often confused, and the figures may be called Fame or Victory or not named at all. Examples include Matthew Noble's *Duke of Wellington Monument* (1856) in Manchester, England, where four figures adorn the base. One female figure, with a wreath on her head and one in her hand, probably represents Fame. Examples, in fact, appear in just about every city and town. The fact that most people walk past these statues without even noticing them or knowing whom they commemorate is a comment about the lasting quality of Fame.

In the twentieth century, fame evolved into celebrity, with Andy Warhol the master depicter of celebrities. While decree-

ing that everyone deserved 15 minutes of fame, he proceeded to create silk-screen portraits of those he thought were most deserving. Marilyn Monroe and Elizabeth Taylor were two of his favorites, but his subjects also included Elvis Presley and Mao Zedong. In one version of these celebrity creations, Warhol replicated Marilyn Monroe's famous face 50 times in rows of images similar to a sheet of commemorative postage stamps (themselves an example of the twentieth-century validation of fame).

See also Fortune; Honor/Honoring; Misfortune; Virtue/Virtues

Selected Works of Art

Emblems

- Alciati, Andrea, *Strenuorum immortale nomen* (Emblem 136), woodcut, in *Emblemata*, 1531, Milan
- Alciati, Andrea, *Ex literarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri* (Emblem 132), woodcut in *Emblemata*, 1531, Milan
- Ripa, Cesare, *Fama*, engraving, from *Iconologia*, 1603

Paintings: Fame

- Firenze, Andrea da, *Fame*, fresco, 1366–1368, Florence, Italy, Santa Maria Novella, Spanish Chapel
- Mantegna, Andrea, *Fame*, fresco, 1454–1457, Padua, Italy, Museo Civici di Padova
- Dossi, Dosso, *Fama*, fresco, circa 1520, Trento, Italy, Sala del Tribunale
- Caravaggio, *Fame*, 1524, from the Salone of the Villa Lante, Bagnaia, present location Rome, Bibliotheca Hertziana
- Perino del Vaga, *Fame*, 1540, Rome, Castel Sant' Angelo, Sala Paolina
- Vasari, Giorgio, *Fama*, fresco, 1542, Arezzo, Italy, Casa Vasari
- Salviati, Francesco, *Fama*, fresco, 1544, Rome, Palazzo Farnese, Sala de Fasti
- Vasari, Giorgio, *Fama*, fresco, 1546, Rome, Palazzo della Cancelleria, Sala dei Cento Giorni
- Vasari, Giorgio, *Fama*, fresco, 1560, Florence, Italy, Casa Vasari
- Vasari, Giorgio, *Fama*, 1560, Florence, Italy, Museo de Palazzo Vecchio
- Carracci, Annibale, *Mercury*, fresco, 1595, Rome, Palazzo Farnese, Galleria Farnese
- Gentileschi, Artemisia, *Fame*, oil on canvas, 1632, New York, Wildenstein & Company
- Strozzi, Bernardo, *A Personification of Fame*, oil on canvas, 1635–1636, London, National Gallery
- Burne-Jones, Edward, *Fame Overthrowing Fortune*, second half of nineteenth century, Birmingham, City Art Museum and Gallery
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- Warhol, Andy, *Marilyn X 100*, silk screen on synthetic paint on canvas, 1962, London, Saatchi Collection
- Warhol, Andy, *Ten Lizes*, silk screen on synthetic polymer paint on canvas, 1963, Paris, Musée d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou

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Warhol, Andy, *Eighteen Multi-Colored Marilyns (Reverse Series)*, silk screen on synthetic paint on canvas, 1979–1986, Zürich, Switzerland, Galerie Bruno Bischofberger

Paintings, Drawings, Prints: Triumphs

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Piero della Francesca, *Triumph of Federigo da Montefeltro; Triumph of Battista Sforza*, panel, after 1474, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Botticelli, illustration for *The Divine Comedy*, drawings, 1482

Burgkmair, Hans, *The Triumph of Maximilian I*, engravings, 1517

Salviati, Francesco, *Triumph of Camillus*, fresco, mid-1540s, Florence, Italy, Museo di Palazzo Vecchio

Prints

Barbiere, Domenico del, *Gloria*, engraving, circa 1540

Mantegna, Andrea, *Mercury*, tarot card, 1470s

Mantegna, Andrea, *Judgment*, tarot card, 1470s

Sculpture

Pisano, Nicola, *Relief*, pulpit, 1260, Pisa, Italy, Baptistery

Giotto, *Relief*, 1310, from the Campanile, Florence, Italy

Pollaiuolo, Antonio del, *Papal Tomb of Pope Sixtus IV*, bronze, 1484–1493, Rome, Vatican Grottoes

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FATAL WOMAN/FEMME FATALE

Alicia Craig Faxon

The following characters are covered in the discussion of the theme Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale:

SPHINX

SIREN

MERMAID

MEDUSA

CIRCE

MEDEA

DELILAH

JUDITH

SALOME

VIVIAN

MORGAN LE FAY

LA BELLE DAME SANS

MERCI

WAGNERIAN

OTHER FEMME FATALES



Edward Coley Burne-Jones, *The Depths of the Sea*, watercolor and gouache on paper mounted on panel, 1887, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Art Museums, Fogg Art Museum, bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop. (Courtesy of the Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts)

Two types of fatal woman, or femme fatale, exist: those who actually *are* fatal and those who are only *perceived* as fatal. The first type includes mythological beings such as the Sphinx, the Siren, and Medusa and the Gorgons; biblical figures such as Delilah, Salome, Jael, and Judith; historical figures such as Lucretia Borgia; and literary characters such as La Belle Dame Sans Merci and Morgan le Fay. The second type includes those who are seen as temptresses, such as Guinevere, Yseult, Venus (the goddess of love), or any number of odalisques. Another group often categorized as femmes fatales are often really *femmes inspiratrices*, or women as inspirers, such as Dante's Beatrice; Proserpina, the consort of the god Pluto in the underworld; Venus; and the legendary Helen of Troy.

It has been suggested that in some cases men project their own desires on women and then make the women into temptresses to excuse their own lustful feelings. Dante Gabriel Rossetti summarized this view poignantly in his poem about a prostitute, "Jenny":

Yet, Jenny, looking at you,
The woman almost fades from view:
A cipher of man's changeless sum
Of lust, past, present and to come. . . .

Another interpretation of the threatening, fatal woman is that by psychoanalyst Carl Jung, who sees her as a personification of all feminine psychological tendencies in a man's unconscious: a representation of the anima consciously repressed by the male. This may be seen to lead to a cultural suppression of women, with the femme fatale representing men's fears of women's power—more of a projection onto the female than a mirror of her reality.

One theory traces the femme fatale back to Paleolithic times, viewing the personification of woman-as-evil as a reaction to the power of the Great Mother. This divinity of a matriarchal society, antedating the patriarchal supremacy of Judaism and the classical age, elicited the desire to categorize the powerful woman as evil and deadly. In *The Goddess Obscured*, art historian Pamela Berger traces a specific case of the transformation of the Mother Goddess image from Tellus, or the Earth, in Roman art (on the breast plate of *Augustus of Prima Porta* figures) to her transmutation into *Luxuria*, or the symbol of sexual sin and one of the Seven Deadly Vices in the medieval period.

Classical cultures contributed a number of images of the fatal woman, one of which was the Sphinx, a female monster of Thebes with a woman's face (and often breasts), a bird's wings, and a lion's body who killed all who could not solve her riddle. Oedipus answered her riddle correctly, however, and the Sphinx threw herself from a cliff. An early representation of the subject is found on a fifth-century kylix in the Vatican Museum with Oedipus dressed as a traveler and the Sphinx perched on

a pillar. In neoclassical representations by Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (1808 and 1827), Oedipus is shown as the heroic nude, and the female characteristics of the Sphinx are emphasized. In a later representation by Gustave Moreau (1864) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the conjunction of the two figures takes on a mystic aura, as if the young man is pondering the questions of life. During the 1890s, the Sphinx becomes sexualized into a mystic woman in Charles Ricketts's *Oedipus and the Sphinx* (1891) in the Carlisle Museum and Fernand Khnopff's *The Caresses of the Sphinx* (1896) in the Musées Royaux des Beaux Arts in Brussels, Belgium. In Franz von Stuck's *The Sphinx*, she appears as a nude woman, and in his *Kiss of the Sphinx* in the Museum of Fine Arts in Budapest, Hungary, she is not threatening but passionately kissing the nude and kneeling Oedipus.

Another classical fatal woman figure is that of the Siren, mentioned in book XII of Homer's *Odyssey*. The Sirens lured sailors to their destruction with their seductive singing. The legendary hero Odysseus, wanting to hear their song, blocked the ears of his rowers with wax so they would not be distracted and had himself tied to the mast so he could hear but not obey the Sirens. This story is represented as early as circa 330 B.C. on a bell krater from Paestum, Italy, now in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin-Dahlem. It is also represented on an Archaic vase from the first quarter of the fifth century in the British Museum in London, with the Sirens shown as birds with women's heads, much like the Harpies. In nineteenth-century art, Sirens become beguiling nude women, as in Frederick Leighton's *The Fisherman and the Syren* (1858) in the Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery in England; John William Waterhouse's *Ulysses and the Sirens* (1891) in the National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne, Australia; and William Etty's *The Sirens and Ulysses* in Manchester, England.

Closely connected with the Siren is the figure of the mermaid, who, in Edward Coley Burne-Jones's watercolor *The Depths of the Sea* (1887) in the Harvard University Art Museums in Cambridge, Massachusetts, exultantly carries the body of a dead mariner to the bottom of the ocean. Insofar as this is a fatal encounter between the mermaid, nixie, or water sprite and her victim, she can be seen as a femme fatale, or deadly woman.

Another fatal woman of classical origin is Medusa, a Gorgon whose gaze turned men into stone. She appears in the story of Perseus, the son of the king of the gods, Zeus, and the mortal Danaë, who is sent on a quest by his foster father to bring back the head of Medusa. With the help of Athena, the goddess of wisdom who frequently aided heroes, he was able to cut off the head of Medusa without looking at it, and he even rescued Andromeda on the way home. Perseus is shown with the snaky-headed Medusa on a classical wine krater by the Amasis Painter in the British Museum in London and in sculp-

tural relief on a metope of the sixth century B.C. temple C at Selinus, Sicily. On a hydria (circa 460 B.C.) in the British Museum, Perseus has already cut off her head and has it in a shoulder bag, ready to carry home. Benvenuto Cellini's sculpture of Perseus (1545–1554) in the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence, Italy, shows him holding the head of Medusa in one hand and his sword in the other. Caravaggio's *Head of Medusa* (1597), terrifying in appropriate Baroque expressiveness, is on a shield in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. When the theme appears in the nineteenth century, the image has been softened and feminized, as in Harriet Hosmer's neoclassical bust *Medusa* (1853–1854), whose source was either Ovid's *Metamorphoses* or Percy Bysshe Shelley's poem "On the Medusa of Leonardo da Vinci in the Florentine Gallery," first published by Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley in *Posthumous Poems* (1824). In a pre-Raphaelite version by Burne-Jones entitled *The Baleful Head* (1886–1887) in Stuttgart, Germany, Perseus shows Andromeda Medusa's head reflected in a pool of water. Fernand Khnopff produced a symbolist sculpture, *Head of Medusa* (1900), now in a private collection in Brussels. Gustav Klimt's grimacing *Gorgon* (1902) in the Vienna Historical Museum in Austria is more Viennese than Greek.

The *Odyssey* introduced several fatal women to obstruct Odysseus's return home; it is Circe, the enchantress who turned men into pigs on her magical island, who perhaps qualifies best as a fatal woman. She is portrayed on a red-figure krater (circa 450 B.C.), in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, fleeing Odysseus, who threatens her with a sword to force her to restore his men to their rightful shapes. A much later mannerist drawing by Parmigianino in the Albertina art museum in Vienna shows her as a beautiful sorceress surrounded by windblown draperies, whereas Burne-Jones's watercolor (1863–1869) *The Wine of Circe* shows her drugging the wine to transform men into swine.

Another fatal woman from classical myth was the sorceress Medea, who helped Jason capture the Golden Fleece and returned with him to Thessaly to be his wife. However, when Jason wanted to marry Creüsa and divorce Medea, she became a fatal woman indeed, sending a poisoned robe to Creüsa and killing her own children by Jason in revenge. This act is represented on a red-figure Greek vase in the Louvre in Paris and was also shown in two dramatic paintings by Eugène Delacroix, one painted in 1838, now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lille, France, and the other in 1862, now in a private collection. The subject was taken from book VII of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Also in the nineteenth century, Frederick Sandys and Evelyn De Morgan showed Medea in her character as a working sorceress, complete with magic herbs. These paintings are now in England, at Birmingham and Birkenhead, respectively.

Proserpina, or the Greek Persephone, the bride of Hades or Pluto, is sometimes seen as a femme fatale but is more often portrayed as a victim carried off by Hades or Pluto to his dark kingdom, as in Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *The Rape of Proserpine* (1621) in the Borghese Gallery in Rome and in Rembrandt van Rijn's *Abduction of Proserpine* in the Staatliche Museen. Dante Gabriel Rossetti's sorrowful *Proserpine* (1874), in the Tate Gallery in London, is obviously a captive who is forced to spend part of the year with her dark spouse as a penalty for eating the seeds of the pomegranate, an obvious allegory of Earth's

barrenness in winter and its renewal in spring when Proserpina rejoins her mother, Demeter, in the upper world.

The biblical tradition of femmes fatales produced Eve, Delilah, Jael, Judith, and Salome. Eve is included in the group because she yielded to the serpent's beguilement and brought death to humanity, a fact suggested in Lucien Lévy-Dhurmen's *Eve* (1896), in a private collection in Paris. Here, the serpent and Eve are shown cozily head to head. Delilah conquered her paramour Samson by cutting a lock of his hair, the source of his strength, in the story told in Judges 16. The story ends in the blinded Samson's death when he regains his strength and pulls the house down on his captors and himself. Delilah's power as a fatal woman is best shown in Rembrandt's painting *The Blinding of Samson*, or *The Triumph of Delilah* (1636), in the Staedel Institute in Frankfurt, Germany. This painting shows her holding aloft the shorn hair and scissors while the Philistines rush in to blind Samson. Delilah also plays a major role as temptress in John Milton's epic *Samson Agonistes*.

Judith, the Jewish heroine from the Book of Judith in the Apocrypha, saved her people by cutting off the head of Holofernes, the general besieging Israel. There are many representations of Judith and her maidservant with the head of Holofernes, such as that of Andrea Mantegna in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.; Christofano Allori's in the Pitti Palace in Florence; Botticelli's in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence; Titian's in the Detroit Institute of Arts in Michigan; and Elisabetta Sirani's in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Maryland. The most dramatic presentations of Judith in her role as fatal woman are by Artemisia Gentileschi. These show Judith actually cutting off Holofernes' head (versions in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence and the Capodimonte Museum in Naples, Italy). In the late nineteenth century, Judith was transformed from a courageous heroine into a gloating, nude femme fatale, sometimes even holding a phallic sword, by such artists as Gustav Klimt (*Österreichische Galerie in Vienna*) and Franz von Stuck (*Staatliche Museum in Schwerin, Germany*).

Salome, another biblical femme fatale, danced for her enamored stepfather, Herod, and asked for the head of John the Baptist as a reward. She is unique in that she did not directly entice her victim to his destruction. Instead, she danced erotically before her stepfather, arousing him until he promised to grant whatever she wished. For her reward, she followed the command of her mother, Herodias, wife of Herod, and asked for the head of the captive John the Baptist. Herodias had been condemned by John the Baptist for marrying Herod, her brother-in-law, and wished revenge. Against his own wish, Herod ordered the execution, presenting the head on a charger to Salome, who obediently passed it to her mother. The story is told in Mark 6:17–28. Salome, the agent of her mother's anger, has usually been depicted as the cause of John the Baptist's death. She is usually shown dancing before Herod or gloating over the charger containing the head. Nineteenth-century artists, especially Gustave Moreau and Aubrey Beardsley, ignored Herodias's role and turned Salome into one of the most erotic and perverse of femmes fatales.

Literary tradition, as we have already seen in classical representations, produced a multitude of fatal women. Arthurian legend, especially in Sir Thomas Malory's chivalric saga *Morte d'Arthur* and Alfred, Lord Tennyson's nineteenth-century version of that saga, *The Idylls of the King*, inspired many artists.

William Morris painted his fiancée Jane Burden as *Guenevere*, the wife of King Arthur, but also the innamorata of Lancelot, although the subject may have been Yseult, the wife of King Mark and the innamorata of Tristan. The painting is in the Tate Gallery in London. Jane was also the model for Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Sir Tristan, La Belle and Yseult Drinking the Love Potion* in the Cecil Higgins Art Gallery in Bedford, England.

One of Burne-Jones's most famous paintings, *The Beguiling of Merlin* (1877) in the Lady Lever Art Gallery in Port Sunlight, England, shows Vivian as fatal woman, and Aubrey Beardsley drew a whole gallery of Arthurian temptresses in his illustrations for the *Morte d'Arthur*. Frederick Sandys contributed *Morgen Le Fay* (1864), now in the Birmingham Art Gallery in England, in the midst of a magic spell.

John Keats's poem "La Belle Dame Sans Merci" inspired a drawing and a watercolor by Rossetti (both in private collections) and a painting by John William Waterhouse in the Hessisches Landesmuseum in Darmstadt, Germany, in which the lady is capturing the knight in her long, flowing hair. Richard Wagner's operas not only contained a number of fatal women but also inspired artists such as Burne-Jones, whose *Laus Veneris* (1873–1878) in the Laing Art Gallery in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, was probably inspired by *Tannhauser*, and Henri Fantin-Latour, whose *The Rhine Maidens* in the Cabinet des Dessins at the Louvre in Paris drew on the *Ring of the Nibelungen*. Such depictions helped to renew interest in the theme of Tristan and Yseult.

The end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century produced such predatory fatal women as Edvard Munch's *Madonna* (circa 1895) in the National Gallery in Oslo, Norway; *The Vampire*, a color lithograph and woodcut in the Munch Museum in Oslo; *Ashes* in the National Gallery in Oslo; and Pablo Picasso's *Les Femmes d'Alger* (O version O) in the Museum of Modern Art in New York. The Picasso work can be seen as fatal women in two senses. First, they are prostitutes in a bordello in Avignon Street who lure young men into paying for their services. Second, they could give their customers venereal disease. Today, they might even infect them fatally with AIDS. These fatal women have been supplanted by movie and television femmes fatales, such as Marlene Dietrich in Josef von Sternberg's *The Blue Angel* and vamps such as Theda Bara, Jean Harlow, Rita Hayworth, Marilyn Monroe, and Madonna.

See also Adultery; Bath/Bathing; Beheading/Decapitation; Betrayal; Dance/Dancers/Dancing; Sin/Sinning; Witchcraft/Sorcery

Selected Works of Art

Sphinx

Oedipus and the Sphinx, painted kylix, fifth century, Rome, Vatican Museum

Ingres, Jean-August-Dominique, *Oedipus and the Sphinx*, oil, 1808, Paris, Musée d'Orsay

Moreau, Gustave, *Oedipus and the Sphinx*, oil, 1864, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Khnopff, Fernand, *The Caresses of the Sphinx*, oil, 1896, Brussels, Belgium, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique

Siren

Odysseus and the Sirens, bell krater from Paestum, circa 330 B.C., Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Leighton, Frederick, *The Fisherman and the Syren*, oil, 1858, Bristol, England, Bristol City Museum and Art Gallery

Waterhouse, John William, *Ulysses and the Sirens*, oil, 1891, Melbourne, Australia, National Gallery of Victoria

Mermaid

Burne-Jones, Edward Coley, *The Depths of the Sea*, watercolor, 1887, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Art Museums

Waterhouse, John Williams, *A Mermaid*, oil, 1901, London, Royal Academy of Art

Medusa

Amasis Painter, *Perseus with Medusa*, wine krater, London, British Museum

Cellini, Benvenuto, *Perseus with the Head of Medusa*, bronze, 1545–1554, Florence, Italy, Loggia dei Lanzi

Caravaggio, *The Head of Medusa*, oil, circa 1597, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Hosmer, Harriet, *Medusa*, marble bust, 1853–1854, private collection

Circe

Circe Fleeing from Odysseus, red-figure krater, circa 450 B.C., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Burne-Jones, Edward Coley, *The Wine of Circe*, watercolor, 1863–1869, private collection

Medea

Medea in Her Dragon Chariot with Other Scenes, Lucanian red-figure krater, circa 400, Fort Worth, Texas, Kimball Art Museum

Delacroix, Eugène, *Medea and Her Children*, oil, 1838, Lille, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Sandys, Frederick, *Medea*, oil, 1868, Birmingham, England, Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery

De Morgan, Evelyn, *Medea*, oil, 1889, Birkenhead, England, England Art Gallery

Delilah

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Samson and Delilah*, oil, 1610–1613, London, National Gallery

Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Triumph of Delilah (The Blinding of Samson)*, oil, 1636, Frankfurt, Germany, Staedel Institute

Judith

Mantegna, Andrea, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, oil on panel, circa 1495, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Botticelli, *The Return of Judith*, oil, 1469–1470, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Gentileschi, Artemisia, *Judith Cutting Off the Head of Holofernes*, oil, circa 1620, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery; and Naples, Italy, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte

Sirani, Elisabetta, *Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, oil, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery

Klimt, Gustav, *Judith I*, oil, 1901, Vienna, Austria, Österreichische Galerie Belvedere

Salome

Gozzoli, Benozzo, *The Dance of Salome*, oil, circa 1480, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Moreau, Gustave, *The Dance of Salome (The Apparition)*, oil, 1876, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Art Museums

Moreau, Gustave, *Salome Dancing Before Herod*, oil, 1876, Paris, Musée Gustave Moreau

Klinger, Max, *The Modern Salome*, polychrome sculpture, 1893, Leipzig, Germany, Museum der Bildenden Künste

Beardsley, Aubrey, illustrations to *Salome*, by Oscar Wilde, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Art Museums

Lévy-Dhurmen, Lucien, *Salome*, pastel, 1896, Paris, private collection

Corinth, Lovis, *Salome Receiving the Head of John the Baptist*, oil, circa 1891, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Art Museums, Busch Reisinger Museum

Munch, Edvard, *Salomé*, black and white lithograph, 1903

Strauss, Richard, *Salomé*, opera, 1907

May, Ernst Wilhelm, *Salomé*, oil, 1940, Munich, Germany, private collection

Vivian

Burne-Jones, Edward Coley, *The Beguiling of Merlin*, oil, 1877, Port Sunlight, England, Lady Lever Art Gallery

Morgan le Fay

Sandys, Frederick, *Morgan Le Fay*, oil, 1864, Birmingham, England, Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery

La Belle Dame Sans Merci

Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, drawing, 1848, private collection

Waterhouse, John William, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, oil, 1893, Darmstadt, Germany, Hessisches Landesmuseum

Wagnerian

Burne-Jones, Edward Coley, *Laus Veneris*, oil, 1873–1878, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Laing Art Gallery

Fantin-Latour, Henri, *The Rhine Maidens*, drawing and lithograph, Paris, Louvre

Other Femme Fatales

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FEMALE BEAUTY AND ADORNMENT

Elise Goodman

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Female Beauty and Adornment:

ANCIENT

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

RENAISSANCE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY



François Boucher, *Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, La Marquise de Pompadour*, 1758, oil on canvas, oval, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum, bequest of Charles E. Dunlap. (Courtesy of the Harvard University Art Museums)

The theme of female beauty and adornment was crystallized in sculptures, paintings, and prints depicting Venus (the goddess of love), a Venus-like woman, or a radiant mortal at the bath or at her toilette. The numerous works portraying these subjects, from their inception in late Classical Greece through the Venetian Renaissance and the French rococo to French impressionism, feature an idealized beauty involved in her ablutions or at her dressing table, admiring herself in a mirror, applying makeup, combing her hair, or simply displaying her abundant charms to the putative (usually male) beholder. In the toilette scenes, her beautiful form and its splendid reflection outshine her surroundings and the objects portrayed with her: jewelry, the mirror, a candle, and other accoutrements that enhance her allure. In most versions, an admirer (either present or implied) gazes at the woman, serves as an agent of her beautification, provides the stimulation for it, or acts as a masculine foil to her feminine pulchritude. This admirer is usually the surrogate for the artist or the patron, sometimes both. At any rate, his gaze controls the actions of the woman in the work of art.

The exceptions to the rule of the adulation of the female form occurred in seventeenth-century Holland, where artists and patrons, under the sway of rigorous Protestant morality, used the image of the lady at her toilette to censure didactically female beauty and the illicit love/lust that it allegedly engendered. In the oeuvre of Berthe Morisot, a morally constrained *grandes bourgeoise* and the only woman artist considered, the artist equivocated about her subjects, at once teasing the viewer with their sexuality but then subverting it.

The works generally devoted to the theme of the lady at her toilette were based in part on the custom of the woman's *lever*, the reception held on rising from bed, that in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France attained the status of an institutionalized ritual. The images were rarely replications of reality, however; rather, they were often imbued with a metaphorical dimension that can best be understood in the light of an equally hallowed poetic tradition, that of Petrarchism and its seventeenth- and eighteenth-century descendants, *Préciosité* and *Poésie du badinage*. The themes, tropes, and conceits of this continuous literary strain are analogous to the iconography, imagery, and symbolism of the pictures. Generally, poet-lovers hyperbolically hymn the woman's charms and apostrophize her personal effects, which implement and heighten her attractiveness. A crucial component of these lyrics is the response that the mistress provokes in the versifier. Thus, from the outset, both lyric and painting were not merely designed to celebrate feminine beauty and adornment for their own sakes but were meant to privilege the masculine reaction to them.

In late Classical Greece, Praxiteles inaugurated the long tradition of the female nude at the bath with his *Aphrodite of Knidos* (circa 350 B.C.). A Roman copy of the original is in the

Vatican Museums. The statue occupies a central position in ancient art as a paragon of female beauty that is ideal, sensuous, disciplined, and luminous. Accounts of the Knidian Aphrodite, written exclusively by men about a statue made by a male sculptor, privileged her alluring nudity, which to them signaled her divinity, fully revealed her beauty, and stimulated erotic responses. The literature implies that the *Aphrodite of Knidos* was less an inert statue than a living, fecund woman who embodied the timeless beauty and sexual power of the goddess. Her attribute, the hydria (water vessel), encodes her fertility and her eternal freshness and youth, and her gesture of modesty, the "Venus Pudica" pose, at once screens her pudendum and celebrates the divine power of her sexuality.

The *Aphrodite of Knidos* was enshrined as an exemplar of pulchritude and thus engendered numerous successors in antiquity and for centuries to come. Her most famous offspring are the Hellenistic *Capitoline Aphrodite* (Roman copy, second century A.D., Capitoline Museum in Rome) and the *Medici Aphrodite* (Roman copy at the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy), which, through the placement of their right arm near their breast and their left over their pubic area, declare their sexuality even more emphatically than their ancestor; their arms celebrate rather than conceal their beauty, and they are self-possessed, indifferent to any alleged male intruder.

In the Venetian Renaissance, Giovanni Bellini was the first artist to divest the theme of the woman admiring herself in a glass from its allegorical or moralizing trappings. Apparently untouched by classical influence (Clark, p. 112), his *Young Woman at her Toilette* (1515), which features a seductive nude attending to her hair with two mirrors, contains no references to vanity, pride, or prudence as do other contemporary pictures. The subject of the work is a beautiful, self-reflective woman and her alliance with the pastoral landscape behind her, which macrocosmically projects her ideal form.

About the same time, Titian took up the secular subject but recast it in *The Young Woman at Her Toilette* (circa 1515) in the Louvre in Paris. Here, an actual lover is an agent of the lady's beautification, gazing longingly at her as he holds one mirror in front of her and another behind. Dressed in alluring décolletage, with her finger provocatively touching a perfume bottle, the voluptuous woman is displayed for the viewer's delight; his painted surrogate is the ardent male beckoning her gaze.

The iconography of Titian's painting is paralleled by the major poetic theme of the suitor holding up a mirror to the woman so that she may admire her beauty. The model of this topos was Petrarch's *Il mio avversario*, in which the poet envies the lady's mirror because it, rather than he, is the object of her loving glance. The motif became canonical in Titian's lifetime. In Antonio Tebaldeo's sixteenth-century sonnet, the lover

exhorts the lady to look away from her mirror and at him; he protests that he is the mirror of her “true” beauty, which is as great as his passion. Thus, both male poet and male lover-bewilderer bestow meaning on the female form.

In contrast to the warmly palpable Venetian protagonists, the women at their toilettes in three extant versions (circa 1590–1595) by the French School of Fontainebleau (in Dijon, France; Basel, Switzerland; and Worcester, Massachusetts) are cold icons of beauty. They are alabaster-like nudes at their dressing tables, which become a kind of secular altar bedecked with their personal effects so that the spectator is invited to adore the mannered elegance to which they are serviceable. He is beckoned to blazon their comeliness through the eyes of the painters, who in turn used a metaphorical language of beauty analogous to that of contemporaneous poets.

Like his contemporaries, the *Pléiade* poets, the artist of the Dijon variant assimilated the lady's complexion to the red and white flowers on her dressing table and her lips to the coral on her mirror. As in *Pléiade* odes, the woman's head is shaped like the pearls in her hair, in her ear, and on her mirror. Her blond hair outstrips her gold jewelry, and her gems are assumed to pale when likened to the human jewel who wears them.

In addition to embodying perfect poetic beauty, the Fontainebleau sitters project other personae: because of their blond physical type, which resembles that of mistresses at the French court, they may be idealized portraits of royal favorites. They may also be Venuses or Venus figures. Because the woman in the Dijon version, the personification of ideal beauty, is also associated with roses and pearls and is flanked by a mirror adorned with cupids and shells (all attributes of Venus), the lady can be thought to be an earthly incarnation of the goddess of love. In fact, the “Venuses” in the Fontainebleau pictures are relatives of Titian's mythological *Venus at Her Toilette* (circa 1550, now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.), who in turn is saluted by the Petrarchan painter with a poetic harmony of reds, whites, and golds, the color scale that conjures up the features of the perfect mistress. Thus, as mortal descendants of the goddess of love and beauty, the sitters of the Fontainebleau paintings announce a two-century lineage of portraits of French women as Venus.

One of these likenesses is Nicolas de Largillière's *Portrait of a Woman as Venus* (circa 1695–1700) in the St. Louis Art Museum in Missouri. Inspired by the Fontainebleau type, Largillière transformed his source by synthesizing the traditional allegorical portrayal with the new Baroque realistic bourgeois portrait. Dressed in the latest haute couture with her hair arranged in a modish style, this woman is reminiscent of the slightly earlier *Précieuses* (ladies of the literary salons) who garbed themselves at their toilette in satins, lace, ribbons, and jewelry. In this sense, Largillière's fashionable subject re-creates the ideal of womanhood admired by the *Précieux* and the *Précieuses*: she has “an imperious air, majestic carriage, corpulent neck, fleshy throat, [and] rounded and plump arms” (Goodman-Soellner, 1987, p. 46).

Another striking trait of the ideal woman in the seventeenth century was her fiery eyes, which glowed most brightly in front of her mirror at her toilette. In love lyrics of the period, the comeliness of the lady was said to transform an ordinary looking glass, in which she admired herself, into a burning mirror;

to the luster of her gaze was attributed a power as radiant as the sun.

This conceit appeared most notably in Parisian allegorical prints of sight produced during the reign of Louis XIII. Their expository verses, which intone the “inflammatory gaze” metaphor, belong to the same genre as the verses of love and compliment. For example, the appended rhyme of Jean Humbelot's *La Veüe* (circa 1635–1642) describes the amazement of Lysis and her suitor at the reflected beams of her eyes, which ignite her looking glass and his passion. With a slightly different nuance, the coquette admiring herself in a mirror in Abraham Bosse's undated *La Veüe* miraculously, according to the accompanying stanzas, has a gaze capable of engendering love through the projected beams of her eyes, which strike and wound their victim's heart like Cupid's darts.

The only known painted example of this trope is Gerard Terborch's *Lady at her Toilette* (circa 1657) in the Wallace Collection in London, a Dutch picture probably influenced by French iconography. Terborch suggests the superior luminosity of female beauty over candlelight, as poetic conceits have it. The flame is extinguished in the candle behind the mirror, yet the light on the faces of the woman and her maid is brighter than any taper could engender. The radiance evidently emanates from the coquette's gaze into the glass, which becomes, as it were, a burning mirror.

In later seventeenth-century Holland, Terborch, together with Jan Vermeer, was the consummate painter of female elegance. Terborch's *Lady at Her Toilette* (circa 1660), in the Detroit Institute of Art in Michigan, revels in the depiction of a statuesque young woman garbed in silks and surrounded by opulent furnishings and the rich accoutrements of the toilette—the milieu of an *haute bourgeoisie*. A master of ambiguity, Terborch typically does not fully explain the absent-minded gesture of the woman fingering her ring and her accompanying pensive expression, both of which may signal the seriousness of a liaison or an upcoming marriage. If so, the dog, an age-old symbol of fidelity, and the silver-framed mirror, which in this context may symbolize self-knowledge or prudence, find their rightful places in this decorous boudoir. Later in the decade, much in the thrall of Terborch, Frans van Mieris executed at least three versions of richly attired young women at their toilettes (circa 1662, Berlin-Dahlem, Germany; 1667, Dresden, Germany; 1678, Paris, Louvre), which may also be infused with amorous content.

But Terborch's ode to comeliness and love was the exception to the rule in Dutch paintings of the Golden Age. Most pictures of the lady at her toilette, produced under the influence of Protestantism, censured female beauty and adornment as sinful and evil. With the aid of moralizing emblems and proverbs, painters cast the attractive woman at her mirror as a wanton courtesan (Caesar van Everdingen, Michael Sweerts, Jan Steen), a vessel of vanity (Paulus Moreelse; Terborch, *Girl in front of a Mirror*; Frans van Mieris, *A Young Woman Standing Before a Mirror*), and a cunning temptress (Gabriel Metsu, *Hunter's Gift*; Frans van Mieris, *The Puppy*).

A virtual catalog of the made-up-woman's wiles is Jan Miense Molenaer's *Woman at Her Toilette—Lady World* (1663) in the Toledo Museum of Art in Ohio. The emblems of meretriciousness caution the would-be sinner: the ring and the

mirror, symbols of personal conceit and falseness of appearance, respectively; jewels and trinkets, signs of wealth's temptations; a chained monkey pawing the woman's empty shoe, emblems of lust and eroticism; the skull under her foot and the bubbles, signifiers of life's transitory nature; musical instruments, emblems of worldly temptations; and the map behind the vain woman's head, a visual metaphor of "Lady World," the embodiment of all vice and lust. The painted admonitions continued unabated throughout the century.

In Terborch's more subtle yet equally somber *Girl in Front of a Mirror* (after 1650), now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the grave reflection of the girl's face bespeaks not beauty but death and deception. What Terborch and other painters of a young woman's fleeting beauty foretell, Bernardo Strozzi brutally but poignantly exposes in *The Old Woman at Her Mirror* (1635), in the Modiano Collection in Bologna, Italy. Strozzi depicts the ultimate affront: No jewels, flowers, makeup, or perfume can camouflage the ravages of wrinkles and sagging flesh. He adds insult to injury by having one of the aged woman's attendants gleefully plant an ostrich feather into her gray hair.

On a more ambivalent note, Gabriel Metsu's *Young Lady at Her Toilette* (1650s), now in the Norton Simon Foundation in Pasadena, California, portrays an artfully arranged boudoir scene that both attracts and warns the putative spectator. Clues to the painting's interpretation include the procuress-like maid combing the young girl's fragile blond hair, a visual counterpoint of age and fleeting youth; the empty shoe and the pillow, signs of lasciviousness; the inviting viola da gamba, waiting to intone sexual strains; and the mirror and the ostrich feather, signifying worldly vanity and futility. Metsu's *The Intruder*, painted in the next decade and now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., makes plain what its precursor merely intimated: that the activities of the toilette are best served in a brothel. The bed, the uterine-like vessel, and the phallic candle implanted in a concave receptacle visually metaphorize the nature of the client's intrusion into the woman's chamber of beauty.

Although distilling the ingredients of Netherlandish brothel scenes like Metsu's (as well as those of French popular prints and Italian mythologies), Antoine Watteau, in *Lady at Her Toilette* (circa 1716–1717) in the Wallace Collection in London, ushered in a new era, the rococo, and with it a very different attitude toward female beauty. Created in the matrix of the French Enlightenment and its liberal social mores, Watteau's canvas revels in the unabashed sensuality of the female nude.

But Watteau's overtly erotic work was tangential to the eighteenth-century mainstream production of portraits of women of quality at their morning *lever* (Jacques-André-Joseph Aved, *Mme de Bacquencourt at Her Toilette*, 1739, and Jean-Marc Nattier, *Mme Marsollier with Her Daughter at Her Toilette*, 1749). Concurrently, lightly amorous genre paintings and prints reflecting the widespread custom of a gallant's attendance at his lady's toilette proliferated. For example, Jean Raoux's *Lady at Her Toilette* (1723) merely alludes to the reason for the young woman's beautification by showing her gazing into her cheval glass, which simultaneously reflects her lovely image and that of her military officer, who, as it were,

stares at both reflections from his portrait on the wall. François de Troy's *A Lady Showing a Bracelet Miniature to Her Suitor* (1722–1727) in the Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art in Kansas City, Missouri, meticulously re-creates the sumptuous accoutrements of a rococo boudoir, the perfect setting for tender courtship and love. In a more suggestive tenor, Nicolas Lancret's *Morning* in the National Gallery in London was described in 1739 thus: "This young person, with her bodice nonchalantly open and her dressing gown thrown back . . . pours tea into a cup that M. l'Abbé holds out to her with a distracted air; because he is attentive only to this beauty's disarray" (Holmes, p. 90).

François Boucher's masterly *Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, La Marquise de Pompadour* (1758), in the Fogg Art Museum at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, reflects both the rococo portrait and the amorous genre traditions. It represents the Marquise applying makeup while wearing a bracelet adorned with a cameo image of Louis XV; the king, her erstwhile lover, is the stimulus for her application of *maquillage* (makeup), and thus Boucher's image attests to her dual role as legendary beauty and present official royal mistress.

The Fogg portrait and related paintings and prints reflect the elaborate and protracted ritual of the eighteenth-century woman's toilette, in which she spent an inordinate amount of time making up, *en déshabillé* (casually dressed), while simultaneously entertaining male admirers. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the complicated rite of *maquillage* lasted about an hour. After the coiffure was powdered, the woman's eyes were enlarged with black pencils, her face was dusted with powder and then covered with a thick coat of ceruse, and finally her cheeks were enlivened with several layers of rouge.

Maquillage, a symptom of an age that reveled in factitiousness, is a major theme of Boucher's 1758 image as well as his *Woman Applying a Mouche* (before 1770) and *Le Matin—La Dame à sa toilette*, etched by Gilles-Edmé Petit in 1734. All these works have antecedents in Parisian modish engravings devoted to the art of makeup and are relatives of Étienne Jeaurat's *La Coquette* (circa 1732), which in turn was informed by tracts and poems that instructed fashionable women on the methods to muster their charms at the toilette to engage and seduce a lover. This modish paragon, with "a florid complexion in miniature" that radiates a "marvelous luster" (Goodman-Soellner, 1987, p. 50), was also paradoxically exhorted in literature and on versified prints to eschew the artifices of the toilette for the natural. The age was schizophrenically drawn to and repelled by the cosmetics of the coquette.

What the rococo painters, contemporaneous theorists, and *les Poètes badins* (society poets) embraced, however, was an ideal of beauty that manifested itself from Nattier's aristocratic sitters to Boucher's portraits of Mme de Pompadour to the latter's seductive coquette (not courtesan) in *Woman Fastening Her Garter, with Her Maid* (1742) to the artist's myriad evocations of goddesses and shepherdesses and beyond. All these women are blessed with perfect oval faces; porcelain- or alabaster-like complexions; florid cheeks; curly hair; coral lips; boneless, malleable bodies; and sparkling eyes. The rococo paragon represented the apex of a French tradition of pulchritude that was charted by the School of Fontainebleau three centuries earlier.

In the nineteenth century, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres's wanton *Turkish Bath* (Louvre, Paris; signed and dated 1862, completed 1863) stands for the age-old tradition of the objectification of the female nude by the male painter, who projects his desire and control on her pictured image. A veritable orgy of unabashed carnality, *Turkish Bath* rephrases Ingres's earlier essays of exotic bathers and nudes. The aged voyeur casts his *baigneuses* (bathers) in every titillating attitude possible: Hair is perfumed to the strains of a mandolin, sweets and coffee are ingested, breasts are caressed, and bodies are in supine abandon. The circular frame that constrains these languorous nudes is the primary signifier of the overarching theme of the painting: the female aperture, which the 82-year-old Ingres is denied in the real world.

Berthe Morisot both negotiates and subverts this pervasive masculine vision of the nude. In her seven toilette scenes (circa 1876–1880), she recognized, according to tradition, that the woman's body was supposed to be erotic; however, as a woman of *haut bourgeois* respectability (and inhibitions), "Morisot turned eroticism into an empty spectacle by refusing to provide the sexual content a viewer would expect" (Higonnet, p. 159). Her ambivalence and equivocation are most notable in *Young Woman Seen from Behind at Her Toilette* (1880, Art Institute of Chicago) and *At the Psyché* (1891, private collection), in which she entices the beholder with bare backs and naked shoulders but denies him a view of the delectable lower parts of the body (they are draped) and bared breasts. Instead, she deflects the sight of her models' sexuality by emphasizing painterly surfaces, opulent accouterments, and nebulous, sometimes opaque reflections. As a woman, Morisot is alienated from the masculine-gendered vision of the woman at her toilette.

The theme of the woman at her bath and at her toilette was perpetuated in numerous imaginative variations by other nineteenth-century painters (Pierre Bonnard, Mary Cassatt, Edgar Degas, Eugène Delacroix, Pierre August Renoir, and Georges Seurat) and those of the twentieth century. The fascination with female beauty and adornment, whether saluted unequivocally or ambivalently, has stimulated artists to devote some of their most provocative work to the subject.

See also Bath/Bathing; Mirror/Reflection; Toilet Scenes; Vanity/Vanitas

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

- Praxiteles, *Aphrodite of Knidos*, sculpture, original circa 350 B.C., Roman copy, Rome, Vatican Museums
Capitoline Aphrodite, sculpture, Roman copy of Hellenistic original, second century A.D., Rome, Capitoline Museum
Medici Aphrodite, sculpture, Roman copy of Hellenistic original, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Renaissance

- Bellini, Giovanni, *Young Woman at Her Toilette*, 1515, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Titian, *The Young Woman at Her Toilette*, circa 1515, Paris, Louvre

- Titian, *Venus at Her Toilette*, circa 1550, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 School of Fontainebleau, *Lady at Her Toilette*, circa 1590, Dijon, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Seventeenth Century

- Moreelse, Paulus, *A Young Woman with a Mirror*, 1627, Cambridge, England, Fitzwilliam Museum
 Strozzi, Bernardo, *The Old Woman at Her Mirror*, circa 1635, Bologna, Italy, Modiano Collection; Moscow, Russia, State Pushkin Museum
 Humbelot, Jean, *La Veüe*, circa 1635–1642, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
 Sweerts, Michael, *A Courtesan at Her Toilette*, circa 1645, Rome, Galleria dell'Accademia di San Luca
 Everdingen, Caesar van, *A Courtesan at Her Toilette*, mid-seventeenth century, The Hague, The Netherlands, Steengracht Collection
 Metsu, Gabriel, *Young Lady at Her Toilette*, 1650s, Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Foundation
 Terborch, Gerard, *Girl in Front of a Mirror*, after 1650, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
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 Mieris, Frans van, *A Young Woman Standing Before a Mirror*, 1670 (?), Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
 Bosse, Abraham, *La Veüe*, before 1676, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
 Mieris, Frans van, *A Young Woman at Her Toilette*, 1678, Paris, Louvre
 Largillière, Nicolas de, *Portrait of a Woman as Venus*, circa 1695–1700, St. Louis, Missouri, St. Louis Art Museum

Eighteenth Century

- Watteau, Antoine, *Lady at Her Toilette*, circa 1716–1717, London, Wallace Collection
 Troy, François de, *A Lady Showing a Bracelet Miniature to Her Suitor*, 1722–1727, Kansas City, Missouri, Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art
 Raoux, Jean, *Lady at Her Toilette*, 1723, London, Christie's sale

- Jeaurat, Étienne, *La Coquette*, circa 1732
 Petit, Gilles-Edmé, *Le Matin—La Dame à sa Toilette*, engraving, 1734, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
 Aved, Jacques-André-Joseph, *Mme de Bacquencourt at Her Toilette*, 1739, Jerusalem, Israel Museum
 Lancrer, Nicolas, *Morning*, circa 1739, London, National Gallery
 Boucher, François, *Woman Fastening Her Garter, with Her Maid*, 1742, Lugano, Switzerland, Thussen-Bornemisza Collection
 Nattier, Jean-Marc, *Mme Marsollier with Her Daughter at Her Toilette*, 1749, New York, Metropolitan Museum
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 Boucher, François, *Portrait of Mme de Pompadour*, circa 1756, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
 Boucher, François, *Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, La Marquise de Pompadour*, 1758, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum
 Boucher, François, *Woman Applying a Mouche*, before 1770

Nineteenth Century

- Ingres, Jean-August-Dominique, *Turkish Bath*, 1862–1863, Paris, Louvre
 Morisot, Berthe, *Young Woman Seen from Behind at Her Toilette*, 1880, Chicago, Illinois, Art Institute
 Morisot, Berthe, *At the Psyché*, 1891, private collection
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FOOLS/FOLLY

Margaret A. Sullivan

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Fools/Folly:

ANCIENT

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

MEDIEVAL

TWENTIETH CENTURY

RENAISSANCE

De boni consilij contemptoribus.

17



Sebastian Brant, "De Boni confiln contemptoribus," page 17 from *Stultitia navis* (Basel, Switzerland, 1572).
(Courtesy of the Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts)

Fools are a constant in every culture. Irrational and showing no forethought, they behave as the antithesis of wisdom, prudence, and self-control as defined by the society in which they live. Fools may be aberrant by birth or accident (factors beyond their control) or may have the capacity for self-control but fail to exercise it: “He who sees the good and chooses the bad makes himself wittingly a fool,” says an old French proverb; or, folly may be counterfeited, and the role of fool might be adopted to amuse or to satirize. Whatever the cause or the motivation, fools are always deviant, their conduct unconventional, and their behavior abnormal and mad in relation to prevailing conceptions of normalcy and sanity.

In Western art and literature, two traditional strategies for representing the fool are present. The first is reductive: The fool is shown naked or wearing little clothing, and he often has bare feet and a shaved head. The second is additive: “something animal on the head, something variegated on the body, and something comical in the hand.” The fool wears a hood that emphasizes his kinship with the beasts, as in Quentin Massys’s *Allegory of Folly*, his portrait of a fool (circa 1510) in which the hood is decorated with the ears of an ass and the peak ends in the likeness of a rooster, or Lucas van Leyden’s print *A Fool Kissing a Woman* (1520) with its cockscorn running down the center seam of the eared hood. The variegated costume, or fool’s motley, with its multiple colors in odd arrangements, serves as an outward manifestation of his demented and disorganized mind. The bauble, or fool’s stick, that he carries is a frivolous plaything, a toy suitable for children rather than grown-ups and a parody of the king’s scepter, the traditional emblem of kingly wisdom and authority. When a bladder is substituted for the traditional bauble, as in Hans Sebald Beham’s small print (circa 1530) of a male fool seated on the ground next to a female fool, its phallic shape emphasizes his inability to control his sexual appetites, a failing that further associates the fool with animals. Grotesque features such as a big nose, large lips, crossed eyes, or some other deformity that is the antithesis of a desirable physiognomy also characterize the imagery of the fool and are used to mark the fool as a deviant.

Prior to the modern era, the principal function of the fool was didactic. For example, in a twelfth-century relief sculpture at Chartres Cathedral in France, the allegorical figure of Folly is paired with her opposite number, Prudence, in a cycle of virtues and vices. The fool was also used as a cover for criticism as a legitimate way to release feelings of frustration and anger and express views normally kept silent. The Feast of Fools (*Festum stultorum* or *fatuorum*), celebrated between Christmas and Epiphany during the medieval period, allowed the rituals and hierarchy of the Catholic Church to be turned upside down without fear of reprisal. The celebration of the divine office

gave way to a veritable carnival in which the lower clergy mocked the celebration of the Mass, played cards and dice on the altar, smeared their faces with soot, wore grotesque masks, dressed as women or as fools with caps and bells, and, after electing some beggar as bishop or pope of fools, poured into the city streets parading their fraudulent leader, throwing excrement, dancing wildly, and singing obscenities.

In the same way it was permissible for the court fool or jester to voice criticisms of the ruler and other powerful people. The king’s jester could speak with impunity and say what was normally forbidden, and rulers could hear the truth, however unpleasant, without compromising their royal authority. Power insulates, and the court fool served as a counter to the flattery and deceit that surrounded the powerful. In addition, if he was a “natural” rather than a jester feigning folly, the court fool was a humbling reminder that divine selection works both ways. One person may be born a king, another an idiot. But even when given a privileged position, the fool remained subordinate and his survival provisional and problematic. The excesses of the Feast of Fools eventually caused it to be outlawed, and a royal jester who misjudged the limits of his freedom could be whipped or dismissed in disgrace.

The Fool in the Late Medieval Period

Although the sources for fool imagery are ancient and folly and madness still with us, the great period for the concept of folly and the fool is from the thirteenth through the sixteenth century. In religious art of the thirteenth century, in sculpture, stained-glass windows, and in manuscripts, Folly is an allegorical figure who is usually male, bare-headed, wearing a loose garment, holding a round object or placing it in his mouth, and carrying a club. The precise identity of the round object is not known—perhaps it is a cake, a loaf of bread, a stone, a ball, or even the host that is being desecrated—but the general meaning is clear: The fool is obsessed with material things and fails to believe in God.

Heresy is central to these medieval images, and when the fool is not alone, he is accompanied by the devil or by God, who looks down on the fool with displeasure. In manuscripts, he is positioned most frequently in the historiated initial that begins Psalm 53: “*Dixit insipiens in corde suo non est Deus*” (The Fool hath said in his heart, There is no God). The initial “D” for Psalm 53 from the Psalter of the Duc du Berry (1380–1385), probably by Jacquemart de Hesdin, shows the fool with his white robe draped loosely over his head; his feet are bare, he holds a club, and he bites a round object. Even later, when Hans Holbein the Younger illustrated Psalm 53 (before 1543), he shows a fool of this type with bare feet, thumb in his mouth, and a loose, revealing garment. From the

perspective of the Roman Catholic Church, heresy and folly are equated, and the fool is a sinner. The prudent man believes in God, and the fool doubts.

The image of the *stultus* (the fool-as-sinner) that developed in the thirteenth century can be traced to Rome, Greece, and Egypt, suggesting a pattern of appropriation in which images from the pagan past reappeared in a Christian context. The scandalous Feast of Fools, with its irreverent parody of the sacred, is similar to the Roman Saturnalia celebrated in December and is known as the “Liberty of December.” The Saturnalia permitted obscene singing and dancing and a reversal of roles, with masters serving their slaves and men dressing as women. The bald head is characteristic of the *stupidus* of Roman mime. The Roman satirist Juvenal describes shaved heads (*vertice raso*) as an ancient comic device, and Nonius refers to the *calvis mimicus*, the bald-headed mime. A close-cropped head was characteristic of jongleurs (jugglers) and fools in the medieval period, and the line “He is shaved like a fool” occurs in a medieval mystery play.

An Italian example, Giotto’s allegorical figure of *Stultitia* (*Folly*) (circa 1304) in the Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy, is similar to the northern fool and serves a similar function. Giotto’s *Stultitia* has short hair, bare feet, and a large club and is coupled with the allegorical figure of Prudentia. In addition, the figure in Giotto’s *Stultitia* wears a feathered headdress, a short garment with ragged sleeves, and a scalloped hemline belted over an exaggerated, oversize belly. The huge belly recalls the heavily padded costume seen in ancient mime, and the feathered headdress is characteristic of late representations of the Egyptian divinity Bes. The possibility of Egyptian, as well as Greek and Roman, sources for the fool is suggested by Lucian’s satire *The Carousal, or the Lapiths*, in which a fool is ordered to come in and amuse the guests at a drunken banquet.

In came an ugly fellow with his head shaven except for a few hairs that stood up straight on his crown. First he danced, doubling himself up and twisting himself about to cut a more ridiculous figure, then he beat time and recited scurrilous verses in an Egyptian brogue and finally he began to poke fun at the guests.

The Fool in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

The image of the bare-headed heretical fool holding a round object gradually disappeared during the late medieval period and was replaced by the second type, the eared fool dressed in motley and carrying a bauble. Fools decorate four playing cards from around 1453—two male “Narrs” and two female “Narreyn”—and although they all wear loose robes and have bare feet, only the males have the hood with ears and bells. In *Breviary of Philip the Good* (circa 1430–1440), the fool occupies his customary place in the historiated initial “D” that begins Psalm 53, but instead of a loose drape he wears a peaked hood with animal ears; bells circle his legs, he holds a bauble with his mirror image, and he is accompanied by the king rather than God or the devil. In another illumination from the same manuscript, the fool wears the ermine of the king and carries a sword instead of a bauble, and the banderole above his

head reads, “*Stultori infiniti est numerus*” (The number of fools is infinite). This phrase foreshadows the expansion of Folly’s realm in the years around 1500.

Like the underdressed heretical fool, the fool in cap and bells has its origins in the theater, ceremonies, and customs of the ancient world. The Roman poet Martial (book VI, xxxix) refers to “the son of your fool Cyrtia,” who has a “sharp head and two long asses’ ears,” and an eared hood distinguishes a mask, perhaps Gaulish, of the Roman period. The fool in Roman mime, the *stupidus*, wore a long, pointed hat over his bald head and was dressed in a garment of mixed colors, or patchwork—Apuleius refers to this as the *mimi centunculus* (*Apologia*, xiii)—or, less frequently, an all-white costume. These ancient sources are reflected in a manuscript (circa 1478) of St. Augustine’s *City of God* in which the obscene games of the ancient Romans are illustrated with naked dancers, and the two males wear a hood with large animal ears and a cockscomb. In a woodcut illustrating a scene from Terence’s comedy *The Eunuchus*, published in Ulm, Germany (1486), Pythias is shown as a fool wearing the hood with ears and carrying a bauble. The white costume from mime even makes an occasional appearance, as in the outfit worn by the fool/jester in the *Luxuria* section of *The Seven Deadly Sins*, painted by Hieronymus Bosch (circa 1500).

Even the practice of including fools in a royal entourage was based on ancient precedent. The jester-mimus of a Roman emperor accompanied the funeral cortege of his master and diverted the crowd by imitating and ridiculing the bad habits of the departed (Dionysius, lib. VII). Although royal fools are recorded from the eleventh century, their popularity greatly increased in the fourteenth century—the first mention of a fool for the House of Bourgogne is in 1363, when Nicolas was employed to divert Philip the Hard—and by the middle of the fifteenth century, the custom of keeping domestic fools was firmly established throughout Europe with fools in every royal court and in the entourages of rich prelates. The fool Triboulet, one of the most celebrated of court fools, figures in the accounts of René d’Anjou from 1447, and his master had the court sculptor Francesco Laurana immortalize the fool with a medal engraved with his effigy. Triboulet—his name came from the verb *tribouler*, which could be translated *cervelle branlante* (a brain shaky and unsteady)—had a bizarrely shaped head that was pointed and scarcely bigger than a doll’s and that contrasted with his large, thick body; he is also shown carrying a bauble and wearing a small skullcap.

Examples of the fool in art and literature multiply in the years after 1500, moving from the church and court to the cities and from illuminated manuscripts and sculptural cycles to the printed book, panel paintings, woodcuts, and engravings. In the censorious, combative era of the Reformation, the fool in eared cap was an ideal weapon in the battle between different religious ideologies because it allowed people of every persuasion to label their enemies immediately and unambiguously. In Thomas Murner’s satire *Of the Great Lutheran Fool*, first published in 1522, the great fool wears the eared hood and conjures forth a quantity of little fools. When Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, infamous for his support of the Inquisition in the Low Countries, was attacked by his enemies in the 1560s, they satirized the extravagant livery of his ser-

vants by adopting for their own costume a tunic with a fool's head on the sleeves. The brutal Duke of Alba is named *Le Capitaine des Folles* in a circular engraving by Theodor de Bry, and when the innocuous portrait of the duke is turned around, he is revealed as a fool in cap and bells.

For Renaissance humanists, the fool satisfied the desire to combine their commitment to the Bible with their enthusiasm for the classical world, and they emphasized the parallels between Proverbs and Ecclesiastes—the biblical books in which the fool figures most prominently—and the works of classical writers such as Horace, Juvenal, Seneca, and Cicero. Desiderius Erasmus, in *The Praise of Folly* (1511), wrote, “how absolute is that commendation of Cicero’s, ‘*Stultorum plena sunt omnia*’” (Everything is full of fools) (Cicero, *Ad famil.* 9, 22, 4) and then refers to the biblical version of the same idea when he notes that “*Stultori infiniti est numerus*” (The number of fools is infinite) appears in Ecclesiastes. Sebastian Brant’s *The Ship of Fools*, first published in 1494, draws heavily on classical as well as biblical sources, and the image of a ship resembles the *camus navialis* (ship-cart) of the ancient world. Originally published as *Das Narrenschiff*, Brant’s satire was disseminated throughout Europe in Locher’s Latin version, *Stultitia navis*, and this compendium of fools established the cap and bells as an essential image in the humanist effort to educate in an entertaining, memorable way.

In moralizing paintings and even playing cards, the fool is given an amusing, admonitory role: His presence signals a satirical and moralizing intent. In Lucas van Leyden’s woodcut *A Tavern Scene* (1519), the fool directs the viewer’s attention to the didactic message by looking in at the window and pointing to the prostitutes fleeing a gullible customer. The inclusion of one fool in traditional costume alerted the viewer to the presence of more fools, even if it was only their behavior that gave them away. The playing cards designed by Erhard Schön (circa 1528) include a bagpipe-playing jester seated backward on a cow defecating coins to the delight of a crowd of greedy fools in ordinary, everyday dress. The hunchbacked jester with cap, bells, and bauble, seated in the tree/mast in Hieronymus Bosch’s painting *Ship of Fools* (circa 1495), draws attention to the others in the boat—the nuns in their habits and monks in their cassocks, carousing and drinking—who are violating their sacred vows with lustful, gluttonous behavior.

Men and women made foolish by their lust were an especially popular subject, and the moralists took advantage of the fool’s long-standing association with a lack of self-restraint. In Renaissance satires, sexual promiscuity replaces heresy as a principal target for attack. In Jost Amman’s pack of playing cards from 1588, a naked woman entices a fool into her bath, and in Quentin Massys’s *Two Fools and a Woman* (circa 1522), an old man, intent on the pursuit of sexual favors, is being robbed. The object of his lust, a beautiful young woman, is passing his moneybag to her accomplice—a fool in a parti-colored costume, with eared hood, crossed eyes, and tongue lolling from the corner of his mouth.

Increasingly theatricalized and secularized, often more witty than witless, the fool in motley became a fixture in civic ceremonies and dramatic presentations. Cities hired municipal fools to lead processions and amuse inhabitants during festivals

and other public ceremonies. Richard Withington described a cortege led by a city fool in the characteristic costume. Lay societies, such as the Chambers of Rhetoric in the Low Countries, had their fools. In the painting *Festival of the Archers* by the Master of Frankfurt (1480s), two fools, one in a black and red costume and the other in yellow and black, square off in the middle of the festivities. “*Numerus stultorum*” (The number of fools is infinite) was the motto for the Enfants-sans-souci, a society of jesters that was created for entertainment and social criticism and active in France in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. *La Mere Folle*, a man in fool costume, ruled the fraternal group of fools created in 1552 in Dijon, France, and the Basoche in France, a society of lawyers, adopted the costume of the fool and his freedom to criticize. In Germany, in the Schembart Festival at Nürnberg in 1539, the procession included not only a “ship of fools” but also a big fool eating little fools on one wagon and a fool warning the couples in the Bower of Love against the dangers of lust on another. The fool even invaded the countryside. In the *kermesse*, or village festival of the Low Countries, young men on horseback met in a chosen place, formed a circle, and designated one of their members to play the fool.

In dramas such as the Shrovetide comedies, the person who introduced the play was sometimes called Narr, and there is the record of “a comedy played by fools in their characteristic costume” in Brussels, Belgium, in the mid-sixteenth century. The “sotties,” the French satires produced principally between 1440 and 1560, were short plays performed by groups of theatrical fools (*sots*) who wore the costume of the jester. Their fundamental purpose was to expose the folly of the world and attack the problems of the day by invoking the freedom of the fool to tell the truth.

Pieter Bruegel the Elder’s engraving *Festival of Fools*, published in the Low Countries around 1560, includes about 60 fools in an outdoor setting: a garden with structures appropriate for an improvisational dramatic performance. All have hoods with animal ears, although some have their hoods thrown back, revealing their bald heads. The troupe of fools dance wildly, grimace, contort their bodies, and make obscene gestures. One does a handstand, two fools grab each other by the nose, one fool distorts his face by pulling at the corners of his mouth, and another thumbs his nose and makes a “fig” (the thumb thrust between the middle and ring fingers of a fist, a gesture with sexual connotations in the sixteenth century). One fool holds eyeglasses but does not look through them, an owl sits on the hand of another fool, and balls are everywhere—a circular object like that held by the heretical fool in the medieval period but now a visual pun. The Flemish word *sot* means “fool,” and *bol* can mean either “ball” or “head.” Filled with foolish behavior of all kinds, the print was intended for an urban middle class that was ready to be amused at these antics and anxious to avoid appearing foolish and bad-mannered themselves.

Bruegel’s print has little to do with moral issues or a belief in God. The question of heresy had become more complex during the Reformation, and the Renaissance conception of proper behavior owed as much to secular, classical literature as it did to the precepts of Christian religion. In the sixteenth century, the allegorical gave way to the descriptive and the religious

to the secular, and the difference between the representation of the fool at Chartres and the fools in Bruegel's engraving was a sign that the print shop in the city had become more important for generating fool imagery than had the cathedral, monastery, or court. Bruegel's print is not a feast of fools in the medieval tradition, as nothing indicates that the rites of the Roman Catholic Church were being satirized; and, although the fool was still imprudent in sixteenth-century art and literature, the judgment against him had lost some of its force, and his entertainment value outweighed his moral significance. The fools in Bruegel's print might have been ostracized by polite society, but they would not have been burned at the stake.

The Fool in the Modern Era

Folly and the fool—both concept and symbol—lost ground after the sixteenth century, becoming victims, in part, of their own popularity. The realm of folly was expanded to such an extent that the fool in his eared hood lost his satiric bite and his capacity to deliver trenchant criticism. When the term was applied anywhere to anyone who behaved without reason and forethought, the force of the label “fool” was dissipated. In Frans Hogenberg's *Stultorum Chorea Der Sotten Dans* (*The Dance of the Fools*, circa 1570), 15 fools in cap and bells dance in a ring around a central fool, who is blowing a trumpet. Their follies are clearly labeled, and whereas some, such as Avarus (Avarice), Luxuriosus (Lust), and Invidus (Envy), continue to justify the title “fool,” others, such as Ambitosus (Ambition) and Curiosus (Curiosity), seem less warranted. In Sebastian Brant's *Ship of Fools*, even the patient who does not follow the doctor's orders is placed on the fool ship. The eared hood continued to be used on occasion—in the seventeenth century, Rembrandt van Rijn placed the ears of an ass on his drawing of an art critic—but satirists came to rely on more powerful weapons. Francisco de Goya attacks madness and folly in *Los Caprichos* (1793–1798), but rather than giving the doctor who kills his patients an eared hood, he makes the transformation complete, and the doctor becomes an ass. When Goya depicts the fools victimized by women, the men become little plucked birds, their grotesque bodies whacked unmercifully by broom-wielding prostitutes.

Even more fundamental, the concept of folly was undermined by a lack of unanimity on what constituted wisdom and rationality. Folly is founded on opposition and requires a symmetrical relationship: society and its conventions on one side and the fool breaking those conventions on the other. When there is little agreement about the rational, folly trods on a slippery slope. The satire in Erasmus's *The Praise of Folly* turns finally on the discrepancy between social conventions and a truly Christian way of life. When a moral, upright Christian is accounted a fool in a society that calls itself Christian, the concept of folly is turned on its head. Shakespeare's wise fool of King Lear undercuts folly in a similar way, raising questions about who is really foolish and suggesting that only the person identified by society as a fool is in fact wise. The issue of folly became complicated in the sixteenth century, when its definition increasingly manifested as an individual rather than a societal judgment and complex viewpoints could not be compressed, or adequately comprehended, with a single symbol.

Instead of serving a symbolic function as the antithesis of wisdom in a unified and coherent value system, folly in the modern era has become a subject for medical, psychological, and philosophical investigation. Erasmus's *The Praise of Folly* reflects both the fragmented condition of the Roman Catholic Church in the Reformation and the tendency of Renaissance humanists to think independently. It is evidence, as well, of the increased interest in madness and folly as a psychological state, an individual condition. Humanists used ancient sources such as Galen and Seneca to describe mental aberrations and to explore their causes, and blanket condemnation gave way to curiosity about cause and effect. Bruegel, in his painting *The Dulle Griet* (*Mad Meg*, circa 1562), explores the causes of madness and folly in one of the last, and certainly most complex, attempts to treat these subjects as allegory. The portrait replaced allegorical and symbolic representations of the fool. In the sixteenth century, the royal fool in Anthonis Mor's painting does not wear the traditional cap and bells. His expression is sober and thoughtful, and the principal sign of his role as a fool is his deformed hand, in which he holds a playing card. In the seventeenth century, Diego Velázquez's portraits of the natural fools in the court of Philip IV, such as *The Buffoon Called “Don Juan of Austria”* (before 1660), equal his portraits of the king in their insight, individuality, and sympathy. In the nineteenth century, Théodore Géricault in *La Folle*, his portrait of a female fool, is presenting the psychological state of an individual rather than creating a societal symbol.

In the modern, post-Freudian, post-Jungian era, attitudes toward the fool are more complex, and the degree to which folly is culturally defined and susceptible to change is more appreciated. The energetic dancing in Bruegel's *Festival of Fools* is now considered good exercise, not folly, although the fool exposing his backside in public would still violate the norms of most Western societies. A negative image in one time and place, the natural or biological fool may be sympathetic in another. The reaction to the natural fool has varied from the derisive laughter and denigration characteristic in the sixteenth century to a more sympathetic and caring, albeit still superior, attitude in the modern era. In Western culture, the natural fool is no longer forbidden access to the church, as a modern writer on madness, Michel Foucault, says was the case at Nürnberg in 1420, but neither is the fool treated as an equal by those who consider themselves normal. On the other hand, in societies that value the irrational as a source of wisdom, the fool may be considered wise and clairvoyant. When the jester's costume has lived on, it is not as a potent weapon but as a relatively harmless image in playing cards, as a romanticized figure (e.g., Triboulet, the court fool as portrayed in the drama of Victor Hugo, or the fool in Giuseppe Verdi's opera *Rigoletto*), or as a melancholy, introspective figure who no longer cavorts for the amusement of his audience, as in Picasso's bronze bust *The Jester* (Paris, 1905). Picasso's jester retains the peaked cap of the jester, but the animal ears are gone. His features are normalized instead of being grotesque or distorted by a grimace, and his pensive expression makes him a close relation to the sad, sympathetic Harlequin figure, heir of the parti-colored costume that is so important in Picasso's art. There is nothing comic or derogatory about these fools. What is communicated is not how society feels about the fool but how the fool/jester

feels about himself and his alienated state. The costume still conveys an internal state and a special social status, but the point of view is that of the wearer, not of the society that judges him.

See also Comic; Margins/Outsiders

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

Roman Bronze of a Mime Dancer, circa A.D. 200, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton Art Museum

Medieval

Folly and Prudence, relief sculptures from a cycle of the Twelve Virtues and the Twelve Vices, thirteenth century, Chartres, France, Cathedral

Folly, rose window, stained glass, thirteenth century, Paris, Notre Dame

Renaissance

Giotto, *Stultitia (Folly)*, fresco, circa 1304, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Jacquemart de Hesdin, *Illumination of the Fool*, from the Psalter of the Duc du Berry, 1380–1385, Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Ms. fr. 13091, fol. 106)

Historiated Initial D, Breviary of Philip the Good, manuscript illumination, circa 1430–1440, Brussels, Belgium, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er (No. 9511, fol. 287v and No. 9026, fol. 143v)

Fouquet, Jean, *Portrait of the Jester Gonella*, oil on wood, circa 1435, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Four Playing Cards with Fools, circa 1453–1457, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Laurana, Francesco, *Engraved Medal with Effigy of Triboulet (The Fool of René d'Anjou)*, circa 1460, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France

Scene of the Pagan Theatre, illumination from St. Augustine's *City of God*, 1478, The Hague, The Netherlands, Museum van het Boek-Museum Meermanno-Westreenianum (MS. 11, fol. 36v)

Master of Frankfurt, *Festival of the Archers*, oil on panel, oil on wood, 1480s, Antwerp, Belgium, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

Fool, from Terence, *Ennuchus*, 1486, Ulm, Germany

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Ship of Fools*, painting, circa 1495, Paris, Louvre

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Luxuria*, from *The Seven Deadly Sins*, tabletop painting, oil on wood, circa 1500, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Massys, Quentin, *Allegory of Folly*, oil on wood, circa 1510, collection of Julius Held

Lucas van Leyden, *A Tavern Scene*, woodcut, 1519

Lucas van Leyden, *A Fool Kissing a Woman*, etching and engraving, 1520, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Beham, Hans Sebald, *Fool and Woman*, engraving, circa 1530, Vienna, Austria, Albertina

Holbein, Hans the Younger, *The Fool*, illustration for Psalm 53, before 1543, from marginal illustrations made in Erasmus's *The Praise of Folly*, 1515, Basel, Switzerland, Public Print Room

Holbein, Hans the Younger, *The Fool and Death*, woodcut from *Simulachres and Histoires Faces de la Mort*, 1545, Lyon, France

Mor, Anthonis, *Portrait of a Court Jester (Pejeron)*, panel, circa 1560, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *Festival of Fools*, circa 1560, Brussels, Belgium, Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er

Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *The Dulle Griet (Mad Meg)*, circa 1562, Antwerp, Belgium, Museum Mayer van den Bergh

Hogenberg, Frans, *Stultorum Choreia, Der Sotten Dans (The Dance of the Fools)*, circa 1570

Amman, Jost, pack of playing cards, 1588, Nürnberg, Germany

Seventeenth Century

Velázquez, Diego, *The Buffoon Called "Don Juan of Austria,"* oil on canvas, before 1660, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Twentieth Century

Picasso, Pablo, *The Jester*, bronze sculpture, 1905, New York, collection of Mrs. Bertram Smith

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FORTUNE

THE GODDESS

Liana De Girolami Cheney

THE WHEEL

Paul Grimley Kuntz
Lee Braver

The following art forms are covered in the discussion of the theme Fortune:

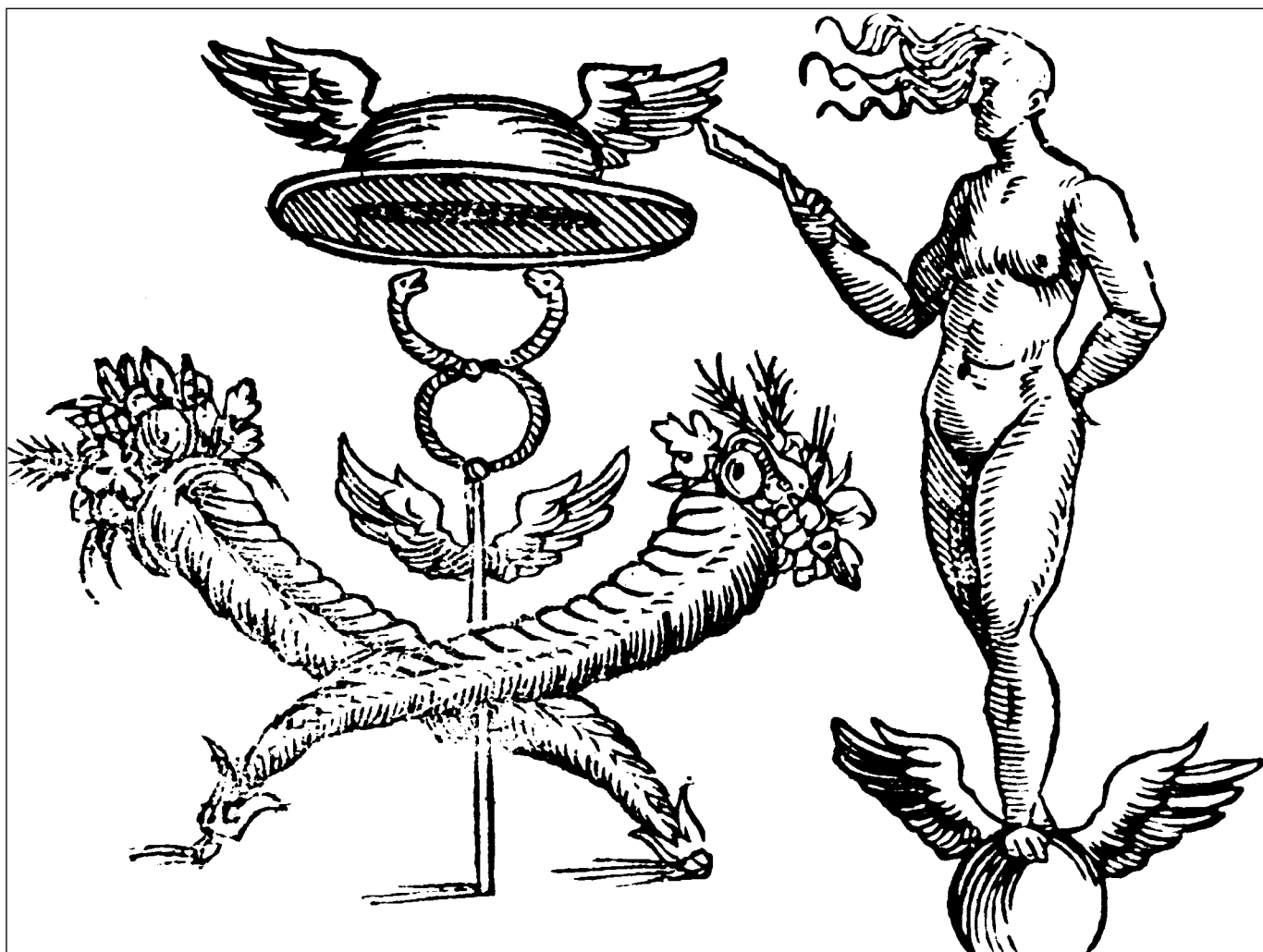
EMBLEMS

SCULPTURE

ENGRAVINGS

PAINTINGS

DRAWINGS



Vincenzo Cartari, *Fortuna (Occasione)*, woodcut, from *Imagini delli Dei de gl'Antichi* (Venice, Italy, 1557).
(Courtesy of the author)

The goddess Fortune, also known as Tyche or Agathodaemon in Greek mythology, is sometimes called the goddess of chance or luck—good or bad. Her symbol, a wheel, indicates her fickleness. The up and down, boom and bust, high hope and desolation of the wheel of Fortune made it an iconographic symbol with perennial appeal in the Middle Ages and Renaissance.

The Goddess

According to Hesiod's *Theogony*, Tyche, the goddess of fortune, was the daughter of Tethys and Oceanus and was one of the 3,000 Oceanids. For the poet Pindar, she was one of the Parcae, or Fates. She was honored as the tutelary deity of towns and as such had temples and statues in many populous cities of Greece and Asia Minor. In the course of time, however, the idea spread that Tyche, or Fortune, was the author of both evil and good fortune. In Roman mythology, Fortune, or Fortuna (the Latin word is derived from *fors* or *ferre*, which means "to bring"), was originally associated with fertility. She had an ancient temple in the Forum Borarium in Rome. Servius Tullius introduced her cult in Rome and erected a temple to her under the name of Fors Fortuna, making June 24 the common festival for the goddess. Indeed, it was a popular holiday, and large crowds, including slaves, flocked to her shrine near the Tiber River. Later, her worship became more extensive under very different surnames, some of which referred to the state as *Fortuna populi Romani* and others to every description of private affairs. Romans addressed her by a variety of epithets expressing either particular kinds of good luck or the kinds of people to whom she granted it. She was worshiped in Italy at Antium and at Praeneste, where she had an oracular shrine (Bonney, p. 100).

Ancient artists endowed the goddess Fortune with various attributes, the most important of which was the rudder, which she held in her hand as a symbol of her power to control the fortunes of people. She was also endowed with a scepter for the same reason and with a horn of plenty as the giver of good fortune. She is sometimes represented with the youthful Plutus, a god of wealth, in her arms. Her later conception as a martial goddess of fate is apparent in those works of art that depict her standing by a ball or wheel. Among the larger existing works is a copy of a Tyche by Eutychides of Sicyon, formerly exhibited in Antioch and now in the Vatican, in which the goddess wears a laurel crown on her head as the tutelary deity of towns and has a sheaf of corn in her right hand.

Besides Fortune, the Romans honored a deity called Felicitas (Bonus Eventus) as the goddess of positive good fortune. Lucullus is said to have erected a temple to her in Rome that was adorned with the works of art brought by Mummius from the spoils of Corinth. Even this did not satisfy the religious

needs of the people, and the belief in personal, protecting deities, called *daemones* by the Greeks and *genii* by the Romans, grew rapidly among both civilizations. These deities were believed to be the invisible counselors of every individual, accompanying both men and women from birth to death, through all the states of life, with advice and comfort. Offerings of wine, cake, incense, and garlands were made to them, especially on individual birthdays (Seeman, pp. 98–100).

Fortune has two aspects in the modern world: (1) the inconstant goddess of antiquity, revived by the Renaissance, who bestows her favors at random, and (2) the medieval Dame Fortune turning her wheel. The first aspect of the goddess is depicted naked and usually winged. To Apuleius, she was blind and even eyeless because of the way she regards the unworthy or the positively wicked (*Golden Ass*, 7:2). Thus, she is sometimes blindfolded. Her most common attribute, a globe on which she stands or sits, originally indicated instability, but for the Renaissance it represented the world over which her sway extended. Fickleness suggests vice; thus, on her globe, Fortune sometimes stands in contrast with the personification of Virtue, who rests on a solid block or cube, the symbol of stability. The globe is also an attribute of opportunity, or chance, which might be defined as the workings of fortune. To Horace (*Odes*, 1:35), Fortune was the mistress of the sea whom those in ships feared. Thus, she may have a rudder or a billowing sail (a reminder of the wind's inconstancy) and ride on a shell or a dolphin or hold a model ship. Other less common attributes are a cornucopia (which she shares with many other personifications), a diadem, and a bridle. Although she is sometimes confused with Nemesis, whom she resembles, Nemesis is usually represented holding a bridle or a rope with which she binds human pride, and she may hold a vase as well, containing riches to reward the just. Thus, her signification is not with divination, as is Fortune's, as in Albrecht Dürer's engraving *Nemesis* (1501) (Bartsch, fig. 77).

Divination, or the prediction of fortune, was practiced widely by Near Eastern peoples and took many forms. Examples of these are from the Old Testament (prophets and sibyls), the interpretation of dreams (dream of Jacob's Ladder and dream of Joseph), and calling up the dead to seek their advice (witch of Endor). The practice of divination or augury in these ancient cultures owed much to the Etruscans, who were famous for their skill in reading omens in the flight of birds and, even more, in the livers of sacrificed animals: the art of haruspicy. In a formal processional rite, the priest held the liver in the left hand and his arm rested on his raised leg, as seen on the engraved mirror from Vulci (*Haruspication Read by Calchas*, 400 B.C., Vatican Museums).

During the Renaissance and later, divination, now more commonly called fortune-telling, used crystal balls, cards, dice,

tea leaves, and other objects ordered by chance. Caravaggio's *Fortune Teller* (1600) in the Pinacoteca Capitolina in Rome (and in another version in the Louvre in Paris) treated the subject of a Gypsy telling the fortune of a young man. Caravaggio parallels the magic of the Gypsy with the magic of the artist. The theme selected by Caravaggio illustrates a skit of the *commedia dell'arte*. It seems significant that an analogous compositional scheme, derived from Caravaggio's work, was used by Georges de La Tour for his *Fortune Teller* (circa 1625), now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

A second aspect of fortune, the wheel, was also associated with fortune in classical antiquity. The poet Anacreon said of the inconstancy of fate that human life rolls along, shifting like the spoke of a wagon wheel, and the movement of the wheel of fortune soon compensates for the moments of excessive hardship. (For the medieval and modern view of the wheel of fortune, see below.)

As an emblem of divination, the wheel's signification, which originated in ancient times, continued in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, as illustrated in playing cards—the tarots (Cavendish, pp. 101–103). In the *palco* (ceiling) of the Chamber of Fortune in the Casa Vasari in Arezzo, Italy, Giorgio Vasari painted the goddess Fortuna in 1548 with all her symbolic ramifications as she interacts with Virtue and Envy. Vasari's depiction of Fortuna reflects the assimilation of Andrea Alciati's idea of opportunity, or *In Occasionem*, Emblem 122. The epigram from Alciati's *Emblemata* (1542) describes the emblem:

I am called the goddess Opportunity, Lysippus' hand made me thus. The round sphere makes me unstable, each wind takes my wings. The razor shows that I penetrate where I knock and nothing holds me. Because I have hair on my forehead, grasp me when I come. You seek me in vain, if you let me pass, for, I am bald behind. The master made me thus that everyone should consider my nature; and think whence comes his fortune, looking to his opportunity (Chance). (Daly, vol. 2)

Boethius, in *De consolazione philosophiae* (*Of the Consolation of Philosophy*) (1492), is the first writer to discuss the rotation of fortune caused by the wheel.

In the sixteenth century, this Ciceronian personification of chance and time in the *occasio* theme is assimilated into representations of fortune and virtue, with the motto *Fortuna comes Virtutis* or *Virtutis comes Fortuna*. Giorgio Vasari illustrates in the *palco* the combination of Alciati's *Virtuti fortuna comes* (Emblem 119) and *Fortuna virtutem superans* (Emblem 120) with Vincenzo Cartari's Fortune (*Occasione*) from the *Imagini delli Dei de gl'Antichi* (Daly, vol. 1) and reflects the assimilation of Alciati's emblem of opportunity. It has not previously been noticed that Vasari's iconographic associations relate to the emblematic tradition, nor has it been demonstrated that their significance impacted on the visual and literary tradition of the cinquecento. The epigram for the emblem *Virtuti fortuna comes* describes fortune as the comrade of excellence. A caduceus stands upright between the horns of Amalthea, suggesting a rich abundance (*copia*) of things and blessing men powerful in mind and skilled in speaking. The epigram for the emblem *Fortuna virtutem superans* discusses how fortune over-

comes virtue when Brutus, wearing armor, plunges a dagger into his breast, uttering, "Miserable Virtue, caring only for words, why do you follow Fortune as the mistress in events?" Cartari's image of fortune (*Occasione*), from the *Imagini delli Dei de gl'Antichi*, illustrates the fusion of two of Alciati's emblems, *In Occasionem* and *Virtuti fortuna comes* (Henkel and Schöne, pp. 1551, 1796–1798).

Influenced by the emblematic tradition, aware of the dual concepts of fortune and virtue, and fascinated by the conflicting iconography, Giorgio Vasari, as well as many other artists, represented this theme. Examples include Jean Cousin's *Virtue Conquering Fortune* and *Virtue as Companion to Fortune*, engravings from *Livre de Fortune* (1540s), and Peter Vischer the Younger's print *Fortune* (1540). Although Cesare Ripa fused the emblematic and visual tradition of fortune, he focused on the aspect of chance and the vicissitudes of fortune (Ripa, Buscaroli edition, pp. 171–172).

This modern edition describes three types of fortune: (1) *Fortuna Buona*: A woman is seated, resting her right arm on a wheel and holding a globe and a cornucopia in her left, as in Cartari's image of good fortune from the *Imagini delli Dei de gl'Antichi*. (2) *Fortuna Infelice*: A woman navigates without a wheel and with broken sails. The boat is a symbol of human life, and the sails are symbols of unhappiness and bad luck, as in Peter Vischer the Younger's print *Fortune*. In the 1611 edition of Ripa's *Iconologia*, he states that the sail is a symbol of navigation and good fortune (on this interpretation of Fortuna, see also Alciati's emblem of *Occasio velatica*). (3) *Fortuna*: A woman is shown with a globe and a cornucopia. Vasari's interpretation established the concept of fortune as chance in the Chamber of Fortune.

The placement of Fortune between the figures of Virtue and Envy (Vice) is most meaningful because it exemplifies the cinquecento concept of challenge or contest between the creative and distinctive forces in nature. Cartari's image of Fortune standing between Virtue, Envy (Vice), and Favor in *Imagini delli Dei de gl'Antichi* clearly illustrates the significance of the interference of Vice in the endeavors of Fortune and demonstrates Vasari's source of inspiration for his *palco* scene. The Cartarian image seems to have been a source of inspiration for Vasari, as he included Envy in the contest between Fortune and Virtue. Niccolò Fiorentino's *Virtue Subduing Love and Fortune* (before 1471) is also of interest in this regard (Panofsky, *Iconography*, fig. 40).

As seen from one vantage point in the room, Virtue is above Envy and controls her power by stepping on her neck, causing her to fall down. Moreover, the imagery in the *palco* shows how the stars are favoring good fortune for Vasari because Virtue holds fast to the forelock of Fortune as she is passing with a full-blown sail and Envy is expelled from the realm of Chance. The Vasarian conceit of the full-blown sail dictates Ripa's description of the full-blown sail stimulating the willingness for the individual to move forward (Ripa, 1611, p. 549).

Vasari was aware that although good fortune was indispensable to an artist's success, this condition was not constant in the life of a person, so the ambiguity of the imagery of the *palco*, when one walks around the room, emphasizes the more classical view of fortune. Then, a rereading of Vasari's descrip-

tion of the chamber suggests that when walking around the room, one can see the imagery on the *palco* changing:

A circumstance that gave great pleasure then is that in going round the room Fortune at one place seems above Envy and Virtue, and at another Virtue is above Envy and Fortune, just as it is often the case in reality. (Vasari and Milanesi, vol. VII, p. 686)

Sometimes, one sees Fortune surmounting Virtue and Envy and at other times Virtue prevailing over Fortune and Envy. By so doing, Vasari created a visual rotating movement in the *palco* that imitates the turning of the wheel of fortune without explicitly painting it. Vasari's imaginary conceit is a typical example of his artistic *invenzioni* and the delight in teasing the viewer. This interpretation of Vasari's compositional elements with their emblematic impact seems to be original.

Following quattrocento and cinquecento stylistic and emblematic traditions, Vasari depicts Fortune as a bare-breasted female with a forelock and carrying a sail (Henkel and Schöne, pp. 1796–1798). As mentioned earlier in the interpretation of *Occasio*, the forelock is generally an attribute of this image.

Virtue is portrayed as a young, barefooted female, winged and crowned with laurel (Henkel and Schöne, p. 1816; Ripa, 1611, pp. 541–552). Vasari's image of Virtue is a prescription for Ripa's emblem. The symbolism of these figures is twofold. One manifests the idea that Virtue leads and controls the path of Fortune, as one sees in the *palco*, where Virtue pulls the forelock of Fortune. However, as the wheel of fortune turns, the contrary projection is seen, as Virtue holds a Herculean club, suggesting that sometimes Fortune can disrupt Virtue and so Virtue must punish or chastise Fortune (Wittkower, "Chance," pp. 319–320; Panofsky, "Herkules").

This disruption is caused by the intervention of Vice. By this second variation, Vasari has injected the idea of the psychomachia (the struggle between Virtue and Vice) by including the figure of Envy in the *palco*. Visually and iconographically, the figures of Virtue and Envy (Vice) are in contrast. Vasari's depiction of Envy, as an old woman with large, time-worn breasts and encircled by snakes, derives from a fusion of conventional canons from the quattrocento and cinquecento and from a fusion of Alciati's emblematic impact, as exemplified by his *Invidia*, Emblem 71, as well as Cartari's *Invidia*. In their writings, Alciati and Cartari describe Envy "as a squalid and ugly woman who feeds on viper's flesh and eats her own heart . . . she has snakes for hair . . . in her left hand she holds a snake" (Daly, vol. 2). Thus, in his portrayal of Envy, Vasari symbolizes human malice or envy by associating it with aging, which was one of the effects of the fall caused by the envious serpent (the arbiter of the fall) and woman (the agent of the fall). Thus, Virtue is able to prevent the fall of Fortune with Hercules' club (an iconographic attribute of Christ). In these two versions, then, Vasari combines both the classical and the biblical topoi of fortune. Later, Ripa, in the *Iconologia*, describes the emblem for Envy as the visual image of Vasari's Envy, as depicted in the *palco* (Ripa, 1611, pp. 261–263). Although Vasari emphasizes the physical portrayal of the figures—the old figure of Envy is vicious and ugly in contrast with the young and beautiful figures of Fortune and Virtue—his

main interest is to narrate an intriguing story of the interaction and its consequences.

Obviously, Alciati, Cartari, and Ripa emphasize and depend on the literary sources for the explanation of their visual images and focus on the elaboration of text for their understanding of them. For Vasari, however, the aim is to create a new conceit by borrowing conceits from Alciati and Cartari for his imagery and then inventing in them a new visual image with even deeper, more sophisticated levels of meaning.

Ripa, in turn, grasps Vasari's intentions and expands the literary tradition by adding an extensive visual vocabulary already established in the cinquecento visual tradition. In their pursuit of composing and defining the image or emblem, Vasari and the iconographers continued to discuss the concept of *ut pictura poesis*, or image and text, thereby forming yet another link in the continuum between the visual and literary iconographic traditions (Lee; Mendelsohn; Panofsky, *Idea*; Gombrich; Mitchel; Burchmore; Mirollo). Vasari's importance in this continuum cannot be overstated and perhaps can be best demonstrated by the further decoding of the Chamber of Fortune.

Quattrocento and cinquecento philosophers or theorists such as Leon Battista Alberti, Marsilio Ficino, and Niccolò Machiavelli believed that fortune controlled most of one's actions. A person who acts promptly can grasp fortune quickly and boldly, whereas a person who is passive loses it. Philosopher Ernst Cassirer (pp. 73–77) discusses the concept of fortune as used not only in literature but also in philosophical books such as Giordano Bruno's *Spazio della bestia trionfante* (1584), in which Fortune appears before the planetary and the heavenly constellations to be judged. In the *palco*, Vasari created a planetary realm for fortune's trajectory (Pitkin, pp. 82, 129, 138–154, 167, 248, 252). For Alberti, fortune can be ruled by an active person (Cassirer, p. 77, n. 7). Ficino claimed that it is best for a person to adapt to the will of fortune to ensure one's safety (Ficino, pp. 110, 148, 152, 169, 171–172; Wind, pp. 491–496).

Like them, Vasari conflates the symbolism of *Occasio* with Fortune in the imagery of the *palco*. His program implies that, for himself as an artist, talent or virtuosity is not enough; good fortune is also necessary, as illustrated in the ceiling: Fortune has a flying forelock that is pulled by Virtue and holds up a wind-blown sail that moves in the direction of Virtue. At the same time that good fortune produces success, it also causes jealousy and envy among one's competitors; thus, Envy is depicted in the company of Fortune and Virtue. Perhaps Vasari alludes to such personal opponents as Benvenuto Cellini, whom he discussed in a letter to Paolo Giovio (Vasari and Milanesi, vol. VIII, Letters), or perhaps he alludes to the opposite philosophical position as it is stated by Pico della Mirandola. For example, Pico's *In Astrologiam* parallels the power of Fortune facing the power of Virtue with the destiny of a person who is confronted with will (book IV, p. 531). Thus, human destiny does not flow from the stars or planets but arises from one's inner self. An individual thus makes fortune rise to the heavens of one's will.

According to Cesare Ripa, the personification of fortune is a beautiful, nude, blindfolded, winged female who balances on one foot on a large ball or globe. The globe symbolizes the world, power, and wholeness, and the circle and the sphere sig-

nify eternity. She holds a cornucopia under each arm. Money, crowns, medals, scepters, and marshal's batons spill from the one on the left while pens, brushes, and scrolls spill from the one on the right. The winged figure of Father Time holding his scythe and admonishing Fortune floats above her head on the left. A sphere covered with stars is suspended above her head, and in her left hand she holds a staff topped by a wheel. The pedestal on which she stands is inscribed "Quisque sua Fortunae Faber" (Each person forges his own fortune). Around the base, the following figures reach up to grasp the bounty pouring out of Fortune's horns of plenty: a youth with his purse held open; the allegorical figure of Poverty with one winged hand outstretched and one dragged down by a stone chained to it but holding a scroll and compass; the allegorical figure of Commerce, who has Mercury's winged hat and caduceus; and a poorly dressed man holding a pruning knife (a farmer?) who admires a warrior's helmet.

Fortune is lovely, for she is desired by all. She is blind and does not favor one over the other. She balances on a globe; she is unstable and always shifting and changing. She dispenses all the riches and honors of this world, thus the two cornucopias. Time is present, for he has the only influence on Fortune: with time, Fortune changes. The celestial sphere above her head refers to the stars, which are in continual motion and in some unfathomable way influence the fortunes of people. Sometimes Fortune is depicted as bald with a long forelock, alluding to the amelioration of opportunity if the forelock is grasped. The wheel atop the staff she holds (itself a symbol of authority) refers to the age-old symbol of fortune, the turning wheel, with those on top soon to be on the bottom. The eager youth, Poverty, Commerce, and the peasant who dreams of military glory are those referred to by the motto because each of them, in his own way, must make his own fortune but always hopes for the bounty of good luck (Ripa, 1603, p. 169).

Ripa quotes St. Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologia* (book 3, chapter 92) and Herodotus (III, 39–43) narrating the story of Polycrates of Samos, who had achieved great riches and became a tyrant. On the advice of Amasis, king of the Egyptians, Polycrates tries his luck by throwing a ring into the sea. Beyond all expectations, he finds it in the innards of a fish. Seeing this, Amasis dissolves the bonds of friendship in order not to have to bring him aid should he run into trouble. Thus, according to Herodotus, Amasis's desertion of Polycrates represents his fear of sharing the distress that was bound to overtake Polycrates as retribution for his unusual good fortune. Fortune and her vicissitudes depend on the dispositions of the planetary gods and the signs of the zodiac because they both control the destiny of individuals.

The Wheel

Human life is not merely day and night, seed time and harvest; it is also up and down, boom and bust, high hope and desolation. In the Middle Ages and Renaissance, the wheel of fortune is an iconographic symbol with perennial appeal.

Just as it seemed strange and even incoherent for Christians and Jews to adopt the zodiac into the symbols of their holy places, so we may wonder about a Roman goddess, Fortuna, appearing in so many Christian manuscripts and books. This

has been explained in part as being due to the sixth-century philosopher Boethius, who, although very much a Christian by conviction and an important theologian, incorporated many of Aristotle's and Plato's ideas. Just as the zodiac reminds us of the constancy of heaven, so the wheel of fortune recalls us to the truth that Earth is material and subject to change. We live in time and are subject to chance, which was recognized by the Greeks as the principle of chance. Manuscripts of the Christian philosopher pictured in the zodiac called people's attention to the heavens, whereas the wheel of fortune directed attention to a material Earth that endures through time and change.

Even as originally created, and found "good," the created world could not be perfect, for then it would itself be God. A book of the Hebrew Bible, Ecclesiastes, ascribed to Solomon, observed human life in endlessly repeated cycles of rise and fall. "The race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong" (Ecclesiastes 9:11). Time and chance govern this world. Especially after the fall, human life is as defective as that of Cain, the first murderer. Abel had done nothing to merit or justify Cain's envy and anger. Even Adam and Eve were free to disobey, and Cain was even weaker and might have become the first patricide and matricide as well as the first fratricide. What has happened, is happening, and will happen is beyond human reason.

Few symbols are so closely tied to a single person's experience of life as the wheel of fortune. Boethius was one of the most brilliant writers of the divided Roman Empire. He had been a chief adviser of the Ostrogoth king Theodoric, a consul, and head of the government and court services. Yet he fell out of favor and was accused of treason and conspiracy against Theodoric. He was also charged with participating in magic and sacrilege and awaited execution. In prison during his last months, Boethius wrote *Of the Consolation of Philosophy*. In the work, Philosophy is a woman who converts the prisoner to the conviction that in spite of the injustice he suffered, the highest good controls and orders the cosmos. Philosophia, a lady constant and consoling, is contrasted with Fortuna, who, although giving material gifts, is as fickle as "Lady Luck," who gives only to take away. Providence reigns in the eternal realm, and true virtue can never go unrewarded. The prisoner is consoled. Beyond the death of his body is reparation and reward in heaven. Prose and poetry alternate throughout the five books of *Consolation*. There were several versions and translations into French, German, and other languages. Few books except the Vulgate (the Latin Bible) were read so widely for centuries.

Few symbols have been developed with such amazing flexibility as Fortuna. In some early versions, the philosopher is thinking about the material favors that Fortuna can give, and the ruler sits on his throne forewarned that the wheel turns. Some portray Fortuna in a gown, whereas later artists portray her naked. She is often blindfolded, sometimes winged, and often with a foot on a ball. The simplest presentation of Fortuna shows a lady seated with her wheel, much as a woman used a spinning wheel, engaged in conversation with a seated or standing philosopher, who is Boethius.

Examples from the twelfth century present the ambitious and aspiring youth riding the wheel up (the left side) while the successful ruler sits in robes on his throne, generally crowned

and holding a scepter. On the way down (the right side), a former ruler falls (sometimes headlong), losing his crown and scepter. In one example accompanying *Carmina Burana*, Fortuna sits in the middle, turning two of the six spokes with her hands. Latin tenses mark the movement: *regnabo* (I will rule), *regno* (I rule), and *regnavi* (I have ruled).

One inventive artist, in addition to "*regnabo, regno, regnavi*," thought of the very bottom state and added "*sum sine regno*" ("I am without rule"). Another artist pictured the deposed ruler upside down. Others put the former king under the wheel. The king's misery was shown by depicting him in rags, for often the king was contrasted to a beggar. Even worse, he may appear in shameful nakedness, stripped of all power and raiment.

Sometimes, the king sits on a throne, reminded that someday he no longer will be powerful. Sometimes transcendence is brought home by picturing his death, sometimes with another taking his scepter. The wheel of life turns, as referred to in the biblical *memento mori*: "Dust thou art and to dust thou shalt return." If the wheel turns, can a ruler not regain power? Rarely does a ruler topple off the wheel and grasp for it or hope to rise up again. If he does, he grasps for the riches he has lost.

Fortune's power is greater than all the kings, and in one twelfth-century drawing, she is twice the size of any king and holds the sword while she cranks the wheel. The Alsatian abbess Herrad de Landsberg seated her giant Fortuna, turning what may have been a rotating spit used for roasting pigs (*Hortus Deliciarum*). Medieval artists showed her power by her size; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries *Fortuna Redux* stands over a sunken ship in the harbor, and Albrecht Dürer pictured Fortuna as *Nemesis* high over the landscape. In these Fortuna is naked, a great winged goddess.

How else can artists show Fortune's power? One artist shows her with four arms, two pulling someone up the wheel and two pushing a king over the top, his crown flying off. Another depicts Fortune with six arms.

The essential point is Fortune's fickleness. In the twelfth century, Fortuna is depicted with two heads and standing on a wheel. She is unstable, inconstant, unfaithful, without loyalty, and not to be trusted. She is sometimes like Janus, two-faced and sometimes blindfolded. In one book she is shown petting a monkey on whose head she has placed a crown, and in another she elevates a dog to the top of the wheel.

Very few early wheels were solid, but after the four-spoked type, most became six-spoked. The early wheels have three or four figures, but later versions have six or more. The wheel can be crowded, with aspiring, greedy, arrogant people climbing over one another. Even the people themselves can be sections of the wheel. One unusual wheel of five spokes has aspirants coming to the top from both sides. Riding the wheel is precarious and dangerous. In addition to kings, popes can be seen riding over the top and losing their tiaras.

Does the wheel of fortune not carry scholars, doctors, lawyers, and women? In a late fifteenth-century woodblock, a prince holding a sun symbol rides up to an armored king with orb and sword. The doctor holds his caduceus, a young man holds lilies, and a landowner is shown with a scythe. A naked

woman holds an arrow on her way up, and another naked woman, near the bottom, holds a crescent. The wheel is a hollow sphere of rods with a castle in the middle. Do the men hold phallic symbols, and are the women gaining power through satisfying them sexually? Do women gain power by charming and pleasing men until they fade and decline?

Fortuna Amoris, the Fortune of love, is commonly winged and naked, blowing her way by puffing into a sail. The love symbol may be male, as Cupid in Peter Vischer's work, balanced on a sphere.

The wheel of fortune is found in manuscripts in Renaissance engravings and tapestries. The scene is shown in an illuminated page of a twelfth-century German manuscript, *Hortus Deliciarum*. The symbolism of the wheel as a dynamic power of God the Father derived from Ezekiel's vision of the throne of God carried on flaming wheels adorned with eyes and wings (Ezekiel 1:1-28), alluding to the revelation of a divine message.

Not only in graphic arts do we see wheels of fortune. Gothic cathedrals have figures carved into the stones of rose windows. When the rose is also a wheel, one can sense the up and down movement of human life. Réau cites not only Beauvais and Amiens in France but five others in France, Switzerland, and Italy. These can have a profound religious message: Kingdoms rise and fall, but the kingdom of God abides forever. A French abbot in the twelfth century installed a wheel of fortune that was turned by machinery in his monastery, that "his monks might ever have before them the spectacle of human vicissitudes" (Mâle, p. 95n). The wheel is also an attribute of St. Catherine of Alexandria, who was tortured on a spiked wheel.

Boethius is one of a long line of philosophers who confronted the problem of fortune. Significantly different from Boethius and his trust that providence will set all in order and correct all the wrongs of this life in another life is Niccolò Machiavelli. For him, the individual must strengthen himself to defeat and overcome the enemy. Many Renaissance emblems also show ways of counteracting rather than submitting to fortune (see Kendall, pp. 335-340, and Cioffar, pp. 225-236).

The whole world rises and falls in infinite vicissitudes. In 1520, humanist Pietro Pomponazzi wrote,

He who before, at one time, was a beggar, at another time will be a king or a master. . . . Cities and countries which were large and powerful later become small and weak. . . . Thus it all seems to be a game of the gods (*ludus deorum*). For this reason Plato said that as man is a miracle of nature (*miraculum in natura*), he did not know whether God made him seriously or as a joke (*ludo an serio*).

This may extend our sympathy to all, and, as we contemplate the order of things, Pomponazzi concludes, "If then someone asks you, what kind of game is this? You would be well advised to reply, that it is the game of God" (*De Fato, De Libero Arbitrio et De Praedestinatione*).

See also Ascent/Descent; Fame; Misfortune

Selected Works of Art

Emblems

- Cartari, Vincenzo, *Astrological Calendar; Invidia; Fortuna (Occasione); Abundance (Copia); Virtue, Envy (Vice), and Favor; Natura (Artemis of Ephesus); Felicity (Buon Evento)*, woodcuts from *Imagini delli Dei de gl'Antichi*, 1557, Venice, Italy
- Alciati, Andrea, *In Occasionem; Virtuti fortuna comes; Fortuna virtutem superans; Invidia; Ars Natururam Adiuvans*, woodcuts from *Emblemata Libellus Cum Commentariis*, 1531, Paris
- Ripa, Cesare, *Fortune; Charity; Abundance; Felicity*, woodcuts from *Iconologia*, 1601, Rome

Engravings

- Dürer, Albrecht, *Nemesis*, engraving, 1501
- Dürer, Albrecht, *The Great Fortune*, engraving, 1503
- Cousin, Jean, *Virtue Conquering Fortune and Virtue as Companion of Fortune*, engravings from *Livre de Fortune*, 1540s
- Vischer, Peter the Younger, *Fortune*, print, 1540

Drawings

- Honnecourt, Villard, *Wheel of Fortune*, drawing, circa 1240, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France
- Vasari, Giorgio, *Charity*, drawing, 1548, Bologna, Italy, Pinacoteca Nazionale

Sculpture

- Eutychides of Sicyon, *Tyche*, copy, Rome, Vatican

Paintings

- Fiorentino, Niccolò, *Virtue Subduing Love and Fortune*, before 1471
- Titian, *Cupid with the Wheel of Fortune*, oil on canvas, circa 1520, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Vasari, Giorgio, *Fortune*, oil painting, 1548, Arezzo, Italy, Casa Vasari
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- Etty, William, *Fortune: An Allegorical Figure After Veronese*, before 1849, Carlisle, England, Art Gallery
- Burne-Jones, Edward, *Wheel of Fortune*, 1885, Paris, Musée d'Orsay
- Poynter, Edward John, *The Fortune Teller*, before 1919, London, Royal Academy
- Thomas, Hans, *Fortuna*, before 1924, Heidelberg, Germany, Kurpfälzischen Museum der Stadt Heidelberg

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FUNERAL/BURIAL

Stephen Lamia

The following periods and iconographic narratives are covered in the discussion of the theme Funeral/Burial:

ANCIENT EGYPT

GREECE AND ROME

ENTOMBMENT OF CHRIST

TOMBEAU DE GRANDE
CÉRÉMONIE

SPANISH GOTHIC

SAINTS

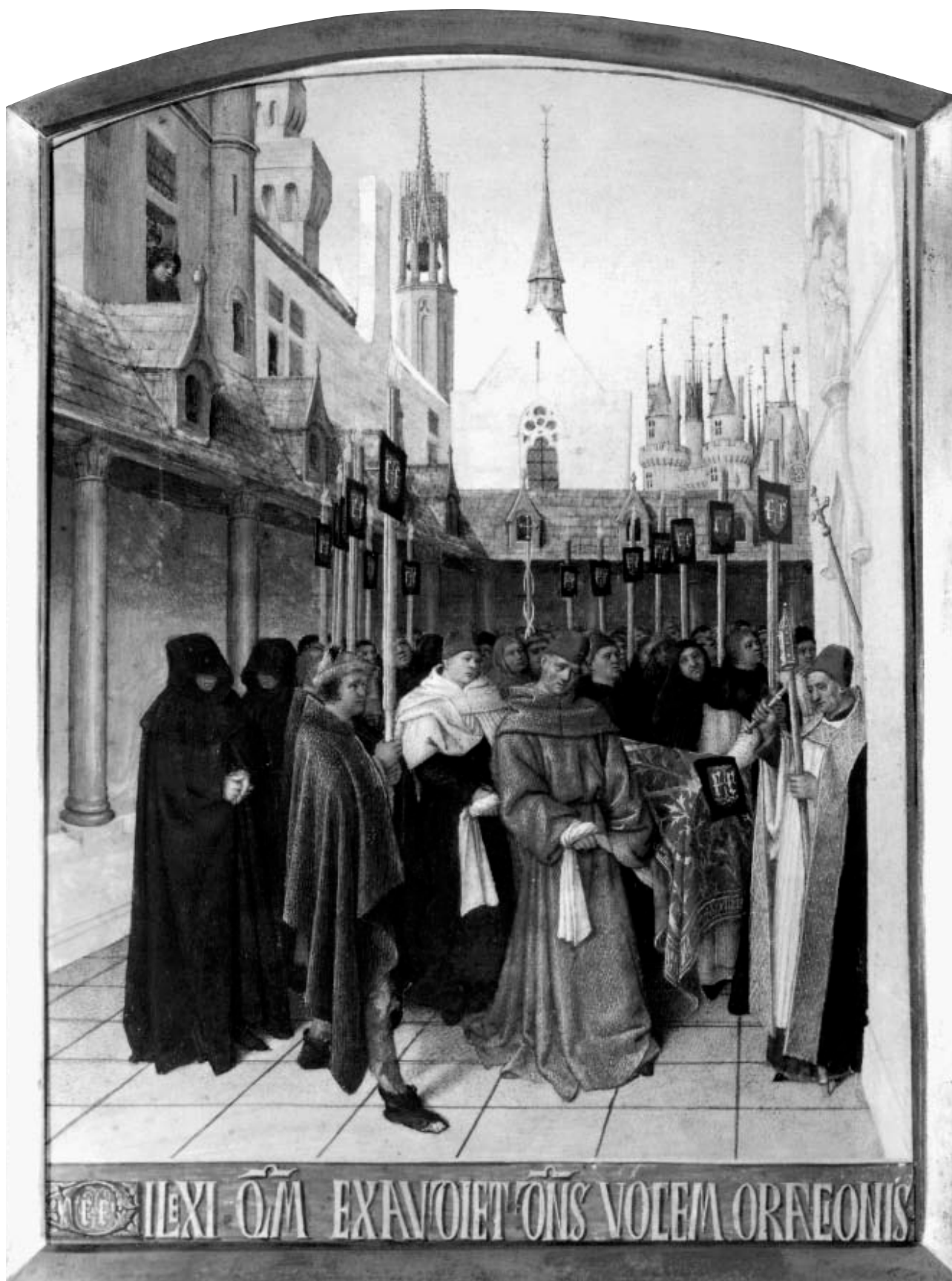
OFFICE OF THE DEAD

ROYALTY AND DIGNITARIES

CLASSICAL HISTORY AND
MYTHOLOGY

ROMANTIC

REALIST



Jean Fouquet, *Office of the Dead: Funeral*,
from the *Hours of Étienne Chevalier*, circa
1453, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé.
(Courtesy of Giraudon/Art Resources,
New York)

The ubiquity of the general theme of funeral or burial attests to its fundamental importance and interest to a variety of cultures and eras. Whether we analyze the visual arts of remote civilizations such as ancient Egypt or works from today, the subjects are indeed quite prevalent. Of course, the content, context, and significance of the images are a response to customs of a given time and place, but this ritualistic aspect also affords us keen and often unique insight into the thanatopsis, or view of death, of a particular society.

It can be securely argued that the Egyptians “invented” the so-called cult of the dead and its serialized pictorialization. A rich tradition of images that documents the stages of this most important passage to the next world has survived. The actual funeral took place after the meticulous process of washing, embalming, and mummifying the remains of the body. An example of this can be seen in a wall painting from the tomb of Nekhtamun in Thebes. The procession usually consisted of the family and friends of the deceased as well as priests and servants bearing all kinds of food offerings, beverages, clothing, weaponry, jewelry, furniture, tools, and games. Sometimes even professional mourners, musicians, and dancers accompanied the entourage. Occasionally, the sarcophagus was borne aloft, as in the funeral procession depicted in the tomb of the Vizier Ramose in Thebes, but most often it was placed on a bark-shaped vehicle pulled by a team of oxen and assisted by slaves. Examples of this can be seen in a wall painting in the tomb of May the Scribe and in the papyrus rolls of Pakerer and that of Queen Makara. This last item also includes a representation of the jackal-headed god Anubis, a chief divinity in Egyptian thanatology, standing inside the shiplike sled with his hands on the lid of the royal coffin. The significance of the nautical shape of the bier refers to an otherworldly activity in which the deceased may now participate: the journey of the sun god Ra, accompanied by the defunct, on his daily trek around the Earth by boat.

Once the coffin and cortege arrived at the tomb, the Ceremony of the Opening of the Mouth took place. This entailed a special priest, designated the Sem, who was distinguished from the others by wearing a panther skin. The Sem priest would stand before the sarcophagus, which was held upright by Anubis, and touch its mouth part with the severed left foreleg of a freshly sacrificed ox. The purpose of this ceremony was to revivify the body that had been rendered inanimate by death, embalming, and mummification. “I have opened your mouth with the leg,” the priest would recite, “. . . you live . . . again and forever.” Images of this ceremony can be seen in wall paintings from the tomb of Tutankhamen in Thebes, the tomb of Nebamon and Ipoudy (a pair of royal sculptors), and in the Book of the Dead of Hunefer. Once the life spirit of the mummy was reinstated, the family and friends

assembled for the customary funerary banquet, at which, it was believed, the defunct was present. Again, the papyrus scroll of Queen Makara may be cited in this regard. The final ceremony in Egyptian funerary ritual was the Sealing of the Tomb, which underscored the concept of separation and the new status accorded to the deceased. This rite was also performed by a priest, as seen in the tomb of Sennedjem, architect to the pharaohs Seti I and Ramses II.

The obsequies paid to the aristocracy of ancient Egypt, as seen in their art, indicate the access to meaningful ritual enjoyed by the privileged few in this highly class-structured society; but this is not the case with ancient Greece. In fact, although there are visible borrowings from Egypt, the individuals who are lauded in the art displaying their funeral ceremonies are not historically as prominent.

The largest group of mainland Greek objects that may be categorized as funerary in function is composed of Geometric period vases decorated with scenes of *prothesis* (the deceased lying on a bier) and *ekphora* (the procession to the grave). More than 50 examples exist in various states of preservation.

The *prothesis*, the more common of the two, pictorializes the ancient equivalent of a modern wake for the dead. The remains were viewed, and an adjustment period for surviving family and friends ensued, providing an emotional release. The body of the deceased was the focus, and this entire event is shown schematically, in keeping with the prevailing mode of expression in vessels dated approximately to the eighth century B.C. The main element in a scene of *prothesis* includes the defunct lying in state with the head always in a rightward direction. It should be mentioned that both male and female corpses are found on these vases. The body is placed on a horizontal slab supported on legs, sometimes with accompanying objects such as spears or shields floating above the bed. Other figures, differing in number from vase to vase, flank the funerary bier, and these are interpreted as family members, friends, mourners, and dancers. There may also be filler motifs in the form of pure geometric decoration as well as “extension” scenes—processions and games—of chariots, warriors, and even the occasional nautical event. Two Dipylon vases, one at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the other in the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, display salient, somewhat varied elements common to a *prothesis*.

Less frequently represented is the scene of *ekphora*, the best-preserved example of which is on a krater in Athens. It depicts the funeral procession, including mourners, guards of honor, and other figures riding in chariots behind the body, which is brought to the grave on a horse-drawn cart.

Other than this early period of explicit and overt funerary imagery, thanatopsis during the classical period is wistful and poignant but decidedly less concerned with the ritual of funeral

and the act of burial. The typical grave stela shows the deceased waving good-bye to earthly life or engaged in some mundane activity—themes that fall outside the scope of this essay.

Similarly, Roman art, with few notable exceptions, does not often depict ceremonies and rituals concerned with death. Many of the images carved on sarcophagi focus on a Dionysiac reaffirmation of life rather than on a musing on the passing of the deceased into another realm. Although the metaphoric equivalent of death in the form of the sleeping Endymion (a mythological king) does appear often, mythological reliefs, including frolicking putti, occur with the same frequency. Lush garlands of fruit and vegetation also abound. However, a significant exception is a relief from the Mausoleum of the Haterii showing the deceased reclining on a bier around which relatives and mourners have gathered. An effort to indicate an indoor environment is suggested by delineations of architectural detail. Key items that will appear in post-Roman funerary iconography are readily apparent in this example: smoking, lit torches (*funalis*) at each end of the defunct's bier. The torch was employed as a safeguard to keep evil spirits away from the dead, thus ensuring eternal peace.

A rich trove of funerary imagery from the realm of Christianity also emphasizes belief in an afterlife. Most representations of this theme date to the Middle Ages, but it should be noted that certain images persist well into the Baroque era.

Undoubtedly, the most often represented—indeed the paradigmatic—theme is the burial of Jesus Christ. Countless examples exist in Byzantine and Latin Western art. The *Khludov Psalter* shows the Orthodox formula, which consists of Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea carrying the tightly swathed body horizontally into a rock-hewn tomb. The earliest known Western image may be found in the *Codex Egberti*, produced during the Ottonian era; it typifies the Latin approach: Nicodemus and Joseph lowering the shrouded *corpus* into a sarcophagus. The theme approached international scale by the Romanesque period. Examples of these works include *Sant' Angelo in Formis*, *Albani Psalter*, *Gospel Book of Henry the Lion*, and Nicholas of Verdun's *Klosterneuberg Antependium*.

The entombment of Christ, by now firmly established in the repertory of medieval imagery, became even more numerous—and more embellished with conflated episodes—in Gothic Europe. Although the straightforward type persisted in a variety of media such as stained glass (as in *Passion Window* in the Ste. Chapelle in Paris), manuscript illumination (as in the *Bible Moralisée* in Oxford, England), and ivory carving (as in a plaque in the Vatican Library in Rome), one now finds the burial combined with the anointing of the body (as in the capital sculpture over the south door on the west facade of Chartres Cathedral in France) or with the Lamentation (as in *Book of Hours of Queen Jeanne d'Evereux* and *Parement de Narbonne*). The theme of the entombment was also favored by Tuscan artists, usually in one of the apron panels flanking the vertical beam of large, painted crucifixes, such as Cross No. 20 in the Pinacoteca in Pisa, Italy.

The emotional content latent in these images rises to the fore in Renaissance works, where again the scope is geographically far-reaching. Italian and northern European artists, such as Andrea Mantegna, Michelangelo, Titian, Tintoretto, Robert Campin, Rogier van der Weyden, Hans Memling, and Albrecht

Dürer, employ the motif of Christ's burial. A special word must be reserved for French entombments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These are monumental sculpture groups, akin to a *tableaux vivants*. The "major players" include the dead body of Christ, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus in their customary roles, the Virgin Mary, St. John the Evangelist, and a trio of holy women as mourning figures. Many of these sculpted works are scattered throughout various regions. A sample includes Lorraine (St.-Maurice, Epinal), Champagne (St.-Jean Baptiste, Chaource), Burgundy (Hôpital de Notre-Dame des Fontenilles, Tonnère), central France (Abbatiale de St.-Pierre et St. Paul, Solesmes), southwestern France (St.-Marie, Auch), Normandy (St.-Laurent, Eu), and Picardy (St. Germain l'Ecosais, Amiens). Most of these entombment groups were commissioned by private donors and were placed in large, vaulted niches called *enfeus* in chapels of churches, hospitals, or cemeteries. They were employed in services for the dead and were made objects of veneration, especially during Holy Week.

Although in general Counter-Reformation imagery more often emphasized the victorious Resurrection over the lugubrious interment, the iconography of the burial of Christ is retained nonetheless. Caravaggio's version of this episode remains the most celebrated image in the seventeenth century. Surprisingly, even the less religiously minded twentieth century witnessed the same iconography in the early bimorphic phase of Mark Rothko's career, although compositionally the work appears to have greater affinity with scenes of the Pietà.

In addition to depictions of the burial of Christ, two categories of lay and ecclesiastical tombs develop in the medieval period that utilize portions of the actual sarcophagus and adjoining *enfeu* to represent a real funeral. The first, which manifests itself in late twelfth-century France and continues in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is designated the *tombeau de grande cérémonie*. This type consists of one or more parts of a five-part iconographic scheme: an effigy of the deceased, the elevation of the soul, the image of Christ, a priest performing funerary rites, and secular mourners. One of the earliest instances may be found on the tomb of St. Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers. Among other examples are the tomb of the Abbot Suger of St.-Denis, preserved in a line drawing in the Collection Gaignières. It shows church officials—a bishop holding a book; two deacons or priests, one of whom carries a processional cross and the other a stitula; and acolytes bearing candles—carved beneath arcades around the perimeter of the coffin. The *gisant* (the recumbent statue of the deceased) in low relief rests on top. One of the more elaborate examples of this set, the tomb of Presbyter Bruno at Hildesheim Cathedral in Germany, includes most of the qualifying elements. The lower zone contains the shrouded effigy of the deceased, his head supported by two tonsured clerics. Above that, his soul, in the familiar form of a naked child, is borne aloft by two angels. In the third zone, the figure of Christ in half-length is visible. He makes the gesture of benediction and holds a book with the words "Venite benedicti patris mei." The presence of four beggars and cripples seen at the feet of the body is explained by an inscription that surrounds the entire scene: "To Bruno, whose likeness this stone displays and who gave what he had to the poor, grant everlasting joy, O Lord." This reference to the char-

itable virtues of the deceased appears in other instances of funerary iconography with similar intention.

The second category of carved tomb sculpture is indigenous to Gothic Spain and may have developed in part as a response to the *tombeau de grande cérémonie*. In this set of examples, although the effigy lying atop the sarcophagus is the largest sculpted element, the carving of the funeral is given emphasis by the sheer number of figures and wealth of detail. Clerics and acolytes, dressed in a variety of ecclesiastical garments (dalmatics, chasubles, and copes) that specify their roles in the solemn ritual, carry their appropriate liturgical implements (palls, books, censers, candles, situlas, and incense boats). Family members, friends, mourners, knights, and subordinates from the estates of the deceased are also represented in all manner of dress as befits their class. These elaborate scenes often appear around the sides of the coffin, as in the tomb of Doña Elena at Salamanca Cathedral and the tomb of Bishop Gonzalo de Hinojosa at Burgos Cathedral, but are even more prominently displayed on the rear wall above the *gisant* in the tomb of Ermengol VII, Count of Urgel, in The Cloisters at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. One especially vivid example of this latter type, the tomb of Bishop Martin at Leon Cathedral, continues the scene on the sarcophagus, where the distribution of food to the poor underscores the charitable deeds of the deceased.

Medieval representations of funerals and burials of saints emphasize the body and the ritual and generally follow formulas already established in the iconography of the entombment of Christ or the *tombeau de grande cérémonie*. A brief overview includes the burial of St. Benedict from the *Vita Benedicti*, a Cassinese manuscript of the Romanesque period; the burial of St. Adalbert, a bronze relief from the doors of Gniezo Cathedral; the burial of St. Thomas Becket in a stained-glass window in the ambulatory of Sens Cathedral in France; the burial of St. Stephen in an ambulatory window at Chartres Cathedral; the burial of Edward the Confessor from the English Gothic manuscript *The History of Edward the Confessor*; and Giotto's fresco of the funeral of St. Francis of Assisi in the Bardi Chapel in Florence, Italy.

One image especially rich in anecdotal material is the funeral procession of the Virgin from *The Visconti Hours*. The illuminator, following the text of *The Golden Legend*, depicts the Apostles carrying Mary's body with John leading the procession. Christ is present in the sky above holding his mother's soul and accompanied by angels. As disbelievers attempt to overturn the bier, their hands wither. Around the middle of the fifteenth century, Jean Fouquet repeats this theme, although with considerable compositional differences, in the *Hours of Étienne Chevalier*. In the Baroque era, Caravaggio's *Burial of St. Lucy* and Guercino's *Burial of St. Petronilla* represent distinct polarities of visual expression. In the former instance, the grave diggers busily delve into a tract of dirt in a subterranean chamber while the body of the saint lies unceremoniously on the ground; all the action and figures are concentrated in the lower half of the painting. Guercino, by contrast, presents a full-blown drama on two levels. In the bottom center of the canvas, Petronilla's body is slowly lowered by cloths into her grave; the upper portion shows the grand reception of the saint into heaven.

One of the most abundant sources for funerary iconography is found in manuscript illuminations of the Office of the Dead, a staple in many Books of Hours, themselves popular as private devotional prayer books in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. These miniatures are usually generic rather than particular in type; that is, no specific individual is identified with the image of the funeral. Instead, the pictures, which are connected intimately with the text, serve to remind the user of the power and effectiveness of prayers for the dead and for the soul in the hereafter. Two discrete versions are noted. One selects the funeral service as the opening illustration; the other employs the burial scene. In both instances, the artist furnishes informative details. An illumination from the *Hours of the Maréchal de Boucicaut* shows activities such as mourners filing into the church and clergy consulting books in preparation for a funeral. The coffin, draped in black, is prominently displayed at the center and placed beneath an elaborate catafalque, a kind of canopy made of wood or iron bedecked with lit tapers. An actual funeral service is graphically illustrated in *The Book of Hours of Catherine of Cleves*. The requiem is conducted by three clerics, one holding a processional cross, another carrying a book and sprinkling holy water from an aspergillum onto the coffin, and another filling a censer. Mourners dressed in black robes with white patterns approach the scene. The coffin itself is covered with a black pall and two gold ribbons forming a cross. Three candlesticks with lit tapers are placed on top of the sarcophagus.

The Brussels Hours by Jacquemart de Hesdin and Jean Colombe's miniature from the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* are only two of many other manuscripts depicting funeral services in the Office of the Dead. Examples of burial scenes in conjunction with these same prayers document both indoor and outdoor interment. In a Book of Hours in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, England, a burial, presumably that of a cleric, occurs directly into the floor of a church. In another manuscript, today in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, the disposal of the shrouded corpse, being lifted into an open coffin, takes place in a churchyard that already contains several other graves marked by gabled crosses. Sometimes, the illustration to the Office of the Dead combines the funeral service as the main theme and the burial as a *bas-de-page* motif. *The Turin-Milan Hours* by a follower of Jan van Eyck and the *Grimani Breviary* have such a combination. The surge in funerary iconography during this period has been explained as an outgrowth of the bubonic plague, when hasty and careless interments, due to the sheer volume of deaths, were the expedient norm. A representation of this practice may be seen in the *Annales of Gilles le Muisit*. It has been argued also that the need to reinstate the earlier, more formalized rituals for both social and religious purposes in the wake of this great calamity was reinforced by images from the Office of the Dead.

The vainglorious age of monarchical Europe ushered in the event of the state funeral, which was pictorialized in sculpture, painting, and graphics. Although under the operative influence of Christianity, the royal funeral is decidedly concerned with the display of power and the continuity of sovereign reign, even in the face of death and widespread mourning. The ostentatious aspects of this occasion make their appearance in the late Middle Ages, although the Renaissance and Baroque periods witnessed their heyday.

At first, probably because of advancements in embalming techniques, the corpse was placed on display, but as triumph and succession in rule became emphasized and the waking period became prolonged, the body was replaced with a royal likeness in the form of a wooden effigy. In all likelihood, the tomb of Louis de France (died 1249), son of Louis IX, is the first instance of the display of a French royal's body during the solemn procession. The *gisant* betrays a surprisingly animated appearance: The head of the young prince gazes upward, his hands are folded in prayer, and one of his knees is slightly raised. On the short and long sides of the sarcophagus, the funeral procession is carved. The body, carried in an open litter by four pallbearers, is visible. The cortege of mourners, led by two officiating priests, includes the sons of King Henry III of England. The funeral, attended by dignitaries, is given an air of pomp commingled with mourning, and this set a precedent for successive examples, such as the splendid Burgundian tomb of Duke Philip the Bold by Claus Sluter and workshop and the even more dramatic monument to the Grand Seneschal, Philippe Pot.

From the late fourteenth century onward, there is increasing pictorial evidence on the disposition of the body and burgeoning participation by government officials at state funerals. The transparent, wax-encased body of King John the Good of France (died 1364) being carried to the west portal of St.-Denis is depicted in an illumination in Jean Froissart's *Grandes Chroniques de France*. The crucial role played by the members of the Parlement de Paris in royal funerals is conveyed in an illumination of the funeral procession of Jeanne de Bourbon, Queen of France (died 1378). These officials held the privilege of carrying the edges of the pall that draped the litter, thus maintaining closest proximity to the royal corpse. Moreover, these men were exempt from wearing black mourning robes but were permitted to wear their customary crimson attire, as the ideals of justice did not cease with the death of a monarch.

There is an even more fascinating element to royal funerals documented visually in two illuminations from Martial d'Auvergne's *Vigilles de la mort de Charles VII*. In the funeral procession of Charles VI and that of his successor, whose name appears in the title of this manuscript, pairs of feet are visible beneath the hem of the funerary pall. These appendages belong to the *hanouars*, a special class of royal officials who were the salt-carriers of the city of Paris. They were bestowed with this honorary role for two reasons. First, they possessed the herculean strength that was needed to support the bier, which included the body encased in lead, the coffin, the wooden litter, the heavy cloth of the pall, and the wooden effigy; *hanouars*, after all, were accustomed to carrying heavy sacks of salt through the streets. Second, salt was a royal monopoly, so *hanouars* were considered government officials. These men are also visible in the scene of the arrival of the funeral procession of Anne of Brittany at Notre Dame in Paris, from the illuminated manuscript *Funerailles de Anne de Bretagne*, wherein the crowned and sceptered effigy of the queen is prominently displayed. The visibility and importance of the effigy increased, especially when it became physically separated from the corpse. At this juncture, the royal funeral assumes a triumphal aspect: fame of the ruler and the semblance of life conquering death. One especially illustrative image may be found in an engraving

of the funeral procession of King Henry IV (died 1610) from the *Pompe funerali fatte in Parigi nella morte dell' invitissimo Henrico IV, Re de Francia et Navarra* by Francesco Vallegio and Caterin Doini. The detailed engraving discloses an elaborate and lengthy procession of prelates, court officials, and family members and the effigy in a horse-drawn hearse and the body in its own vehicle at separate places in the cortege.

Not to be outdone by their neighbors across the Channel, England too maintained a grand spectacle of its royal obsequies. *The Funeral of Queen Elizabeth I* (1603), an engraving in the *Vetusta Monumenta*, is among the earliest surviving visual records of a display of English funerary pomp. A horse-drawn chariot containing the velvet-draped coffin, atop which lies the effigy, is surmounted by a canopy held by six knights. A dozen noblemen bear banners with the coat of arms of Elizabeth's royal ancestors. A much more grandiose event was planned for the funeral of Queen Mary II (died 1694). The Dutch engraver Romeyn de Hooe recorded the proceedings in Westminster Abbey. In the center of the print is the elaborate catafalque, and beneath it the coffin, covered with an extended pall, may be seen. The pallbearers are dressed in long capes whose trains are carried aloft by pages. The abbey is densely crowded with attendees on the ground level and in the upper galleries. The quantity of black cloth ordered to transform the appearance of the abbey was sufficient to envelop the interior from the west door to the altar and in the choir from the arcade to the vaults above the clerestory. Newspaper accounts detailed the stages of the spectacle as more information was disclosed. To accommodate and control the throng of spectators, by the late Georgian period the length of time for lying in state had to increase, and admission had to be regulated by ticket. Printmakers such as de Hooe profited from the moment. They produced prints of the deathbed scene, the funeral procession, and the ceremony itself. These items were popular as collectibles and mementos by the late seventeenth century, especially for those individuals unable to secure a place at the pageant.

In the eighteenth century, the imagery in these prints was standardized and came with an alphabetical key so that the buyer could readily identify the major elements and personages in the scene. The ephemeral aspect of the decorations commissioned for state funerals was yet another reason for the popularity of these broadsheets. Jacques Callot's engraving *Obsequies of the Emperor Matthias in Florence* shows in great detail how the interior of the Church of San Lorenzo was outfitted with appropriate but temporary funeral decor. A curtain shields the apse from view, and before it a huge floor-to-ceiling pyramid holding candles was erected. This blazing object formed a dramatic backdrop for the multitiered catafalque, which stood at the crossing of the nave and transept. The nave arcades were festooned in drapery, and visible in the upper reaches of the church are painted cartouches and statues in the form of skeletons wielding scythes, unfurling scrolls, or dancing (*la danse macabre*). One can only surmise how many of these provisional decorations have been lost. The written accounts of the funeral for the artist Michelangelo have been preserved, but unfortunately no one thought to record it visually for posterity.

The burial of royalty also displayed a flair for ostentation and special ritual. The *De exequiis regalibus*, an illustrated

English manuscript dated to around the third quarter of the fourteenth century, provides instructions on embalming and dressing a royal corpse for the funeral. The burial of King Charles VII of France at St.-Denis depicted in *Vigilles de la mort de Charles VII* illustrates the deposition of staffs into the grave with the body. The significance of this act—sometimes the staffs were actually broken before being placed in the ground—underscores the state of disarray and disruption in the royal household. Probably the most flamboyant and melodramatic of all aristocratic burials is that of the Count of Orgaz, painted by El Greco. The simultaneous episodes of the Spanish nobleman's miraculous interment by St. Augustine and St. Stephen and the assumption and reception of his soul into heaven depicted in this work are unparalleled for their bravura in funerary iconography.

Classical history and mythology provide surprisingly few representations of this theme. As noted earlier, this neutrality, if not disinterest, may be linked to a lack of emphasis on life in the hereafter. For example, Nicolas Poussin's *Landscape with the Burial of Phocion* sets the nearly minuscule bearing of the body of the Athenian general on its litter into a grandly conceived landscape, the dominant motif of this painting. Although not strictly a representation of a funeral procession, Benjamin West's *Agrippina Landing at Brindisium with the Ashes of Germanicus* possesses all the mournful atmosphere of a ritualistic interment. A more emotionally charged and more overtly funereal image is that of Jacques-Louis David's *The Funeral of Patroclus*, a subject previously depicted by the Darius Painter on a red-figure vase from ancient Greece but now treated with a swarm of humanity converging toward a blazing pyre.

Despite the profound and radical changes that have occurred in industrialized, modern society, the themes of funeral and burial survive in the visual arts. Modern artists of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries have embraced the inescapability of death and the efforts to deal with its finality through ritual. Generally, their approaches have followed two distinct trends: one a romantic, symbolic thanatopsis and the other a more frankly realist interpretation, sometimes sprinkled with political overtones.

To the first approach belong such poetic images as the English neoclassical *Monument to Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore* by John Bacon. Here, the fallen officer is in the act of being lifted by allegorical figures into his grave. Another is the somewhat sentimental *Entombment of Atala* by Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson. The dreamy, melancholic, desolate funeral processions set in crumbling Gothic ruins by Caspar David Friedrich, such as *Abbey in the Oakwood* and *Monastery Graveyard in the Snow*, are sublime visual expressions of the romantic spirit. Pablo Picasso takes us into the twentieth century with his Blue Period canvas *Evocation: The Burial of Casagemas*, a symbolic tribute to his friend, a poet who had committed suicide. Max Beckmann presents a haunting allegory entitled *Death*, which is prescient of the cold-blooded annihilation of humanity in Germany under the Third Reich. The image actually conflates the moment of death with a kind of otherworldly wake. Although the setting implied through detail is a hospital, the body is already lying in its coffin surrounded by candles, a wreath, and spectral beings, including an angel

flying upside down and a disfigured choir of triple-headed men, all of whom appear to be participating in some sort of memorial service for the recently deceased. Later in the century, Allan Kaprow, famous for staging a number of happenings, mounted an event entitled *Service for the Dead* (X).

The other modern vein of the theme is firmly rooted in the nineteenth-century realist movement, whose chief exponent, Gustave Courbet, produced that vivid hallmark of funeral images, *A Burial at Ornans*, fully described in detail in so many standard art history texts. Almost simultaneously in Germany, Adolf von Menzel was completing works of similar thematic content: *Funeral Ceremony of the Fallen* and *A Burial*. Several twentieth-century artists have used the occasion of an actual funeral to make a pictorial statement infused with political commentary. Carlo Carrà's *Funeral of the Anarchist*, Galli, George Grosz's *Funeral Procession Dedicated to Oskar Panizza*, and Ben Shahn's *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti* demonstrate this attitude. Jack Levine's *Gangster Funeral* makes no hidden claim to romanticize the wake of an unnamed criminal but rather presents a visual indictment of human corruption and greed embodied in the figures of gaudily bejeweled dowagers and gluttonous tycoons-cum-gangsters.

The modern treatment of funeral and burial themes does not necessarily individualize the imagery more than the formulaic iconography did in ancient, medieval, and Old Master works. Underlying all these examples are the fundamental notions of separation, closure, and the passage of the body to another realm.

The death of an individual is a moment of personal confusion for the survivors, and the funeral is a way of restructuring that sense of disorientation. Everyone has a role to play in the dramatic ritual—even the defunct, who, although the most inanimate, is the featured player. Facilitators in the form of priests and government officials and mourners in the capacity of family and friends are all in some way assistants to the initiation of the dead into the next, unknown phase. The pictorialization of funerals and burials—the last episodes in one's earthly existence—is an effort on the part of the artist and spectator to come to terms with grief and sorrow and to attempt to comprehend the inexplicable shadow of whatever may await us after death.

See also Death; Grieving/Lamentation; Hanging; Plague/Pestilence; Widowhood

Selected Works of Art

Ancient Egypt

Funerary Procession, tomb painting, seventeenth dynasty,

Thebes, Egypt, tomb of the Vizier Ramose

Ceremony of the Opening of the Mouth, tomb painting,

eighteenth dynasty, Thebes, Egypt, tomb of Tutankhamen

Anubis Embalming the Deceased, tomb painting, nineteenth dynasty, Thebes, Egypt, tomb of Nekhtamun

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GAZE

Eugene Dwyer

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Gaze:

ANCIENT
BUDDHIST
BYZANTINE
RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH AND
EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES
NINETEENTH AND
TWENTIETH CENTURIES



Penthesilea Painter, *Greek Killing Amazon (Achilles and Penthesilea)*, circa 455 B.C., Greek red-figure cup, Munich, Germany, Museum antiker Kleinkunst. (Courtesy of Hirmer Verlag, Munich)

Eye contact is a fundamental means of establishing relationships of equality among humans and among many animal species. Consequently, directional looking has important social consequences. “A cat may look at a king,” says the proverb, but the implication is that it might be harmful for someone else to do the same. Where hierarchy and power are concerned, eye contact must be strictly regulated lest aggressive motives be imputed to the one caught staring. Thus, the gaze is often privileged and may signal social inequalities (Mulvey).

In many societies, both past and present, the eyes have been thought to project visual rays and to communicate enchantments through this power. By a similar transference, the heavenly lights—the sun and the moon—could be characterized by ancient civilizations as divine eyes (e.g., the sun as the all-seeing Shamash, the moon as the eye of Horus, and so on). Such power is also commonly believed to be present in the eyes of images. The alabaster image of the god Abu from Tell Asmar has enormous eyes of a bituminous material that distinguish him from the other votive figures found with him. Another object from Mesopotamia, the bronze head of “Sargon” from Nineveh, shows grievous damage to the eyes, once certainly the seat of its power. Because of the magical properties believed inherent in eyes, a number of taboos have been applied to the representation of eyes in works of art. Art historian Ernst Gombrich noted that “in Byzantium and Ethiopia, evil figures such as Judas are never shown looking out of the picture for fear their evil eye may harm the onlooker” (Gombrich, p. 113).

Eyes that “follow” the viewer are a particular *topos* in the history of art and are found in anecdotes and descriptions of both sculpture and painting. “A recent painter was Amulius [or “Famulus”]. . . . He painted a Minerva that gazed back at the viewer from whatever position she was viewed” (Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXV 37, 120). Lucian wrote of a statue of the Syrian goddess that followed visitors to her temple with her eyes (*De Syria dea*, 32). The most famous portrait of this kind in post-antiquity is a self-portrait of Rogier van der Weyden in the town hall at Arras, France. A minor figure in a larger composition, and traditionally thought to be the painter himself, he was placed there to offer mediating eye contact with viewers. Gombrich has treated this phenomenon at some length (Gombrich, pp. 113, 276, 276n.).

Greek art has a number of iconographic subjects that are paradigmatic with regard to the gaze. Some, such as the myth of Actaeon and the tale of Candaules, involve voyeurism. Others, such as the myth of Narcissus, in love with his own reflection, defy classification. Since the formation of Greek classical art, pictorial representations of the gaze have been dichotomized according to the binary opposition “classical” versus “primitive.” In classical art, the artist may employ eye contact between figures (i.e., actors) in the construction of a

self-contained dramatic meaning or action. Orpheus and Eurydice are united in a fateful momentary gaze in a relief in Naples, Italy. Against the command of the gods, Orpheus has just turned back to gaze at his wife, Eurydice, whom he leads from Hades. As Orpheus draws aside her veil to stare into her eyes, Hermes grasps Eurydice by the wrist to lead her back to the underworld. A pathos-working mutual gaze unites victor and vanquished in the classical relief in the Villa Albani (Helbig, p. 3257). A similar union of victor and vanquished can be found in the scenes of *Achilles and Penthesilea* and *Apollo Killing Tityus* in the respective interiors of two red-figure cups by the Penthesilea Painter in Munich, Germany (Arias and Hirmer, figs. 168–171). According to the same classicizing criteria, Hammurabi and the god Shamash share a meaningful mutual gaze on a stela in the Louvre in Paris, thanks to the artist’s use of high relief. Henri Frankfort described this scene as conveying “not only a sense of confrontation, but of communication between the lord of justice and the law-giver” (Frankfort, p. 59). An Etruscan sarcophagus lid in Boston shows a married couple frozen in mutual gaze as they lie wrapped in each other’s arms. Here, however, the nonclassical (i.e., symbolic) nature of the work is indicated by the extended context: The sarcophagus itself contradicts the fact that the couple is alive, transforming the image of momentary intimacy into a (distinctly unclassical) symbol of eternity.

The frontal face is an anomaly in the classical art of Greece. Where it appears, it is designed to avert evil, like the Gorgon, or is meant to have comic (i.e., shocking) effect, like an occasional satyr. Figures in otherwise classical works who direct their gaze beyond the frame also invite symbolic interpretation. The self-immolating Gaul in the colossal sculptural group in the Ludovisi Collection has often been seen as glancing toward his hypothetical antagonists: an example of the Hellenistic sculptor’s willingness to extend the spatial context of the work (Helbig, p. 2337). In an often-repeated cult image of the Roman Imperial period, Mithras, the Indo-Iranian god of light, directs his gaze away from his sacrificial victim, denoting his relationship with the absent sun god and extending the setting of his action beyond the immediate frame of the work. (Gordon has suggested that Mithras looks toward the viewer.)

The Egyptian funerary cult of the Old Kingdom maintained that the inhabitant of the tomb was ever watchful through his or her image (Groenewegen-Frankfort). Consequently, the depiction of a superior or omniscient gaze was achieved by the earliest Egyptian monumental sculptors. In the funerary complex of King Zoser (circa 2750 B.C.) at Saqqara, a large seated statue of the deceased commanded a view of the entrance to the mortuary temple from within a small enclosure (or *serdab*) pierced by two eyeholes (Vandier, vol. I, ii, p. 937). The statue represented the deceased (or his *ka*) as he watched over his vis-

itors. In Old Kingdom funerary relief, the dead person was portrayed as an overseer of unnatural size in the midst of servants. He appeared to look omnisciently but without actually participating in the action of those who surrounded him (Groenewegen-Frankfort).

With the exception of cult images and Gorgons, Greek artists normally avoided depictions of the omniscient (or even mediating) gaze. Praxiteles' hallmark, evident in his statues of Aphrodite, was the diffused (or suffused) gaze, which was both erotic and elusive (Brunn, vol. I, p. 347). After the frontal statues of the Archaic period, sculptors made the direction of a statue's gaze a conscious component of its dramatic action and the viewer's station a component of the aesthetic ensemble. Larger-than-life-size gods and goddesses could look ahead or down without compromising their dignity. Athletes or smaller images of deities could simply look away or be inwardly preoccupied in their own impenetrable dramatic context. Alexander the Great and his successors, however, required the symbolism of apotheosis in their portraits. Thus, a new formula was devised by which an upward glance, accompanied by an elevation of the brow, signified the affinity of the portrayed with the superior powers. This new device also avoided engaging the gaze of the beholder as much as it suggested the mediating role of the ruler between his human subjects and the gods. The "heavenward gaze" was adopted for Roman Imperial portraits, beginning with Galienus (L'Orange, 1947).

The process by which images of the Roman emperor acting within a given pictorial context attained iconographic self-sufficiency (i.e., symbolic status) has been correctly identified as the end of the classical style in Roman art. The effect is complete by the third century A.D., although the transformation began in the preceding century. By the time of the colossal portrait of Emperor Constantine I (now in the Capitoline Museum in Rome), "the eyes express more clearly than ever the transcendence of the ruler's personality; in his Gaze he travels far beyond his physical surroundings and attains his goal in a higher sphere, in contact and identity with the governing powers" (L'Orange, 1965, adapted).

Constantine's portraits maintained the iconographic trait of the heavenward gaze. A real-life equivalent of this convention may be deduced from Ammianus Marcellinus's description of Constantius II (son of Constantine) during his visit to the Romans: "He looked so stiffly ahead as if he had an iron band about his neck and he turned his face neither to the right nor to the left; he was not as a living person, but as an image" (quoted in L'Orange, 1965). Both the actor and the historian were aware of the irony of life imitating art. This strange, uncomfortable behavior was the consequence of several centuries of attempting to make the Roman emperor divine, with "gaze blank and pitiless as the sun" (William Butler Yeats). It was also the logical consequence of the complete acceptance by Constantius and his contemporaries of the projective theory of vision. His intent was clearly that the rays thought to emanate from his eyes would not encounter those emanating from the eyes of his inferiors and thus inadvertently bestow his grace on them. As an image of the emperor, Constantius belonged more to the world of ideas than to the world of material reality.

Later emperors, such as Justinian the Great, found a new formula for the gaze in their iconography if not in their public

lives. By the end of the fourth century, Christians had finally put to rest the idea of a divine emperor, as they had given new dignity and meaning to the frontal gaze. By Justinian's time, the frontal face, offering direct eye contact to the beholder (as in the sanctuary mosaic in St. Vitale in Ravenna, Italy), had come to signify mediation between the viewer and God. The equation of the frontal face (offering eye contact with the viewer) with mediation or intercession is clearly presented in an icon of the seventh century from Mount Sinai, *The Virgin and Child with Saint Theodore and Saint George* (Weitzmann, no. B.3, pp. 18ff., and pls. IV–VI, XLIII–XLVI), where the direct gaze of the saintly intercessors contrasts markedly with the averted gaze of the Virgin and Child. By means of the gazes, the icon conveys the information that the approach to the deity should be through intermediaries.

While frontality was taking on a new form in the Mediterranean world through the images of the Roman emperors, it was also finding new outlets in the art of India in the image of the Buddha. Unlike the glyptic and pictorial arts of Greece and China, the corresponding sculptures of Sanchi and Bharhut in India (second–first century B.C.) display human figures with frontal faces throughout and with profiles only at the borders of the composition (Zimmer, p. 325). The normal multifigured picture of this period thus appears as a multitude of figures peering out at the viewer. Art historian Heinrich Zimmer, describing one such relief, *Adoration of the Holy Seat of the Buddha* from the Bharhut Stupa, wrote of the devotees, "As though on a stage, facing the onlooker, they invite him to partake of their rapture and thus are addressing themselves to a sphere outside the field of the composition" (Zimmer, p. 337). In fact, the Indian preference for the frontal face and figure is explained in the Indian practice of *bhakti*, or union of the worshiper with the divinity through its image. As soon as social attitudes permitted, it was only natural that the earliest Indian images of the Buddha himself (first century B.C.?) would take the form of frontal images. From India, the frontal image of a compassionate divinity spread to China, first as the Queen Mother and later the Buddha himself (Wu, p. 133). The importance of Indian frontal images for the art of the medieval West is a vexing question.

With the revival in the fifteenth century of classical conventions of picturing dramatic action, painters found new possibilities of meaning in the gaze. Jan van Eyck may have painted his own self-portrait in *A Man in a Red Turban*. The painter's use of eye contact (to be expected in a self-portrait produced with the aid of a mirror) shows a new awareness of the viewer's subjectivity. Rogier van der Weyden's self-portrait in the town hall of Arras, France, painted at about the same time as Jan van Eyck's, inspired Nicolas Cusanus to think of the eye of God as it followed the beholder about the room (Panofsky). As such painted figures establish their own relationships with viewers, they must necessarily stand apart from any dramatic action in which they are included. Thus, biographers and guides have invariably labeled them artist's self-portraits that in larger compositions are included as signatures. The most complex picture of this kind is certainly Diego Velázquez's *Maids of Honor*. The inherent conflict between self-representation with subjective eye contact and representation of figures in an objective dramatic context clearly demarcates the genres of portrai-

ture and classical history or narrative painting. The latter tradition may be represented by Jan Steen's *The Drawing Lesson*, as explicated by Leo Steinberg.

Albrecht Dürer was especially interested in the use of eye contact among figures in a composition as a means of expressing dramatic and symbolic coherence. In two early prints, *Men's Bath* and *Four Witches*, he used mutual gazes to enforce the narrative (and allegorical) relationships between the figures. The power (for erotic effect) of eye contact between the viewer and the figures in a composition is shown in his drawings *Nude Girl* and *Women Bathing*. The element of narcissism prevails in his own self-portraits of 1498 in the Prado in Madrid, Spain, and of 1500 in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, Germany. In a later work, the engraving entitled *Melancholia I*, the autobiographical subject gazes intensely not at the viewer but into the void. In his *Four Apostles* and in the portraits of Hieronymus Holzschuher and Jacob Muffel, Dürer returned to the expressive power of the eyes, creating the most powerfully expressive eyes in the history of painting. Whereas the erotic meaning of the eyes is clear in Dürer's early works, as well as in the narcissism of the youthful self-portraits, these later works require a different explanation. St. Paul, the militant defender of the faith, and the two magistrates of Nürnberg, Germany (probably intended, like the saint, for public display), were intentionally depicted as apotropaic forces eternally watchful over the city.

Art historian Regina Stefaniak has argued that gazing figures depicted in Correggio's *Camera di San Paolo* were intended to perform an apotropaic function, namely, to protect the convent and its abbess against the envious designs of its enemies by invoking evil-eye magic. Although Stefaniak's thesis must remain conjectural, it may cast a valuable light on artists' portraits of direct gazing in the Renaissance. With the considerable importance given to the theme of envy in artists' biographies of the period, their subject-painters may have intended such portraits for self-protection.

The classical convention, revived in the Renaissance, of placing a nude before the viewer's gaze demanded that the subject be unaware of the viewer's presence. Francisco de Goya's *Naked Maja* maintained traditional decorum by presenting the model, the Duchess of Alba, in a fictional identity, but it broke with convention in posing the eroticized figure gazing lovingly at the viewer. The work was naturally received as a private communication between the painter and his mistress and was deemed unsuitable for public display. Édouard Manet achieved a *succès de scandale* mainly through the power of the gaze, which his model, Victorine Meurent, directs at viewers in *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe* and *Olympia*. Where the gaze of the nude bather in the first picture is disconcerting in its candor, *Olympia's* gaze, positively devoid of expression, is meant to transfix.

The end of the nineteenth century saw a renewed interest in frontality and the gaze. Dante Gabriel Rossetti had already reintroduced suggestions of the medieval formal style in his portraits. The disturbed, laudanum-induced gazes of his female subjects convey both eroticism and spirituality. Contemporary interest in mesmerism or hypnotism undoubtedly fueled the notoriety of such "dangerous" works. Edvard Munch made extensive use of frontality for its psychological potential. In lithographs such as *Jealousy* and *Sphinx*, he employed frontal faces and figures in the foreground, developing the traditional

mediating role of such images into the principal subjects of his pictures. Munch and his contemporaries thus consciously recovered principles of "primitive" art in their criticism of contemporary artists of the same time who practiced a tired and discrete classicism.

Modern art historians also contributed to the interest in the mediating gaze with works on art forms once considered unworthy of study. Of particular importance is Alois Riegl's 1902 study of the sixteenth–seventeenth century Dutch group portrait, a form notorious for assaulting the classical tradition (and the unity of the artwork) by means of a disconcerting multiplication of individuals who all make eye contact with the viewer (Olin, 1989).

The comparatively newer art forms of still photography and cinema have contributed new artistic and critical awareness to the problem of the gaze and subjective meaning. Film critic and historian Laura Mulvey considers the implied gaze (i.e., the subjective gaze independent of direct solicitation by eye contact) a disruption and preclusion of objective narrative content in cinema, much the way subjective intrusions have traditionally been considered hostile to classical narrative. From its very beginning, however, the medium of photography has been a relatively subjective medium. Candid photographs, in which the subjects are unaware of the presence of the camera, significantly postdate the more subjective kind. Indeed, the sixteenth-century Netherlandish group portraits are more directly related to early portrait photographs than any other genre.

The power of the gaze and its ability to harm or control is an idea discussed by contemporary theorists of the visual. To Walter Benjamin, an overexposure to the ogling of the crowd will rob a work of art of its "aura." Norman Bryson speaks of the "probing gaze" and its ability to "consume" what it sees. Martin Jay is the most explicit: "Now the gaze was tied not only to the psychological lures of the Imaginary and the interpersonal dialectics of the Look, but also to the social institutions of surveillance and the spectacle, . . . [becoming] the ruling metaphor of social control and political oppression at its most insidious" (Jay, pp. 377–378). The implications of power relationships deriving from the various ramifications of the gaze have been explored by such feminists as Janet Wolff, Griselda Pollack, and Carol Armstrong, among others.

See also Apotheosis/Deification; Envy; Evil Eye; Female Beauty and Adornment; Voyeurism

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

Seated Statue of King Zoser, circa 2750 B.C., Saqqara, Egypt

Statue of God Abu, circa 2700–2500 B.C., Baghdad, Iraq Museum

Stele Inscribed with the Law Code of Hammurabi, circa 1760 B.C., Paris, Louvre

Penthesilea Painter, *Greek Killing Amazon (Achilles and Penthesilea)*, *Apollo Killing Tityus*, circa 455 B.C., interiors of two red-figure cups, Munich, Germany, Museum antiker Kleinkunst

Warrior Vanquishing Foe (*Albani Relief*), marble relief, fifth century B.C., Rome, Villa Albani
Orpheus and Eurydice, marble relief, fifth century B.C., Naples, Italy, National Archaeological Museum

Buddhist

Adoration of the Holy Seat of the Buddha, relief from the Bharhut Stupa, first century B.C.

Byzantine

The Virgin and Child with Saint Theodore and Saint George, encaustic icon, seventh century, Mount Sinai, Egypt, Monastery of St. Catherine

Renaissance

Eyck, Jan van, *A Man in a Red Turban*, oil on panel, 1433, London, National Gallery
 Correggio, *Camera di San Paolo*, fresco, 1518, Parma, Italy
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Nude Girl*, drawing, 1493
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Men's Bath*, woodcut, 1496
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Women Bathing*, drawing, 1497
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Four Witches*, engraving, 1497
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Melancholia I*, engraving 1514
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Four Apostles*, oil on panel, 1526, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Portrait of Hieronymus Holzschuher*, oil on panel, 1526, Berlin, Staatliche Museen
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Jacob Muffel*, oil on panel, 1526, Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Velázquez, Diego, *Toilet of Venus (The Rokeby Venus)*, oil on canvas, 1648–1651, London, National Gallery
 Velázquez, Diego, *Maids of Honor*, 1656, oil on canvas, Madrid, Prado
 Steen, Jan, *The Drawing Lesson*, circa 1660, oil on canvas, Los Angeles, California, J. Paul Getty Museum
 Goya, Francisco de, *Naked Maja*, 1795, oil on canvas, Madrid, Prado

Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Manet, Édouard, *Déjeuner sur l'Herbe*, oil on canvas, 1863, Paris, Louvre
 Manet, Édouard, *Olympia*, oil on canvas, 1865, Paris, Louvre
 Munch, Edvard, *Jealousy*, lithograph, 1896
 Munch, Edvard, *Sphinx*, lithograph, 1899
 Close, Chuck, *Self-Portrait*, acrylic on canvas, 1968, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Walker Art Center

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GRIEVING/LAMENTATION

Dimitri Hazzikostas

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Grieving/Lamentation:

ANCIENT AND CLASSICAL
EARLY CHRISTIAN AND
MEDIEVAL
RENAISSANCE

EIGHTEENTH AND
NINETEENTH CENTURIES
TWENTIETH CENTURY



Giotto, *Lamentation*, 1305, fresco, Padua, Italy, Capella degli Scrovegni (Arena Chapel).
(Courtesy of Scala/Art Resource, New York)

The terms *lamentation* and *grieving* describe the formal, sometimes forceful demonstrations of grief that are part of the burial procedures and rites of death practiced in most societies. The sense of personal loss often underlying such expressions of sorrow stems from the instinctive reluctance of humans to accept the finality of death and the bitter awareness of mortality. Another definition relates to the emotional suffering caused by the unexplained tragedies that disrupt the course of life; the lament for this type of suffering, either personal or collective, is most common as a literary genre but also gains significance in the visual arts of the twentieth century.

Although grieving in art and literature often shares many features that attest to the universality of the theme, diverse religious or societal beliefs and experiences usually condition its meaning. The ancient Greeks, for example, tended to relegate excessive emotions of sorrow to a private sphere, whereas publicly, especially when the dead were either outstanding citizens or warriors killed in battle, they mitigated the fear of death by emphasizing “earthly immortality”—the importance of a legacy of fame and honor.

The Old Testament also focuses on the physical aspects of death, but, as voiced in Ecclesiastes, there is an underlying sense of futility and submission to divine purpose. Suffering, inflicted not only on the guilty sinner but also sometimes on the blameless and upright, is endowed with mysterious instructive value. Grieving in the Old Testament is manifested in acts of fasting, the donning of sackcloth, the performing of dirges, and other ritualized forms of pious humility characterized by reflection on individual responsibility and self-worth (Genesis 37:34; II Samuel 3:31; Amos 8:10). The emphasis on redemption and immortality presented in the New Testament (Matthew 8:22; Romans 8:13) alters attitudes of grieving by linking it with grace. In Europe of the late Middle Ages, the intense preoccupation with death fostered by war, adversity, and decimation from plagues is channeled into the salutary promise of salvation and spiritual afterlife embodied in portrayals of Jesus Christ’s Passion and Resurrection.

Mourning in Antiquity

In antiquity, ritualized mourning varied in duration and served several purposes. In a religious sense, ceremonies assisted the deceased’s passage to the next world. As a matter of practical behavior, the period of observance determined the status of the deceased, assuaged fear, strengthened the ties of family and clan, and ensured confirmation of death (as opposed to another form of unconsciousness). Generally, the ritual actions followed norms fixed by social convention, enabling, as the Greek rhetorician Lucian observed, those present at the funeral to

“simply commit their grief into the charge of custom and habit” (Lucian, *On Funerals*, 1).

Although evidence of ceremonial activities for the dead can be traced to prehistoric contexts, a systematic textual and visual record of mourning and mortuary customs is first encountered in ancient Egypt. The grieving in the home of the deceased was the initial episode of funeral rites that included the crossing of the Nile on the funerary bark, the procession to the necropolis, the purification of the dead during the Opening the Mouth ceremony before burial, and the funerary banquet. Tomb paintings regularly depict male and female relatives as mourners in attitudes that range from a reserved bid of farewell with one or both hands raised to the more intensely dramatic gesticulations meant to convey the uncontrolled grief experienced by women from the immediate family (Michalowski, fig. 574).

Some of the conventional, often eloquent gestures of lamentation include beating the head and chest, thrusting the arms forward or heavenward, and tearing at the hair with both hands. It is noteworthy that, in almost every instance, women are the ones who moan and wail, most typically during the funeral procession or near the funerary bark. In the tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky, dated in the beginning of the XIXth Dynasty, the widow with one breast bared in bereavement, haggard and weeping, crouches before the coffin and raises her hand to pour dust on her hair (Mekhitarian, 128). In the same painting, a younger woman dressed in gray has tears streaming down her face and is beating her forehead with her left hand; her right hand reaches out as if to signal her desperate wish to stop the procession to the grave (Mekhitarian, 122).

Such genuine expressions of grief were often juxtaposed with the feigned distress of professional mourners employed as a matter of custom in the funerals of great nobles. Through conspicuous display, these ceremonies were meant to accentuate the importance of the deceased and to underscore family solidarity. In the tomb of Min Nahkt, dated in the reign of Tuthmose III (circa 1504–1450 B.C.), a group of females, uniformly dressed in white, beat their heads and chests while moving their arms to a rhythm seemingly set by their leader on the left who, with added emphasis, stoops forward as she “conducts” their lamentation (Michalowski, figs. 109, 402). The tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky cited above also includes a group of paid female performers in attendance at the funerary bark; with open mouths, they sing a dirge and accompany their lament with hysterical gesturing (Mekhitarian, 130).

Similar mourning rituals no doubt existed in other parts of the ancient world, but the importance attached to them varies significantly from one culture to another. For example, in spite of evidence of elaborate burial customs among the Hittites and the empires of ancient Mesopotamia, only a scant visual record

exists of how the inhabitants of those lands mourned their dead. Only lamentations for the dead (sometimes for a god or a captured city) in a literary form have survived, some of which are echoed in parts of the Old Testament (e.g., the lamentation of David for Saul and Jonathan, II Samuel 1:17–27; Rachel's weeping for her children, Jeremiah 31:15 and Matthew 2:18; or the laments for the desolation of Jerusalem by the Hebrew exiles in Babylon, Lamentations). Other references in the Bible concerning the duration of mourning as a measure of the status of the deceased (Genesis 50:10; Deuteronomy 34:8; I Chronicles 7:22), the role of women in mourning rituals (Jeremiah 9:20, 31:15; Luke 23:27), and the singing of dirges, or *qînoôt* in Hebrew (II Chronicles 35:25), suggest that similar customs for grieving the dead were shared by many different peoples in the Mediterranean world.

Next to Egypt, Greece offers the most complete picture of an almost continuous and well-documented tradition of mourning rituals that extend from the Late Bronze Age to the Roman period. The earliest representations are Mycenaean (Late Helladic IIIB) terra-cotta statuettes of female mourners and a group of painted *larnakes* (sarcophagi) from Tanagra in Boeotia. The *larnakes* bear rich decorations that include processions of women and funeral scenes and competitive events such as chariot racing, hunting, and in one instance bull leaping, an acrobatic performance that was very common in Minoan Crete. The depictions clearly emphasize the traditional role of women as mourners in funerary iconography and juxtapose it with the chariot races and other prize contests held by men in the dead man's honor.

The memory of funerary customs, such as those recorded on the Tanagra *larnakes*, survives in Greek epic poetry. Homer gives a detailed description of the funeral games organized by Achilles for Patroclus (*Iliad*, 23.257–897). Here also, women are cast in the major role as mourners for the dead, such as Achilles' concubine Briseis, who, in her grief for the dead Patroclus, "shrieked aloud, and with her hands she tore her breast and tender neck and beautiful face" (*Iliad*, 19.284–285), or Hecuba and Andromache, who "wailed and tore at their hair," lamenting the loss of Hector before the gates of Troy (*Iliad*, 24.710–714). Similar customs are found in the funeral games of the Etruscans and the Romans. However, these rituals in honor of the heroic dead sometimes included human sacrifice and bloodshed and presumably were intended to revitalize the departed spirit.

Depictions of grieving gain greater consistency in the Greek Geometric vase painting of the mid-eighth century B.C., becoming integrated in the theme of the *prothesis* (wake). The *prothesis* and the equally popular *ekphora* (funeral procession) are the standard decorative motifs of large funerary vases—amphoras, kraters, and hydrias—from the Kerameikos Cemetery in Athens. The iconographic structure of the Geometric *prothesis* shows the deceased lying in state at the center attended by mourners who stand, kneel, or sit near the bier with their hands raised to their heads in the familiar gesture of tearing the hair (Schweitzer, pls. 30–31). The abstract silhouette drawing allows for minimal realistic detail, but the participants' genders are often emphasized by means of attributes—swords at waist level for men and long skirts and oblique

strokes marking the breasts for women (Schweitzer, pl. 40). Children (recognizable by their diminutive size or their position on their mothers' laps) are also present occasionally near the deceased, adding a touch of domesticity (Schweitzer, pl. 41). The iconographic components of the Geometric *prothesis* scenes—the high bier on delicately turned legs extending to shoulder height, the bier cloth decorated with a checkered pattern and suspended in the field above the deceased, and the great number of mourners formally arrayed in single or superimposed tiers—reveal a degree of ostentation or perhaps a conscious emulation of the sumptuous obsequies of Achilles (*Odyssey*, 24.43–84) and Hector (*Iliad*, 24.719–804) described in Homer.

The basic composition of the *prothesis* survives into the Archaic and classical periods, but the depictions on black- and red-figure vases, although freer and nearer to nature, show a much reduced number of participants. To some extent, this development simply reflects the changes in the vase shapes. Whereas the spacious zones and panels of the Geometric kraters and amphoras naturally accommodate multifigured compositions, the tall and narrow shape of later funerary vases, such as the lekythos and loutrophoros, favor an intimate scene with only a few figures. In one example on a red-figure loutrophoros in Paris, dated 490–480 B.C., the artist compensates for the narrow girth of the vase by splitting the *prothesis* into separate but complementary episodes: women mourners on the neck with the main lamentation scene below on the body of the vessel. Lower yet, a third zone of diminutive horsemen recalls the *ekphora* motif on Geometric vases and identifies the social status of the deceased as one of the equestrian class (Fantham et al., fig. 1.16).

The iconographic changes in sixth-century *prothesis* scenes may also be symptomatic of legislative efforts within the Greek city-states to reform traditional aspects of daily life, including funerals, as part of a democratization process. In Athens, for example, we are told that Solon's legislation prohibited ostentatious funerals and determined that the body was to be laid out for the last greetings from family and friends (*prothesis*) within the house (Demosthenes, *Against Macartatus*, 43.62). The same laws forbade women to indulge publicly in excessive displays of sorrow (Plutarch, *Lives*, Solon 21.5) and limited even their participation in the *prothesis* according to age and kinship (Demosthenes, *Against Macartatus*, 43.62). Late Archaic funeral plaques that were sometimes affixed to the tomb as decorations seem to confirm the continuing adherence to such regulations. One such plaque in Paris, circa 530 B.C. (Fantham et al., fig. 1.13), places the *prothesis* unequivocally inside the house (indicated by the porch column on the left) and depicts the deceased (a young beardless man) surrounded by members of his immediate family. Each family member has an inscription identifying a family relation (mother, father, sister, aunt) as if to prove that all of them were within the prescribed limits.

Archaic and early classical representations of the *prothesis* are more explicit in distinguishing male and female roles in the mourning of the dead. The women appear closest to the corpse and often display violent outbursts of grief (now in the home, not in public), gesturing with both hands. Their principal role at the *prothesis* is to sing the ritualized lament that ranged in

form from the most personal *goos*, an improvised lament sung by a female relative or close friend, to the formal *threnos*, which was sung in chorus (Vermeule, pp. 14–17). In the funeral plaque in Paris cited above, the dead man's mother (inscribed *meter*) affectionately supports her son's head, recalling Homer's description of "Andromache [who] led the Lamentation of the women, and held in her arms the head of manslaughtering Hector" (*Iliad*, 24.723–724).

In art and literature, the woman's role as mother, wife, and caregiver is time and again alluded to and seems to come full circle in the ritual of death. In addition to societal attitudes that more readily regarded the display of emotion as a feminine attribute was an underlying belief that women were less likely to be affected by contact with a corpse and ritual pollution (*miasma*), especially those women who had given birth. By contrast, male mourners usually stand farther away from the bier or near the entryway that implicitly links them to the outside world. In Greek art, men also perform the ritual gesture of *kopetos* (beating the head), but only with one hand raised to the head and in a reserved manner that seems intended more as a sign of greeting for the dead.

Such canonical mourning scenes become rare in the classical period (Robertson, pl. 147). The new idealized style favors a new type of funerary subject, namely, the representation of the dead (depicted as if alive) alone or in the company of living relatives in scenes of farewell or reunion, which are indicated by the handshake (*dexiosis*) with the departed (Lullies and Hirmer, pls. 200, 204). The primary medium for these melancholy encounters between the living and the dead is grave reliefs; the secondary medium is white-ground lekythoi (Boardman, pp. 53–55, 154–157, 159; Robertson, plates on pp. 144–145). In all these examples, a mood of quiet introspection may result from a concerted effort in all spheres of art to emulate the timeless quality of public monuments, although this does not necessarily reflect a fundamental change in funeral practice. Emotional outbursts of grief are likely to have continued in funerals among the people, at least with enough regularity to cause concern among the philosophers. Plato recommends procedures so that "funeral ceremonies are conducted with propriety and moderation" and thinks it should be forbidden "to utter dirges over the dead or to let the noise of the mourning be audible outside the house" (*Laws*, 12.959e). A classical decorum also permeates fourth-century funerary monuments, including some sumptuously sculptured sarcophagi found at Sidon in Asia Minor. For example, *Sarcophagus of the Mourning Women* in Istanbul, Turkey, is fashioned like an architect's model of an Ionic peristyle and shelters, in the spaces between the columns, single female figures expressing grief in various shades from deep dejection to quiet meditation (Lullies, pls. 207–209).

Traditional expressions of grieving and lamentation for the dead survive more or less unchanged into the Roman period and beyond. In the second century A.D., Lucian complains of the excesses he sees at funerals—"the cries of distress, the wailing of women, [their] tears, beaten breasts, torn hair, and bloody cheeks"—and with cynical wit he contrasts the convulsed mourners with the peaceful dead who "lies high, crowned with ornamental wreaths, exalted and made up as though for a procession" (*On Funerals*, 12). The ceremonial lament, or *concla-*

matio, and the funeral cortege appear occasionally in the rich repertory of mostly allegorical subjects that decorate Etruscan cinerary urns and Roman sarcophagi, but the few examples that survive seem to follow Greek iconographic precedents (Panofsky, fig. 80; Prieur, illustration on p. 19).

Grieving and Lamentation as Religious Themes

The theme of grieving, ingrained in the funerary customs of pagan antiquity and of the early Middle Ages, was readily adapted in later medieval art to the iconography of the Passion of Christ. The motif's development is characterized by a crescendo of emotional intensity, beginning with the Crucifixion, continuing with the deposition (descent from the cross), and culminating in the scene before the entombment, which formally comes to be known as the lamentation.

The Crucifixion, from the earliest representations in fifth–sixth century A.D. ivories and manuscripts (Snyder, figs. 102, 106), almost always includes the presence of the Virgin Mary and St. John the Evangelist, in accordance with the passage in John's Gospel (19:25–27), in which Christ entrusts his mother to the care of his loved disciple John. Standing together on one side, or separate in their more canonical position on either side of the Cross, Mary and John act as witnesses and, from the eleventh century onward, also as the major mourners in the scene. Given the number of the participants and the manner in which they are depicted, two versions emerge. In the first, well exemplified by the Byzantine mosaic of the Crucifixion at Daphni (circa 1100), the Virgin Mary and St. John, partly turning toward the viewer, express their sorrow with a formal restraint that helps to underscore the dogma of the incarnation and the promise of salvation. This quiet "iconic" type of Crucifixion, devotional in nature, is favored by Italian and Northern Renaissance painters during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, later becoming more rare (e.g., Hartt, pp. 80, 157, 279, 379). The second version, also drawn from the Gospels (Matthew 27:33–56; Mark 15:22–41; Luke 23:33–49; John 19:17–37) and with precedents in sixth-century manuscript illuminations (e.g., fol. 13, *Rabbula Gospels*, Snyder, fig. 102), places a much greater emphasis on the narrative aspects of the theme, incorporating the three Marys and a variety of other participants who visibly react to Christ's fate.

In Giotto's *Crucifixion* in the Arena Chapel (Scrovegni Chapel) in Padua, Italy (Hartt, Fig. 66), Mary's overwhelming grief and the compassionate sorrow of the holy women who support her are contrasted with the cold indifference of the group of soldiers on the right who divide up the clothes of Christ. Duccio's scene on the *Maestà Altarpiece* shows an even more dramatic complexity (Hartt, fig. 93). Mary swoons below the Cross, sinking into the arms of the holy women, while a crowd of bystanders opposite gesture and look upward toward Christ, projecting their diverse reactions and feelings.

Although fully formulated in the late Middle Ages, this narrative version's intricate and dramatic character continues to have strong appeal to artists of later periods such as Jacopo Tintoretto and Peter Paul Rubens, who painted some overpowering renditions of the Crucifixion. Sometimes elements from both versions appear intermingled, as in Matthias Grünewald's

Crucifixion from the *Isenheim Altarpiece* (Janson, fig. 710), which combines iconic symmetry (through the addition of St. John the Baptist and the lamb on the right) with descriptive realism (evident in the tortured Christ and the anguished grief of the Virgin, John, and Mary Magdalene on the right).

Sorrow intensifies in scenes of the deposition, the episode of the removal of Christ's body from the Cross by Joseph of Arimathea mentioned in all four gospels (Matthew 27:57–58; Mark 15:42–46; Luke 23:50–54; John 19:38–40) and in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. The motif, which originated in Byzantine art during the ninth century (Schiller, fig. 548) and was almost immediately adopted in the West in a variety of media (Schiller, figs. 543–558), is iconographically a derivative from the earlier theme of the Crucifixion. The Virgin and St. John occupy their traditional positions while Joseph takes Christ's body down from the Cross, usually assisted by Nicodemus. The grieving of those present shares an equal focus with the arduous effort involved in lowering the body. Mary's grief, however, seems more poignant now because of her close proximity to the dead Christ. With bowed head, she holds her son's hand, pressing it to her cheek, or she actively supports his torso, leaning her head tenderly against his. This joining of faces becomes a recurrent schema in scenes of the lamentation and reappears much later as a salient feature in Michelangelo's final statue, the standing *Rondanini Pietà* (De Tolnay, figs. 195–196).

By the end of the fourteenth century, scenes of the deposition show an increased number of participants that further accentuate the dramatic action. In Pietro Lorenzetti's fresco *Descent from the Cross* in Assisi, Italy, painted in the 1320s (Hartt, fig. 102), the gaunt figure of the dead Christ is tightly encircled by all seven figures mentioned in the Gospels, each one relating to him in a personal way. Their emotions range from the melancholy meditation of Joseph of Arimathea, who holds Christ's torso, to the anguished expression of St. John and the pained expression of one of the Marys, who is shown holding her cheeks with both hands. The greatest pathos is again concentrated in the Virgin Mary's tearful countenance juxtaposed with her son's lifeless face. In another example, Rogier van der Weyden's *Descent from the Cross* (Janson, fig. 555), the action is stilled and the narrative imbued with theological meanings to suit the devotional function of the painting. The swooning Virgin Mary, supported by St. John, seems as inanimate as the dead Christ and shares with him almost the same pose—creating a physical parallel that underscores her role as the Coredemptrix. The other mourners also seem oddly self-absorbed in their grief, as if poised in a staged ritual of meditative piety. Devotional spirituality and dramatic narrative, religious symbolism, and realism become eventually fused in the Baroque compositions of Jusepe de Ribera, Rubens, Rembrandt van Rijn, and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo.

The emotional content of the Passion peaks in the scene from the lamentation in which Christ, shown outstretched on a cloth at the foot of the Cross or on the anointing stone (sometimes made to look like a bed, a tomb, or an altar), is tenderly embraced by the Virgin Mary and surrounded by the other mourners. Joseph and Nicodemus usually appear kneeling at Christ's feet in the attitude of reverence (the Greek *proskyne-*

sis), whereas St. John and the three Marys generally have no fixed positions; weeping angels sometimes hover above in the sky. In eleventh-century Byzantine illuminations and ivory reliefs, the lamentation takes place at the foot of the Cross (Schiller, figs. 594–595). Subsequently, the theme appears with the entombment, from which it is sometimes indistinguishable (Schiller, figs. 575–578), but more often it is integrated as an independent subject in the narrative of the bearing of the body to the sepulcher. Although the Gospels do not explicitly mention the lamentation after the deposition (their only reference is to the anointment of the body and the entombment), the motif's incorporation in religious art is a fitting complement to the biblical narrative and serves as a visual reminder of Jesus' prediction to the Apostles at the end of the Last Supper: "Verily, verily, I say unto you, That ye shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice: and ye shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy" (John 16:20).

This redemptive aspect of tears shed for another's suffering finds parallels in the imagery of non-Western religions as well. In Buddhism, Avalokiteshvara-Padamapani, an embodiment of the Mahayana Buddha, responds to the universal lament he hears by forfeiting his entry to Nirvana until all other beings can first achieve the same perfect state. The tears that emanate from his eyes are in the form of Tara, the personification of divine compassion.

Even in the absence of a specific iconography defined by the Scriptures, the lamentation theme was central to the liturgy of the Passion, inspiring a great variety of pictorial compositions ranging from the late Gothic period to the nineteenth century (Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson, Eugène Delacroix, Vincent van Gogh). As a monumental subject on church altarpieces and wall paintings, the lamentation possesses qualities essential for a devotional image. The faithful are enjoined through contemplative absorption to identify spiritually with the mourners around the dead Christ and share in their grieving. In Giotto's *Lamentation* (1305) in the Arena Chapel, the artist emphasizes this communion with the image by placing two seated figures in the foreground facing inward toward Christ and the Virgin. In this "shared view" position, with their backs to the viewer, these anonymous mourners become, in effect, surrogate worshippers witnessing the events at close range.

Ultimately, however, it is the intensely passionate image of the Virgin embracing her dead son that most powerfully arouses feelings of empathy and inspires meditation. Tenth-century theologian Simeon Metaphrastes describes Mary holding the dead Christ on her lap as if he were an infant, a simile that is repeated in a passage from a sermon (Millet, *Migne Patrologia* 100, col. 1480) citing Mary's lament: "As a child thou hast often slept and dreamed on my lap, now thou liest here in the sleep of death." In a twelfth-century Byzantine fresco in the Serbian church of Nerezi, the Virgin Mary holds the dead Christ in her lap, accentuating their special relationship by pressing her son's face against her cheek (Grabar, p. 143). This motif of tenderness, with certain universal appeal, seems intentionally evocative of the late Byzantine image of the Madonna and Child, the type known as *Eleousa* (Merciful), in which the baby Jesus looks at his mother and leans his cheek against hers. Giotto also draws the same analogy in the Arena Chapel; in the

Lamentation scene, the viewer is painfully reminded of the Virgin, who holds her infant son in the scene of the *Nativity* of the same fresco cycle.

In the West, the mystery of Christ's incarnation and his sacrificial death are more succinctly expressed in the sculptural image of the *Pietà*, a creation probably independent from the paintings of the lamentation that first came into existence in Germany around 1300 and gained subsequent favor in other parts of Europe. The image of the *Pietà* (its Italian name meaning both piety and pity), also called a *Vespersbild* (because it was venerated during Vespers), is a moving synthesis of the aged and grieving Virgin Mary holding her son's tormented body in a manner that evokes, once again, the traditional theme of the Madonna and Child. Some provincial versions naively reduce the scale of Christ's figure to allude to the infant Jesus and the beginning of his incarnation. Christ usually sits across Mary's knees in such a way that his head, wearing the crown of thorns, is to his mother's right; sometimes his head falls back, heightening the sensation of death. In keeping with the devotional function of the image, Mary's attitude gradually shifts away from the expression of uncontrollable grief to a more restrained sorrow mixed with calm reflection. The medieval image of the *Pietà*, adopted in Italy after 1400 and transformed by the classical idiom of the Renaissance, culminates in Michelangelo's harmoniously balanced marble sculpture of his youthful period (1498–1499) in St. Peter's (De Tolnay, fig. 90) that "shuns distortion and ugliness in favor of beauty and idealism, even in death."

The *Pietà* becomes a pictorial theme in the late fourteenth century, often integrated in the broader iconography of the lamentation; only the degree of demonstrativeness and the suppression of narrative detail provide a qualifying distinction. The *Avignon Pietà* by Enguerrand Quarton (circa 1460) in the Louvre in Paris (Janson, fig. 564) exemplifies the transformation. Mary no longer throws herself on the dead Christ; rather, she sits against the gold background in silent meditation with her eyes closed and her hands joined in prayer. John, who carefully removes the crown of thorns, and Mary Magdalene, who weeps uncontrollably at Christ's feet, are the active mourners in this scene. Some examples are more ambivalent. In Botticelli's *Lamentation* (circa 1500) in Munich, Germany, the central group of the Virgin Mary with the dead Christ across her lap qualifies as a *Pietà* in form but not in attitude. Her swooning visually signals that she is overcome by sorrow—traditionally a narrative feature of the lamentation (Hartt, fig. 354).

In the sixteenth century, the *Pietà* appears rarely as an independent subject and becomes conflated with the deposition or the entombment. This change is seen in Michelangelo's late *Pietàs* in Florence, Italy, and Milan, Italy (De Tolnay, figs. 190, 195). In Jacopo da Pontormo's ambiguous *Deposition* (1525–1528) in Santa Felicità in Florence (Hartt, pl. 108), the figures of the Virgin and the dead Christ, although just separated, also conjure the image of the *Pietà* in their relationship. Mary's role as a cooperant in her son's sacrifice is suggested by her rapturous expression and the yielding gesture of her arms extended toward the dead Christ being taken away to the tomb. An exception, Annibale Carracci's *Lamentation* (circa 1604) in London, preserves the motif of the swooning Virgin

Mary, and most late Renaissance and Baroque compositions of the Passion emphasize Mary's cognizance and her acquiescence to divine will.

Grieving is also linked to the cycle of stories concerning the death and Assumption of the Virgin Mary, as recorded in the apocryphal writings of the early Church and retold in the detailed account of the *Golden Legend*. The main episode of the death, or dormition, of the Virgin is by far the most widely depicted and has its probable origin in pre-iconoclastic Byzantium well into the Baroque era. In the Byzantine versions, the Virgin's body is outstretched on a couch or bier that is flanked right and left by the Apostles (miraculously borne on a cloud to her deathbed) and by types representative of fledgling Christianity—patriarchs, martyrs, and holy virgins. Christ, centrally placed behind the bier, holds the tiny effigy of Mary's soul. This is a visual duplication of the apocryphal text: "and in the morning the soul issued out of the body and fled up in the arms of her Son." In the space above, angels descend from heaven to assist in the soul's ascent. The dormition meaningfully combines in a single scene the sorrow for earthly mortality and the hope of spiritual resurrection; the redemption of the Virgin anticipates the state promised to the rest of humanity.

In the West, this Byzantine motif is gradually replaced by the new themes of the Assumption and the coronation of the Virgin that specifically emphasize Mary's bodily as well as spiritual resurrection and glorification in heaven. Although not a common subject after the sixteenth century, the continuing appeal of the dormition is confirmed by some late interpretations, including Caravaggio's moving picture in the Louvre, which all but eliminates any reference to a supernatural event. Key iconographic features of the dormition—the domestic interior used as a setting, the bier, and the gestural poses of the mourners—are also found in related scenes of funerals of saints, as seen in Giotto's *Funeral of St. Francis* fresco in Santa Croce in Florence.

Modern Interpretations

Reflecting the secular concerns and the new realities engendered by the Enlightenment and the Industrial Revolution, artists from the eighteenth century onward increasingly enlist images, made familiar through religion, in themes whose purpose is to edify or to arouse the viewer on behalf of political and social causes. For example, Jacques-Louis David's *Andromache Mourning Hector* (1783) portrays the Trojan hero outstretched on a bier in a manner that recalls the figure of the dead Christ in certain *Lamentation* scenes (e.g., Schiller, fig. 615). Gestural attitudes of sorrow culled from the deposition/lamentation iconography or from antique sources are also commonly used in Baroque and neoclassical works that deal with the subject of death. A theme inspired by the Roman historian Tacitus, *The Death of Germanicus* (treated by Nicolas Poussin, Thomas Banks, Benjamin West, and others), is a case in point. Conceptually, David's *Death of Marat* (1793) may also be cited here. The dramatically illuminated slumped body of the dead patriot appears Christlike. Although no other figures are present that qualify the work as a scene of lamentation, the wooden crate in the foreground with Marat's name inscribed (akin to a symbolic tombstone) and the intimate

proximity to the slain martyr enlist the viewer to assume the role of mourner.

Romanticized depictions of mourning that evoke religious imagery continue in secular works such as *The Entombment of Atala* (1808) by David's pupil Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson, who had earlier painted *The Dead Christ Mourned by the Virgin* (1789), now in the Church of Montesquieu-Volvestre in Paris. By contrast, the realist painter Gustave Courbet desensitizes the portrayal of death and mourning in his sprawling composition *Funeral at Ornans* (1849–1850) in the Louvre. Bearing life-size portraits of townspeople, the work records the authentic ritual of a Catholic burial, with the priest, his acolytes, and other mourners gathered around an empty open grave; a dog watches while women in black (including the artist's mother and sisters) weep into their handkerchiefs. Courbet's painting, which may have been intended to create a counterpoint to El Greco's *Burial of the Count of Orgaz* (1586), seems to contain no metaphysical message—only the quiet event of a small-town funeral.

Reacting to despotism and the cruelty of war, artists voice their criticism of political abuses and social inequities in works that often borrow from the iconography of mourning and lamentation. The allegorical figure of Greece in Eugène Delacroix's painting *Greece Expiring on the Ruins of Messolonghi* (1826) stands grieving with outstretched arms in an attitude that anticipates his later *Pietà* (1850), now in Oslo, Norway. Francisco Goya's series of etchings *Los Desastres de la Guerra* (*The Ravages of War*), created between 1809 and 1813, also uses variants of the lamentation theme to convey the suffering of those victimized by armed violence. Similarly, Honoré Daumier's lithograph *Horried by the Heritage* (1871) personifies France as a shrouded woman grieving over the field of corpses left to the embattled New Republic. Her cloaked form recalls mourning figures of late Gothic sculpture (e.g., the *Mourning Virgin* in Berlin, circa 1450, or the hooded *pleureurs* [mourners] of tomb monuments). This type of indignant art coincides with the invention of photography, which, from its inception, was a powerful tool used to document the devastation of war.

Twentieth-century artists also adapted religious imagery culled from the motif of Christ's Passion to a variety of secular subjects that deal with human suffering as both a personal and a universal experience. In Pablo Picasso's early works that introduce his Blue Period, the artist creates a synthesis of the sacred and profane in drawings and paintings based on the suicide of his close friend Casagemas. In his study *The Mourners* (1901), Picasso evokes traditional scenes of the deposition of Christ. Then, in his larger composition *The Burial of Casagemas* (1901), he clearly draws on El Greco's *Burial of the Count of Orgaz* and, by expanding the number of mourners to suggest the participation of a whole community, includes a reference to Courbet's *Burial at Ornans*. In both pictures, Picasso deliberately places a mother and a child within the group as an effective reminder of maternal love and woman's dual role in the life cycle.

The ravages of war and man's inhumanity to man continue to dominate many of the modern themes derived from the iconography of lamentation and grieving, often inspiring powerful depictions of endurance in the face of great suffering.

Picasso's apocalyptic *Guernica* (1937) derives important meaning from its iconographic association with the *Pietà*. Drawing attention to the left side of the monumental composition, a mother lifts her head heavenward and cries out in anguish as she holds her dead child; she is surrounded by disjointed figures who writhe in open-mouthed horror. Käthe Kollwitz also uses the *Pietà* motif in her sculpture *Mother and Child* (1917) in memory of her son who was killed in World War I and as her personal indictment of the senselessness of war. A similar degree of pathos is evident in one of W. Eugene Smith's photo-essays, *Tomoko in Her Bath* (1971), which shows a mother bathing her deformed child, the hapless victim of mercury pollution in the Japanese fishing village of Minamata (Janson, fig. 1145). The gaunt figure of the girl, cradled lovingly in her mother's arms and illuminated from above, has the aura of a modern day *Pietà*.

In many instances, only isolated magnified elements from the themes of lamentation and grieving are substituted for the whole, creating succinct images that mimic the traditional in their ability to elicit instant recognition. Other kinds of grief, more personal ones such as the anxiety of unrequited love, are expressed by the shedding of tears. In his *Weeping Woman* series (1937), Picasso identifies a fragmented, tearful woman who clutches at a handkerchief; her jarring masklike presence helps to convey an overwhelming sorrow. Roy Lichtenstein's *Drowning Girl* (1963) restates the motif in a pop art version, eschewing tradition in favor of an oversized benday dot comic strip portrait that humorously enshrines the preoccupations and stereotypes of contemporary culture. More recently, Elizabeth Holzer restores the link between lamentation and death in her installations entitled *Laments* (1990) at the Guggenheim Museum in New York and the Dia Art Foundation in Bridgehampton, New York.

Even in abstract expressionist works, such as Barnett Newman's black-and-white series *Stations of the Cross* (1958–1966), the title introduces hidden meaning into the formal structure of areas and narrow stripes, or "zips," of Newman's color-field painting. The title also acts to affirm the artist's often-stated belief that subject matter, in a nonliteral sense, is important to painting. In *Stations of the Cross*, Newman explores nuances of Christ's Passion without resorting to anecdote or sentimental illustrations, lending strength to his idea that the abstract shape can become a vehicle for thought. Similarly, in Jasper Johns's *Weeping Woman* (1975), subtle references to traditional scenes of lamentation are achieved by the tight, linear "tweed" pattern created by his strokes of paint and modified into evocations of tears; the triptych construction of the canvas, akin to a medieval altarpiece; and the faint image of a cross in the central panel. A reliance on form to convey meaning is also the underlying principle in Maya Lin's *Vietnam Veterans Memorial* (1981–1983), designed for the Mall in Washington, D.C. The two long walls of polished black granite bear the names of soldiers in the order in which they died in Vietnam and engage the visitor in silent communion with their information and symbolism.

For the modern existentialist, the catharsis and healing associated with grieving and lamentation in the collective mourning rituals and in the reenactment of Christ's Passion often become

supplanted by weariness and a sense of *Weltschmerz* (world-weariness). The crying newborn in David Siqueiros's *Ethnography*, or *Echo of a Cry* (1937) is a haunting image of the abandoned child, a universal victim of indifference. In Edvard Munch's intensely personal painting *The Scream* (1893) in Oslo, the terror and psychic anguish experienced by the single foreground figure reverberates in the wavy streaks of red, yellow, and green that form the barren landscape and sky. Erupting emotions are met with only solitude and a sense of helplessness in the face of a complex and uncaring world.

See also Crucifixion; Death; Funeral/Burial; Widowhood

Selected Works of Art

Ancient and Classical

Female Mourners, relief, circa 1500–1450 B.C., Thebes, Egypt, Tomb of Min Nakht

Female Mourners, relief, circa 1411–1375 B.C., Thebes, Egypt, Tomb of Ramose

Female Mourners, relief, circa 1340–1301, Thebes, Egypt, Tomb of Nebamun and Ipuky

Mourning Figure, Philistine terra-cotta figurine, circa eleventh century B.C., Jerusalem, Israel, Israel Museum

Women Mourning the Dead in His Coffin, Mycenaean larnax, circa 1300–1250 B.C., Boeotia, Greece, Archaeological Museum

Mourning Women and Funeral Games, Mycenaean larnax, circa 1300–1250 B.C., Boeotia, Greece, Archaeological Museum

Funeral Scene (Prothesis), Geometric amphora, from Kerameikos Cemetery, circa 750 B.C., Athens, Greece, National Museum

Funeral Scene (Prothesis) and Procession (Ekphora), Geometric krater, from Kerameikos Cemetery, circa 750 B.C., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Damos Painter, *Nereids Mourning over the Body of Achilles*, Corinthian hydria, from Caere, circa 550 B.C., Paris, Louvre

Funeral Scene, red-figure loutrophoros, 490–480 B.C., Paris, Louvre

Sappho Painter, *Funeral Scene with Mourners*, black-figure terra-cotta plaque, circa 530 B.C., Paris, Louvre

Grave Relief of Timarista and Krito, marble, fifth century B.C., Rhodes, Greece, Archaeological Museum

Mourning Women Sarcophagus, from the Royal Cemetery at Sidon, circa 360 B.C., Istanbul, Turkey, Archaeological Museum

Ilissos Stele, marble, circa 340 B.C., Athens, Greece, National Museum

Roman Relief Showing a Funeral Cortège, second half of first century B.C., L'Aquila, Italy, Museo Nazionale d'Abruzzo

Early Christian and Medieval

Crucifixion, Syrian illuminated manuscript, *Rabbula Gospels*, circa 586, Florence, Italy, Biblioteca Laurentiana (MS Plut. I,56, fol. 13)

Lamentation, fresco, circa 1164, Nerezi, Bosnia-Herzegovina, St. Pantaleimon

Vladimir Madonna, painted wood, twelfth century, Moscow, Russia, State Historical Museum

Renaissance

Giotto, *Crucifixion*, fresco, 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Giotto, *Lamentation*, fresco, 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Giotto, *Funeral of St. Francis*, fresco, circa 1320, Florence, Italy, Santa Croce, Bardi Chapel

Duccio, *Crucifixion*, from the *Maestà Altarpiece* 1308–1311, Siena, Italy, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo

Lorenzetti, Pietro, *Descent from the Cross*, fresco, 1320–1330, Assisi, Italy, St. Francesco, Lower Church

Weyden, Rogier van der, *Descent from the Cross*, panel, circa 1435, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Pietà (Vespersbild), wood, early fourteenth century, Bonn, Germany, Provinzialmuseum

Mourning Virgin, marble, circa 1450, Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Pleureurs, *Tomb Monument of Philippe Pot*, marble, circa 1480, Paris, Louvre

Quarton, Enguerrand, *Avignon Pietà*, oil on panel, circa 1460, Paris, Louvre

Botticelli, *Lamentation*, tempera on panel, circa 1500, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek

Grünwald, Matthias, *Crucifixion*, *Isenheim Altarpiece*, oil on panel, 1510–1515, Colmar, France, Musée Unterlinden

Pontormo, Jacopo de, *Deposition*, oil on canvas, 1525–1528, Florence, Italy, Santa Felicità, Capponi Chapel

Tintoretto, *Crucifixion*, oil on canvas, 1565, Venice, Italy, Scuola Grande di San Rocco

El Greco, *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, oil on canvas, 1586, Toledo, Spain, Santo Tomé

Caravaggio, *Death of the Virgin*, oil on canvas, 1605–1606, Paris, Louvre

Poussin, Nicolas, *Death of Germanicus*, oil on canvas, 1627, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Minneapolis Institute of Art

Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

Banks, Thomas, *The Death of Germanicus*, marble sculpture, 1774, Norfolk, England, Holkham Hall

David, Jacques-Louis, *Andromache Mourning Hector*, oil on canvas, 1783, Paris, École Nationale Supérieure des Beaux-Arts

David, Jacques-Louis, *The Death of Marat*, oil on canvas, 1793, Brussels, Belgium, Musées Royaux

West, Benjamin, *Death of a Pale Horse*, oil on canvas, 1796, Detroit, Michigan, Detroit Institute of Arts

Canova, Antonio, *Tomb of the Archduchess Maria Christina*, sculpture, 1798–1805, Vienna, Austria, Church of Augustinians

Girodet-Trioson, Anne-Louis, *The Entombment of Atala*, oil on canvas, 1808, Paris, Louvre

Courbet, Gustave, *Funeral at Ornans*, oil on canvas, 1849–1850, Paris, Louvre

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- Delacroix, Eugène, *Greece Expiring on the Ruins of Messolonghi*, oil on canvas, 1826, Bordeaux, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
- Delacroix, Eugène, *Pietà*, oil on canvas, 1850, Oslo, Norway, National Gallery
- Daumier, Honoré, *Horried by the Heritage*, lithograph, 1871
- Munch, Edvard, *The Scream*, oil and tempera on board, 1893, Oslo, Norway, National Gallery
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- Picasso, Pablo, *Guernica*, oil on canvas, 1937, Madrid, Reina Sofía
- Kollwitz, Käthe, *Mother and Child*, bronze, 1917, Washington, D.C., Hirshhorn Museum of Sculpture
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- Newman, Barnett, *Stations of the Cross*, oil on canvas, 1958–1966, collection of the artist
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HAIR/HAIRCUTTING

Alicia Craig Faxon

The following iconographic narratives, motifs, and periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Hair/Haircutting:

HAIR AS SNAKES
SAMSON AND DELILAH
ABSALOM

WASHING AND DRYING
CHRIST'S FEET
HAIR AS PENITENCE
HAIR AS MODESTY

WOMENS' HAIR IN THE
NINETEENTH CENTURY
TWENTIETH CENTURY



Lucas van Leyden, *Delilah Cutting Samson's Hair*, 1508, engraving, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts, Harvey D. Parker Collection. (Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Many meanings have become attached to hair and hair-cutting throughout the ages. It was, and is, an important symbol in a number of cultures, ancient to modern. At times these symbols are similar in different cultures; at other times they express differences in the cultures. Hair has often been seen as a symbol of life, strength, and even a surrogate for the self. The significance of haircutting has a range of meanings, from a loss of strength and power to the cherished bestowal of a lock of hair to a lover. In the Victorian era, the custom of giving a lock of hair as a love token implied a giving of one's self, the part substituting for the whole. Hair also served as a memorial in the nineteenth century, with the creation of hair jewelry, especially rings and brooches encasing strands of hair, often that of a deceased person. Possessing a cherished one's hair (of either sex) was highly prized, as can be seen in Alexander Pope's mock-heroic poem *The Rape of the Lock* and Aubrey Beardsley's illustrations for it. The custom of bestowing a tress is also shown in John Everett Millais's painting *Only a Lock of Hair* (circa 1857–1858) in the Manchester Art Gallery in England, which shows a thoughtful young lady about to cut off such a token.

In ancient times, hair was associated with the sun god as a corona radiate, or crown of sun rays. This was represented in art with Apollo identified as the sun god, with the sun's rays in the form of spikes coming out of his head, as in a second-century B.C. bust from the Temple of Mithras, now in the Church of St. Clement in Rome.

Hair was also seen as sacred, and in certain cultures (e.g., Aztec) the hair of priests could never be cut. Hair was also seen as a sign of power and strength in the Masai people of Africa, whose priests could not cut or shave their beards or they would lose their power. This same idea was manifested in biblical tradition in the story of Samson. Egyptians embarking on a journey left their hair uncut until they returned home safely, perhaps fearing that by cutting it they would lose the strength needed to complete the journey. Sometimes a vow of vengeance or another type of vow would be accompanied by not cutting one's hair until the vow was fulfilled. This custom evidently existed in Renaissance times, because the sixteenth-century Pope Julius II vowed not to cut his beard until he had reconquered papal territory. Modern-day athletes still occasionally adopt this practice.

In classical myth, Medusa and the Erinyes (or Furies) had snaky locks of hair, symbolizing, according to one authority, the baleful and frightening aspect of feminine power. Medusa, a Gorgon who was proud of her abundant tresses, was punished by Athena (or Minerva in Roman mythology), the virgin goddess of art, crafts, and war, for having been seduced by Poseidon (Neptune), god of the sea, in Athena's temple. The punishment consisted of having Medusa's hair turn into snakes.

The sight of the Medusa would turn all who looked at her into stone. Perseus, with the aid of Athena, cut off Medusa's head, and after using it to turn several enemies into stone gave it to Athena to wear on her aegis. Athena is shown with the Medusa head on her aegis in an Archaic sculpture from Herculaneum in the National Museum in Naples, Italy, among other representations. Later art changed Medusa from a fearsome monster into a beautiful and sad woman, as seen in *Medusa-Rondanini*, a Roman copy of an earlier Greek mask in the Glyptothek in Munich, Germany. Athena is described wearing the head as the mentor of Odysseus in Homer's *Odyssey* (book XIII), the origin of the modern reference to being under the aegis of one's mentor.

The Erinyes, or Furies (also called Eumenides), were born of the blood of the castrated Uranus, god of the sky, and were avengers of matricide and the rights of the mother. In Greek art, they are often shown winged with snaky locks, as in a Paestan red-figure amphora (circa 340 B.C.) in the Getty Museum in Los Angeles, California. In this amphora depicting the *Death of Clytemnestra*, the Erinyes look on threateningly as Orestes kills his mother to avenge his father's death. A similar red-figure amphora (circa 320 B.C.) in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, Massachusetts, shows two snaky-headed Furies above Orestes and Electra meeting at their father's grave. In this representation, Electra's hair is cut short, a sign of mourning.

In classical times, it was also the custom of girls in Troezen (the Greek city known as Argolis at that time) to offer tresses of their hair to the mythological character Hippolytus before their wedding. Youths also sheared their hair and possibly their first beards. Plutarch recounted that boys at puberty went to offer their hair to Apollo at Delphi. Before marriage, Argive women gave tresses to Athena or Artemis, the virgin goddess of childbirth and wild animals, a custom that may be traced back to Phoenician women giving locks to Astarte, a goddess of the ancient Near East.

Hair is used in an allegorical or a metaphoric sense in the phrase "to let your hair down," which means to be informal, gossipy, and so on. The custom is especially prevalent among women, following the custom of unpinning one's hair and letting it down after it is arranged for customary wear and social duties. To a man, the same gesture of letting down one's hair has a different meaning: It is seen as a gesture of sexual intimacy, as women take down their hair when they go to bed. "Putting up your hair" is a symbol that a girl is now a young woman and can no longer wear the flowing hair of childhood.

In art, Christian reference to flowing hair had several meanings. It was shown on unmarried women and female saints to denote virginity. An opposite interpretation was expressed by loose, flowing hair, which signified penitence. In Renaissance art, the penitential aspect is dramatically shown in the

Donatello sculpture of a haggard, fasting *Mary Magdalen* (1450s) in the Baptistery Museum in Florence, Italy. Modesty is another function of long hair that appears in legends of the saints. Pietro Cavallini, in *Scenes from the Life of St. Agnes*, depicts Agnes's hair growing miraculously down to her feet to hide her nakedness. Haircutting in the legends of saints usually is a sign of renunciation of the world and its pleasures. This meaning is shown in Annibale Carracci's *Cutting the Hair of St. Claire*, in which St. Francis cuts Claire's hair before she takes orders as a nun. Similarly, the tonsure on monks signifies that they have given up worldly vanity and values.

In the Old Testament, the most dramatic reference to hair is the story of the death of King David's son, Absalom, who was in revolt against his father: "And Absalom rode upon a mule, and the mule went under the thick boughs of a great oak, and his head caught hold of the oak, and he was taken up between the heaven and the earth; and the mule that was under him went away" (II Samuel 18:9). Joab, the king's general, sent three darts into Absalom's heart, and Joab's ten armor bearers finished the job. David, who had said not to touch Absalom, was heartbroken, crying, "O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! Would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!" (II Samuel 18:33). The death of Absalom is shown in Michelangelo's fresco medallions (1512–1518) in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican and in Francesco Pesellino's *Death of Absalom* (mid-fifteenth century) in the Museum of Art in Le Mans, France.

In the New Testament, there are two stories about women wiping the feet of Jesus with their hair. These are often conflated into one, but they may concern two very different women, at different times in Christ's ministry, and with very different meanings and messages. The first story, told in the Gospel of Luke (7:37–50), happens near the beginning of Christ's ministry. It tells of a woman who was a sinner. Knowing that Jesus was eating in the house of Simon the Pharisee, she came with an alabaster box of ointment and stood weeping behind Jesus. She washed his feet with her tears, wiped them with her hair, and anointed them with ointment. The Pharisee thought to himself that if Jesus were truly a prophet, he would know that the woman touching him was a sinner. Jesus asked the Pharisee, if a man forgave the debts of two debtors, one owing 50 pence and one owing 500 pence, who would love him more? The Pharisee said the greater debtor. Jesus answered that the woman whose many sins were forgiven would love in proportion to the number forgiven, and then he forgave the woman for her sins, saying that her faith had saved her. The scene of the woman sinner washing Christ's feet with her tears and wiping them with her hair is shown in a number of paintings, such as Francesco Bassano the Younger's *Christ in the House of the Pharisees* (sixteenth century), Santi di Tito's *Supper of the Pharisees* (circa 1574) in the Church of SS. Annunziata in Florence, and Paolo Veronese's *The Feast at the House of Simon* (1573) in the Louvre in Paris.

The second reference, in the Gospel of John (11:2, 12:1–8), tells of Jesus coming to the house of Lazarus of Bethany near the end of his ministry. Lazarus's sister Mary anointed Christ's feet with a pound of the ointment of spikenard and wiped his feet with her hair. Christ's disciple Judas Iscariot, later to betray him, objected, saying that they could have sold the ointment for

300 pence and given it to the poor. Jesus answered that the woman was anointing him for burial (a reference to the Crucifixion shortly to take place) and said, "For the poor always ye have with you; but me ye have not always" (John 12:8). Here the woman is not a weeping sinner but a friend of Jesus, and the significance of her act is not forgiveness but a loving gesture of appreciation for the man soon to die, a man who had brought her brother back from the dead.

Several artists have followed a tradition of mistakenly identifying Mary of Bethany with Mary Magdalen, two totally different characters. Both Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese painted representations of *Mary Magdalen Anointing the Feet of Christ* (1546–1547 and sixteenth century, respectively), as did the thirteenth-century Magdalen Master in a painting in the Academia in Florence. Presumably, Mary Magdalen was a more glamorous character with better hair than Mary of Bethany, Lazarus's sister.

The hairs on one's head are referred to in the Book of Psalms as a number more than can be counted: "For innumerable evils have compassed me about: mine iniquities have taken hold upon me, so that I am not able to look up; they are more than the hairs of mine head: therefore my heart faileth me" (Psalm 40:12), and similarly, "They that hate me without a cause are more than the hairs of mine head . . ." (Psalm 69:4).

St. Paul refers to the seductiveness of women's hair in I Corinthians 11:5–6 in the injunction for women praying or prophesying to cover their hair or else cut it short, implying that it is too distracting for men to see women unveiled in church. The custom of women wearing hats or veils in church harks back to this injunction.

In the Bible, cutting one's hair signifies a loss of power and strength, as in the story of Samson, or it can signify mourning and repentance: "Cut off thine hair, O Jerusalem, and cast it away, and take up a lamentation on high places; for the Lord hath rejected and forsaken the generation of his wrath" (Jeremiah 7:29). Hair that was cut or shaved off was also a sign of disgrace, as in shaving the hair of criminals or shaving the hair of women who had consorted with Nazis during World War II.

Cut or "bobbed" hair for women was a symbol of emancipation in the 1920s and 1930s. It represented a departure from the arduous routine of caring for long hair and was a sign of equality with men.

Perhaps the greatest haircutting reference occurs in the Old Testament (Judges 13–16) in the story of Samson and Delilah. Samson's strength came from his hair, which was dedicated to God and had never been cut. The Philistine temptress Delilah finally discovered the source of Samson's power and, in the account of Judges 16:19, cut off his hair or had the Philistines shear him as he lay asleep. Lucas van Leyden shows the very moment of Delilah's snipping in his engraving *Delilah Cutting Samson's Hair* (sixteenth century). Here, the participants are fully dressed, whereas in some representations they are either partially dressed or nude. In this and many other representations is a strong suggestion of what a twentieth-century viewer might categorize as castration anxiety. The Philistines are waiting nearby to complete the shearing and to blind the helpless Samson.

Representations of Samson and Delilah often do not show the cutting climax, only Samson asleep in Delilah's lap, as in

Peter Paul Rubens's *Samson and Delilah* (1610–1613) in the National Gallery in London and in Eugène Delacroix's painting of the same subject in a private collection. The actual shearing of Samson is shown by Anthony Van Dyck, Tintoretto, Artemisia Gentileschi, and Andrea Mantegna, among others. A modern version of the scene is shown in Elihu Vedder's *Samson and Delilah* (circa 1886) in the National Academy of Design in New York. Here, the nude figure of Delilah, just risen from bed, with Samson sleeping beside her, passes a lock of hair to an accomplice at the door while she holds the open scissors. This rendition's message is so graphically portrayed that it certainly might arouse men's worst fears of castration and female power. In literature, the story is given its full drama in John Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, which emphasizes not only the guilefulness of women but also the consequences of disobedience to God.

In secular usage, the convenience of long hair is suggested in the folktale of Rapunzel. In the story, Rapunzel lets down her long hair to let her lover climb up to her room in a tower (probably a metaphor to tell us that the hair is not the only thing that is let down).

Conversely, long hair is associated with modesty and covering the body, as in Sandro Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* (circa 1482) in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence and the story of the ride of Lady Godiva in which she rode nude, covered only with her hair, retold in a poem by Alfred, Lord Tennyson in the nineteenth century. Hair has the opposite function in its association with earthiness. For example, classical and academic nudes have no pubic hair, whereas contemporary nudes are both more realistic and hairy. In the sculpture *Artist and Model*, John De Andrea included real pubic hair for verisimilitude.

In popular parlance, "long hair" applied to men implies artistic, musical, or intellectual pursuits; long hair on young men may also indicate a rebellion against parental standards of neatness and conformity. This latter usage was evident in the musical *Hair* of the 1970s. Facial hair on men, especially the beard, has had a strong resurgence in the twentieth century. After the magnificent cultivation of the beard in the nineteenth century, especially among academics and artists, male facial hair went into a decline in the first part of the twentieth century, possibly in reaction to the almost biblical adornment of most Victorian sages and fathers. In the late 1960s and especially in the 1970s, beards made a comeback, mainly among younger men and perhaps to repudiate the clean-shaven look of their fathers. The bearded look, combined with long hair, gave many American college students and young men a look reminiscent of depictions of Christ or of their own ancestors in the Civil War era.

In the nineteenth century, women's hair was a symbol of ultimate beauty and seductiveness. This was especially evident in the works of the young English Pre-Raphaelite artists, who were once described as "hair mad." This can be seen in the symbolic use of unbound hair to represent a woman of loose morals in William Holman Hunt's *The Awakening Conscience* (1854) and in Spencer Stanhope's *Thoughts of the Past* (1859), in which a young woman clutches her unbound hair, regretting her past. The Pre-Raphaelites were criticized for their depiction of red hair in particular, as the prevailing Victorian culture pronounced it ugly. But the Pre-Raphaelite artists reveled in it, as

can be seen in Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Ecce Ancilla Domini* (1850), in which the young Virgin is given red hair. John Everett Millais was castigated specifically for showing Mary with red hair in his *Christ in the House of His Parents* when it was exhibited in 1850. One of the reasons that red hair appeared so frequently in Pre-Raphaelite paintings of the 1850s is that their favorite model, Elizabeth Siddal (who later became an artist herself and the wife of Dante Gabriel Rossetti), was endowed with glorious, rippling auburn hair. It is she who appears in William Holman Hunt's *A Converted British Family Sheltering a Christian Priest* (1850), John Everett Millais's *Ophelia* (1852), and Dante Gabriel Rossetti's *Beata Beatrice* (1864–1867). Red hair became a prized feature in its own right, however, appearing in the paintings of second- and third-generation Pre-Raphaelite artists such as Henry Holiday's *Dante and Beatrice* (1883) and John William Waterhouse's *The Lady of Shalott* (1888). It even appeared as late as 1926 in Frank Cadogan Cowper's *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*.

The entrapment element of hair also appears in Pre-Raphaelite paintings, perhaps most notably in Dante Gabriel Rossetti's oil painting *Lady Lilith* (1868; repainted 1872–1873) in the Delaware Art Museum. Here, the first seductress is combing her flowing, abundant hair. On the back of a watercolor rendition of the painting (1867) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Rossetti reveals the source of his inspiration, a poem by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe:

Beware of her hair, for she excels
All women in the magic of her locks
And when she twines them around a young man's neck
She will not ever set him free again.

Another vivid example of this theme appears in Waterhouse's *La Belle Dame Sans Merci* (1893), which portrays John Keats's heroine literally winding her hair around the knight's neck and shoulders.

A final climax to the drama of Pre-Raphaelite hair fixation comes in William Holman Hunt's *Lady of Shalott* (1886–1905). The painting is dominated by the mass of the lady's wind-tossed hair as the web of her weaving breaks and the mirror shatters because she has dared to look at real life.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the artist who represented the seductive and dangerous qualities of hair most consistently was the Norwegian painter Edvard Munch. His oil *Madonna* (1894–1895) shows a nude woman with swirling dark hair moving toward the viewer to fulfill what Munch considered woman's main destiny: creating another life. In his lithograph *Lovers in the Waves* (1896), the woman's hair fills the space, overwhelming the lover; in *Separation* (1896), another Munch lithograph, although the woman is turned away from the man, her hair clings to his shoulder. Munch's ultimate fear of women is shown in his woodcut *Man's Head in Woman's Hair* (1896), in which the disembodied head hangs in the long hair of a woman, possibly a reference to Oscar Wilde's play *Salomé* (1893), in which the artist becomes the beheaded John the Baptist. In another use of the theme, Munch, in a painting and a print called *The Vampire* (both 1893), shows a man clinging to a seated woman, his head in her lap, as her long reddish hair encircles and entwines him.

A notable and poignant twentieth-century example of hair-cutting can be found in Frida Kahlo's *Self-Portrait with Cropped Hair* (1940), in which the artist appears in a man's suit with closely cropped hair. Around her on the floor are her shorn locks, and above her (translated from Spanish) is the inscription "You see, if I loved you, it was for your hair—now that you've cut it off, I don't love you anymore." Here, Kahlo comments on the double bind of the woman artist: To be recognized, she must appear male, but to do this she forfeits her feminine identity and the love of men, as symbolized by her hair.

Hair as a memorial of a deceased person was used as an object of veneration in reliquaries of the saints. In the nineteenth century, hair of the deceased was woven into mourning brooches and rings. Hair has also been associated with a more primitive stage in the evolutionary process when humans were covered with hair. This is commented on by art historian H. W. Janson in *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (1952) and in Eugene O'Neill's play *The Hairy Ape* (1922).

See also Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale; Penitence/Repentance

Selected Works of Art

Hair as Snakes

- Amasis Painter, *Perseus with Medusa*, wine krater, 560–515 B.C., London, British Museum
- Death of Clytemnestra*, Paestan red-figure amphora, circa 340 B.C., Los Angeles, California, J. Paul Getty Museum
- Orestes, Electra and the Furies*, red-figure amphora, circa 320 B.C., Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts
- Medusa-Rondanini*, Roman copy of Greek mask, Munich, Germany, Glyptothek
- Cellini, Benvenuto, *Perseus with the Head of Medusa*, bronze, 1545–1554, Florence, Italy, Loggia dei Lanzi
- Caravaggio, *The Head of Medusa*, oil, circa 1597, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
- Hosmer, Harriet, *Medusa*, marble bust, 1853–1854, private collection

Samson and Delilah

- Lucas van Leyden, *Delilah Cutting Samson's Hair*, engraving, sixteenth century, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts
- Rubens, Peter Paul, *Samson and Delilah*, oil, 1610–1613, London, National Gallery
- Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Blinding of Samson*, oil, 1636, Frankfurt, Germany, Städel Institut
- Vedder, Elihu, *Samson and Delilah*, circa 1886, New York, National Academy of Design

Absalom

- Pesellino, Francesco, *Death of Absalom*, oil, mid-fifteenth century, Le Mans, France, Museum of Art
- Michelangelo, *Fresco Medallions*, 1512–1518, Vatican, Sistine Chapel

Washing and Drying Christ's Feet

- Magdalen Master, *Saint Magdalen Washing Christ's Feet*, thirteenth century, Florence, Italy, Academia
- Romanino, *Washing the Feet*, fresco, early sixteenth century, Brescia, Italy, Pinacoteca
- Bassano, Francesco, *Christ in the House of the Pharisees*, sixteenth century, Greenville, North Carolina, Bob Jones University Collection
- Santi di Tito, *Supper of the Pharisees*, circa 1574, Florence, Italy, Church of SS. Annunziata
- Tintoretto, *Mary Magdalen Anointing the Feet of Christ*, 1546–1547
- Veronese, Paolo, *Mary Magdalen Anointing the Feet of Christ*, sixteenth century, Turin, Italy, Pinacoteca
- Veronese, Paolo, *The Feast at the House of Simon*, 1573, Paris, Louvre

Hair as Penitence

- Donatello, *Mary Magdalen*, wood sculpture, 1450s, Florence, Italy, Baptistry Museum

Hair as Modesty

- Botticelli, Sandro, *The Birth of Venus*, oil, circa 1482, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Women's Hair in the Nineteenth Century

- Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Ecce Ancilla Domini*, 1850, London, Tate Gallery
- Millais, John Everett, *Christ in the House of His Parents*, 1850, London, Tate Gallery
- Hunt, William Holman, *A Converted British Family Sheltering a Christian Priest*, 1850, London, Tate Gallery
- Millais, John Everett, *Ophelia*, 1852, London, Tate Gallery
- Hunt, William Holman, *The Awakening Conscience*, 1854, London, Tate Gallery
- Millais, John Everett, *Only a Lock of Hair*, circa 1857–1858, Manchester, England, Manchester Art Gallery
- Stanhope, Spencer, *Thoughts of the Past*, 1859, London, Tate Gallery
- Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Beata Beatrix*, 1864–1867, London, Tate Gallery
- Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Lady Lilith*, watercolor, 1867, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Lady Lilith*, oil, 1868, repainted 1872–1873, Wilmington, Delaware Art Museum
- Holiday, Henry, *Dante and Beatrice*, 1883, Liverpool, England, Walker Art Gallery
- Hunt, William Holman, *The Lady of Shalott*, 1886–1905, Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Athenaeum
- Waterhouse, John William, *The Lady of Shalott*, 1888, London, Tate Gallery
- Waterhouse, John William, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, 1893, Darmstadt, Germany, Hessisches Landesmuseum
- Munch, Edvard, *The Vampire*, oil on canvas, 1893
- Munch, Edvard, *The Vampire*, lithograph, 1893
- Munch, Edvard, *Madonna*, oil, 1894–1895, Oslo, Norway, National Gallery
- Munch, Edvard, *Lovers in the Waves*, lithograph, 1896
- Munch, Edvard, *Separation*, lithograph, 1896

- Munch, Edvard, *Man's Head in Woman's Hair*, woodcut, 1896
 Munch, Edvard, *Man's Head in Woman's Hair*, lithograph, 1896
 Munch, Edvard, *Self-Portrait/Salome Paraphrase*, watercolor, circa 1898, Oslo, Norway, Munch Museum

Twentieth Century

- Picasso, Pablo, *The Coiffure*, oil, 1906, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Sloan, John, *Hairdresser's Window*, oil on canvas, 1907, Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Athenaeum
 Sloan, John, *Women Drying Their Hair*, oil on canvas, 1912, Andover, Massachusetts, Phillips Academy, Addison Gallery of American Art
 Cowper, Frank Cadogan, *La Belle Dame Sans Merci*, 1926, London, private collection
 Marsh, Reginald, *Tatto and Haircut*, tempera on canvas, 1932, Chicago, Illinois, Art Institute
 Robus, Hugo, *Girl Washing Her Hair*, marble, 1933, New York, Museum of Modern Art
 Matisse, Henri, *Woman Doing Her Hair*, linocut, 1938
 Kahlo, Frida, *Self-Portrait with Cropped Hair*, oil, 1940, New York, Museum of Modern Art

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HANGING

Janice McCulloch

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Hanging:

MEDIEVAL

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

RENAISSANCE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Albert Bloch, *Suicide*, 1911, ink drawing,
Lawrence, Kansas, Collection of Anna
Francis Bloch. (Courtesy of Anna Francis
Bloch)

Hanging, as it is discussed here, is limited to depictions of the human figure, generally hanged by the neck. Representations are drawn from narrative, allegorical, and criminal justice or injustice contexts. The imagery is associated most often with issues of punishment or propaganda and incorporates meanings related to law, war, suicide, and lynching. To look on the hanged figure is a brutal remembrance of death and generally evokes a response of horror. The viewer's confrontation with death is a sobering reminder of a final submission to an ultimate political or psychological power. The representation may record a brutal reality, but, surpassing that, the image carries a strong associative effect that is often designed to function as a warning or a retribution.

Greek mythology includes many stories involving a hanging. Jocasta, wife and mother of Oedipus, recognizes their relationship and rushes to her bedchamber to commit suicide. Oedipus discovers her "hanged in a noose, still swinging back and forth" (Sophocles). Ovid tells the story of Arachne, who challenged Minerva, the goddess of arts and crafts, to a weaving contest. When the young maiden's weaving skills proved equal to the skills of the goddess, Minerva was so angered that she destroyed Arachne's work and hit her. Arachne hanged herself in disgrace. Minerva repented, lifted the body from the noose, and changed Arachne into a spider, allowing her to keep her weaving skill. Apollo, the god of youth, music, prophecy, and healing, after a flute competition punished Marsyas, who also dared to challenge a deity. Marsyas was hanged (often shown upside down) and flayed. Although more commonly represented, his story as a flayed figure does not belong to the restricted definition of the hanging theme.

Throughout antiquity in Latin and Germanic Europe, capital punishment was performed outdoors so that all the gods could see. Hanging was connected with offerings to the gods, and in the Nordic tradition hanged men belonged to the one-eyed Odin, the god of the wind. Primitive cultures had sacrificial rituals in which the divine king killed himself for the benefit of his people. The ritual became symbolic, and criminals were substituted for the king (Wind, p. 243). Another form of substitution evolved in effigy hangings. Execution in effigy was recognized within the official legal framework as a doctrine of law in some areas of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In Christian iconography, the hanged figure also appears in the stories and martyrdom of numerous figures. Haman, the persecutor of the Jews, is represented from medieval miniatures to the seventeenth century as hanging from a tree or gallows. "So they hanged Haman on the gallows that he had prepared for Mordecai" (Esther 7:10). The most notorious crime, the betrayal of Christ, was followed by the remorse of Judas and his suicide by hanging. The death of Judas by hanging from a tree is depicted in Renaissance paintings, such as the fresco by

Giovanni Canavesio in Notre-Dame-des-Fontaines in La Brigue, France. In this fifteenth-century work, the artist combines the two versions of Judas's death: one from the Gospel of Matthew (27:3-5) and one from Acts (1:18). The figure is both hanged and shown with "all his bowels gushed out" (Wenick, pp. 36-37).

The hanged man is enigma number 12 of the tarot. The figure, hanging upside down by one foot, dates from the fourteenth century. He is tied to a crossbar that is supported by two leafless trees.

The interpretation is that the hanged Man does not live the ordinary life of this earth, but lives in a dream of mystical idealism. Thus it is said that the hanged Man hangs from his own doctrine, to which he is attached to such an extent that his entire being hangs upon it. . . . His arms are tied together, and hold half-opened bags out of which gold coins are tumbling, this being an allegory of the spiritual treasures to be found in the being who performs this self-sacrifice. (Cirlot, pp. 138-139)

The tarot brings a new, although related, meaning to the topic and a second pose that can be found in other works that are discussed here. The inversion is a symbol of purification: It inverts the natural order. The hanged man may imply this more mystical symbolism. This may occur in works as late as Paul Cézanne's, in which possible reference is made to the tarot (Rousseau, pp. 29-35).

An allegorical interpretation of the hanging figure can be seen in the figure of Despair in Giotto's Arena Chapel frescoes in Padua, Italy. On the west end of the north wall, a female figure is represented dangling from a noose. She is linked by placement and visual parallels to the hell scene of the Last Judgment on the west wall. In hell, presided over by Satan, numerous figures are hanged by purses and other attributes of sins. Despair is paired with a winged Hope, thereby establishing, through contrast and composition, an association of gravity and downward movement with the surrender to despair. In hanging, gravity literally kills (Davis, p. 150). Images such as Giotto's indicate a popular belief that a parallel existed between temporal and eternal justice. Painters of the period borrowed from local images of public execution for representations of the hell scenes of the Last Judgment.

The gallows and a hanged criminal appear in another context in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco *Good Government in the Country* (1337-1339) in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, Italy. The allegorical figure of Security holds a scaffold and a banner proclaiming,

Without fear, let each man freely walk . . .
And working let everyone sow,
While such a commune

This lady will keep under her rule
Because she has removed all power from the guilty.

The proclamation is a warning, and the gallows is a visual insurance to citizens and an example to foreigners, that no one would be allowed to disturb the fragile security of the walled community.

Occasionally, images of hanged figures are found in the background of paintings by other painters of the early Italian Renaissance, such as Paolo Uccello, Domenico Veneziano, Jacopo Bellini, and Antonio Pisanello. Pisanello prepared for *St. George and the Princess* (circa 1433) by drawing sketches of actual hanged men. The drawings are now in the British Museum in London and the Frick Collection in New York (Edgerton, p. 150). Although they seem to refer to punishment, the sketches are interpreted by Giovanni Paccagnini as reflecting an influence of tarot cards and the French court, which inspired a new taste for the exotic among upper-class patrons. The subject is not interpreted as having as serious a meaning as the hanging subjects found in the works of Giotto or Ambrogio Lorenzetti (Edgerton, p. 150).

There is evidence that by the late Middle Ages in Europe, the meaning of the image of the hanged figure had magical associations. The implication is that a hostile action perpetrated in an image is meant literally to harm the person represented. Many humans share the belief on some level. This power is called "image magic" by anthropologists. The medieval belief held that three-dimensional effigies might have greater magical power than two-dimensional pictures. Torture performed on the image of an individual was a method of defamation. Hostility in representation would harm people by dishonoring them.

The Renaissance looked on paintings of hanged individuals as a form of punishment. In his excellent account of *pittura infamante* in northern Italy, Samuel Edgerton Jr. examined the importance and power of a tradition that inspired many hanging images. In Florence and Siena, the three most common forms of execution were beheading (reserved for those of high office), hanging, and burning. After the fourteenth century, "hanging remained a punishment designed for criminals of lower status or for crimes of particular repugnance" (Edgerton, p. 135). *Pittura infamante* were designed to function primarily as public humiliation and do not take their power from the image magic of some effigy executions. The victims of *pittura infamanti* were not symbolically killed but were punished by public degradation because their likenesses were seen in the act of suffering. To paint a figure on the gallows was a supreme insult, and to paint the figure upside down was a double indignity. In Florence, *pittura infamanti* functioned as a method of punishment for criminals who fled the city in contempt of court.

In *Lives* (1550), Giorgio Vasari designated Andrea del Castagno as Andrea of the Hanged Men. In 1440, an important *pittura infamanti* series depicted eight Albizzi traitors to Florence "in infamy and perpetual ignominy" on the Palace of the Lord Podestà (now the Bargello). Although Vasari's attribution is inaccurate, the importance of commissions for this form of public degradation is firmly established. Records also document a later commission by Lorenzo de' Medici of the traitors responsible for the killing of Giuliano de' Medici in the cathedral of Santa Maria del Fiore. Lorenzo de' Medici cap-

tured and hanged the Pazzi conspirators from the Palazzo Vecchio. Then, in an unprecedented act of infamy, he dishonored the deceased through a second vengeance: Their images were also "hung," painted in 1478, on the facade of the Palace of the Captain of the People and adjacent the palace. Vasari described the paintings as "portraits of more than natural size, and hung by the feet in strange attitudes and all different and most beautiful." Reexamination of documents suggests that these images were actually painted by Sandro Botticelli (Edgerton, pp. 101–105).

A year after these original *pittura infamati*, the archenemy of Lorenzo was captured and hanged on December 29, 1479. Called by Lorenzo the "new Judas," his execution was recorded by Leonardo da Vinci in a pen drawing. The actual murderer of Giuliano de' Medici, Bernardo di Bandino Baroncelli, is represented with the descriptive note about Baroncelli's clothing on his portrait by Leonardo: "Small tawny cap/black satin doublet/black lined gown/lined dark blue jacket/with fox ruff and the jacket collar lined with black and red velvet/bernardo di bandino/baroncigli/black shoes."

Andrea del Sarto completed seven drawings as studies for a later commission. Drawings from 1529 to 1530, now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence and the Duke of Devonshire Collection in Chatsworth, England, may represent the end of the tradition of "defaming portraits." Edgerton suggests that the tradition may have lost its effect in part because of the aesthetic beauty of such images. The figures in varied poses, all upside down and hanging by one foot, are carefully modeled and almost graceful. The beauty of the figures obscures the purpose of insult.

The savagery of war was recorded in such brutal scenes as Urs Graf's *Battlefield* (1521). In the foreground, ravaged bodies of dead soldiers contrast with the explosive activity of warring combat in the distance. The bodies of two lifeless peasants dangle limply from trees before a peaceful lake on the right while a strong, well-armed soldier stands drinking from a flask on the left.

In the seventeenth century in France, Jacques Callot etched two print series on the subject of the miseries of war. An earlier series, in a smaller format, consists of six prints. *The Great Miseries of War* (1633) includes 18 prints and expands the subject of pillaging, plundering, and tortures. In *The Great Miseries*, "The Hanging" focuses directly on this subject, although hangings can be found in the backgrounds of other late works by the artist. Thematic sources for the scenes have been traced to Flemish prints, which in the seventeenth century were published as broadsheets with a similar format of image and text but generally with a more obvious propaganda function designed to inflame passions during the Thirty Years' War. Callot's series shows a more objective record of *Vita del Soldato* (Life of the Soldier), a title by which it was also known. It includes a distant view of a tree in the setting of an army camp with 21 hanging corpses and another man who stands on the ladder, accompanied by a priest, next in line to meet his end. The image is accompanied by the verse attributed to Michel de Marolles, Abbé de Villeloin:

Finally these ignoble and abandoned thieves, hanging from this tree like ominous fruit, show that crime (horrible and black spawn) is itself the instrument of shame

and vengeance, and that it is the fate of vice-ridden men to experience the justice of Heaven sooner or later.

Separated by nearly two centuries, the visions seen by Callot and Goya must have been frighteningly similar. Francisco Goya, as a master of propaganda, often depicted forms of punishment. Goya's unforgettable images *Los Desastres de la Guerra* (*The Ravages of War*) document the Napoleonic invasions of Spain and include three etchings of hanged figures. One print shows three barren tree stumps in progression from deep space to the foreground; a limp body dangles from each. In the right foreground, a soldier looks on the hanged man with detached disregard. The power of Goya's image derives in part from the fact that a viewer is included. We are also viewers, and we are doubly repulsed, first by the sight of the corpses and then by the soldier's dispassionate observation of them.

Another dual identification occurs in the context of a *capriccio* by Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo. In his last years, Tiepolo represented, in a series of 104 drawings, *Scenes from the Life of Pulcinella*, a fool figure from the Italian comedy. This theatrical character is represented in many guises (including that of a painter), and the series includes *The Hanging*. Pulcinella becomes an everyman, a clown who in this scene is both the executed and the executioner. The word *capriccio* is traced to *capricciare*, which means to shudder, and when we view *The Hanging*, it strikes a combination of fear and ironic humor that makes "our hair stand on end" (Fehl, p. 781). However, in theatrical scripts it was said that it was impossible to hang Pulcinella. In numerous incidents, he contrived at the last moment to hang the hangman with the noose intended for him.

Separate from images of criminal justice are representations of suicide. Attitudes toward suicide are culturally established, and interpretations range from cowardly to heroic and from criminal to justified. In today's world of accessible firearms and drugs, suicide by hanging seems a cruel or especially desperate form of self-destruction. In Dante's *Inferno*, the Seventh Circle was for those who were "violent against themselves":

Here shall we drag them and in this mournful glade
our bodies will dangle to the end of time,
each on the thorns of its tormented shade. (*Inferno*)

The romantic imagination was fascinated with suicide. In Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *The Sorrows of Werther*, young, lovesick Werther became the model for the alienated youth who seeks refuge in death. Werther shot himself but inspired a generation. Like the rejected lover, the romantic artist's position was that of outcast and overly sensitive individual; this inspired Ludwig Ferdinand von Rayski's *Suicide in the Artist's Studio* (circa 1840).

In the twentieth century, suicide and a modern descendent of PUNCHINELLO, now called Pierrot, combine in the drawing *Suicide* (1911), by the American Albert Bloch, that was exhibited at the Second Blaue Reiter Exhibit. The clown's limp body hangs encircled by the curving lines of a bare tree. This scene of death is strangely animated, as if the grasses and "moons," the hill and the wind, felt the tragedy of this death. The lifeless Pierrot seems weightless; gravity has little power over the body as it sways gently through space. The image almost seems to recall that in Norse mythology it was essential that the body of the victim who died on the gallows swing in the wind. The

hanged belonged to Odin, who himself was "hanging in the tree." Visual artists from the time of Antoine Watteau had often identified with the sensitive and otherworldly clown Pierrot. By the early twentieth century, the suicide represented by Bloch suggests that the artist had finally succumbed to escape from a cruel, unfeeling world.

The most likely source for Bloch's conception of the hanged Pierrot is from the poetry of Albert Giraud published in 1884 under the title *Pierrot Lunaire*. Among German poet Otto Erich Hartleben's poems is Pierrot's "Song of the Gallows." Hartleben's poems also became the text for Arnold Schoenberg's *Pierrot Lunaire*, a musical "melodrama" first performed in Berlin in 1912.

In the drawing *The Hanged Man* (*Ecce Lex*, in *Behold the Law*, 1854), Victor Hugo visually expressed the horror he felt having witnessed public executions. In 1828, he had published *Le Dernier Jour d'un condamné*, a *genre noir* novel. Almost 40 years later, another visual record represented a childhood memory of the *Smuggler's Bridge* (*El Puente de los Contrabandistas*, 1854):

I saw it in the Pyrenees when I was a child. The Smuggler's Bridge was terrifying. The smugglers used it as a bridge and the authorities as a scaffold. The smugglers were hanged from the beams. It still didn't stop them using it as a bridge. It was also called, "They walk above, And dance below." I'm sending you this gloomy dance. Forgive me. It is hideous, but useful. We must rub the executioners' noses in their own work. So, let us show these past horrors. (Georgel, cat. 71)

German artist Max Beckmann expressed his horror at modern man's inhumanity to man in *The Night* (1918–1919) and other works in which the hanged figure is one character in the drama of a world gone mad. Perhaps the most remarkable is his painting *Galleria Umberto*, a scene representing the death of Benito Mussolini. On April 29, 1945, Mussolini was hanged upside down by his feet from a roof on Piazzale Loreto in Milan, Italy. The event suggests the enduring power of the hanging tradition in Italian culture. Max Beckmann painted the scene, but, astonishingly, he painted it in 1925, 20 years before the actual event. Erhard Güpel recorded Beckmann's "clairvoyant" vision:

When, in 1925, he promenaded through the Galleria Umberto in Naples, he saw the flood of fascism rising, he saw carabinieri saving drowning people and a body hung upside down by ropes. He saw this in broad daylight. When Mussolini's fall was reported, he fetched the painting from the closet and showed it in his studio. He considered it a vision even before he knew that he had also foreseen the manner of the dictator's end—hanging head down. (Lackner, p. 94)

In Beckmann's painting, a figure and a crystal ball hang from the ceiling.

In England, hanging was a common form of execution. In his book *Shadow of the Gallows* (1954), Justin Atholl opens the text on the history of judicial hangings in the British Commonwealth with a record of the wanderings of travelers of the late sixteenth century who catch sight of a gallows and record the comfort they feel at discovering such a "proof that

Christian people had been there before.” The figure hanged from the gibbet was evidence of the presence of law and order. When France preferred the guillotine during its Revolution, England retained hanging as the primary means of execution, as it was considered more humane. By the eighteenth century, hangings were a familiar aspect of English life, and the deterrent effect they were meant to have was based on their visibility. Popular prints recorded famous hangings, such as that of Earl Ferrers, “the last peer to be hanged as a felon on the gallows at Tyburn, May 5th 1760, England’s most splendid hanging.” Such a recording of the event expanded the meaning of what was, until the mid-nineteenth century, the main purpose of the execution, that is, a warning to everyone who witnessed it. Recent controversy over the televising of executions would suggest that attitudes have changed, but a traditional English hanging was a public spectacle that was considered edifying and educational—worthy of a school holiday for the moral lesson it brought to children who viewed the bad end that came to those who broke the law.

The first gallows were trees, and “The Fatal Tree” remained a cliché for the gallows long after sawn beams, usually painted black, were used to construct them. Sailors called the slipknot that was used for the rope the “knot that stops the wind” (Atholl, p. 98). By the mid-nineteenth century, Charles Dickens recorded his revulsion not only at the execution but also at the audience:

I believe that a sight so inconceivably awful as the wickedness and levity of the immense crowd collected at the execution this morning could be imagined by no man. . . . The horrors of the gibbet, and of the crime which brought the wretched murderers to it, faded in my mind before the atrocious bearing, looks and language of the assembled spectators. (*The Times*, 1851)

In 1868, English laws on capital punishment were changed. Hangings no longer were a matter of public presence but were performed in an execution “shed” or “chamber” at the prison.

The tradition of hanging in the United States must be seen against this background. In the United States, hanging remains a lawful although uncommon and controversial form of execution, no doubt because it is no longer seen as painless but as an especially cruel death and because it became especially associated with lynching. When the law was perceived as too slow to execute justice, mobs would take their own action and perform unauthorized, on-the-spot retribution for alleged crimes. Such punishment without legal trial, although not limited to hanging, was the most common form of “mob justice.” Lynchings, often an expression of racial prejudice, became the most horrific chapter in the history of injustices suffered by African Americans in the United States. Between 1882 and 1900, the annual number of recorded lynchings in the South never fell below 100 and reached a peak of 235 in 1892 (White). Lynch law was justified in the United States by rationalizations based on respect for the rule of the people (especially in a frontier setting) and on a belief in racial superiority. The purpose and the sensationalism surrounding lynch law were seen as deterrents to crime and warnings that African Americans remember their place.

Numerous works represent lynching as a uniquely American phenomenon. In *Things American* (1925), German artist Gerdt Arntz represented in pictorial symbols a lynched figure, a cho-

rus line, and a mass-produced row of automobiles. The image can be seen as various levels of victimization in a mechanized society (Tower). Isamu Noguchi created *Death (Lynched Figure)*, which he associated with his awareness of being an American. After Noguchi saw a photograph, he began the work, exhibited at the Marie Harriman Gallery in February 1935, to “protest man’s inhumanity to man.”

Also in February 1935, a protest exhibition, *An Art Commentary on Lynching*, was held in New York. Scheduled to open at the Jacques Seligmann Galleries, it was canceled because of protests. The show, sponsored by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was quickly transferred to the space offered by the Arthur U. Newton Galleries on East 57th Street. About 50 works of varied media by some 30 artists were exhibited. From February 15 to March 2, more than 2,000 saw this educational effort against lynching. Pearl S. Buck spoke at the preview. The exhibit included George Bellows’s *The Law Is Too Slow*, John Stuart Curry’s *The Fugitive*, and Reginald Marsh’s *This Is Her First Lynching*, which shows a mother holding her child up over the crowd to watch. Sherwood Anderson and Erskind Caldwell wrote forewords to the catalog. The *World-Telegram* reported that this was “an exhibition which tears the heart and chills the blood.” Thomas Hart Benton’s painting *A Lynching* was to have been in the show, but it was damaged and, although reproduced, was not in the exhibition (Zangrando, p. 254).

Thirty-five years later, Larry Rivers created a work for an exhibition called *Some American History*. The work *Caucasian Woman Sprawled on a Bed and Figures of Hanged Men* was to reflect on the condition of African Americans. “The idea was a blockbuster,” he stated. “It grew out of a picture I had seen showing a lynching and a lot of white guys standing around smiling. . . .” Often, African Americans were lynched for allegedly attacking white women, so when the writer James Haskins said of the figures, “I thought there would be a white chick on the reverse side,” Rivers added the reclining figure. Each hanged figure is based on a photograph, and the sketches bear inscriptions indicating the state in which the lynching occurred (Schiff, p. 111).

Leonard Baskin created a work in which the hanged man becomes everyman, or a comment on society at large. Poet Ted Hughes called *The Hanged Man* (1954) Baskin’s “first fully mature piece” and “the herald of everything he had done since.” The image of the hanged figure reveals an inner structure suggesting that he has been flayed. “The biggest wood engraving ever made up to that point in the history of Western art, is the portrait of a total wound—head to foot one wound” (Fern and O’Sullivan, p. 21). Beautiful and frightening, *The Hanged Man* becomes a microcosm of world pain.

A final contemporary work takes on added meaning in the context of this iconographic outline. Bruce Nauman’s *Hanged Man* (1985) is a neon work and thereby declares itself a public image. According to the artist, it is derived from the game of hangman, the childhood guessing game in which blanks for each letter of a word must be filled in before each wrong guess adds a body part to the figure. If you lose, you “hang” the man.

The “lines” flash on and off in a programmed sequence. Once the figure is complete, the whole picture starts over again . . . then I added the bit about having an erection

or ejaculation when you're hanged. I really don't know if it's a myth or not. (Nauman, in Simon, p. 147)

Emotionally distanced by the stick figure and associations of play, *Hanged Man* still projects the frightening moment of the ultimate light and dark, the on and off of life. The moment of death confronts us again.

The consistent element in this overview of artists' representations of hanged figures is the horror one experiences looking at the subject. Even when recorded with extraordinary objectivity, the hanged man is a scene of frightening power. (And it is almost always a man who is represented. Rembrandt van Rijn's *Woman Hanging to a Gibbet* [before 1669] is a rare exception and perhaps is especially noted because it was far less common for a woman to be displayed on the gibbet; see Naish.) Perhaps more than any other subject, the image of the hanged man has functioned as an advertisement against itself. To identify with the figure suspended between heaven and Earth is to dangle at the precipice of the unknown. In stepping back and viewing the scene, we recognize, as Arthur Koestler did, that "the gallows is not merely a machine of death, but the oldest and most obscene symbol of that tendency in mankind which drives it towards moral self-destruction." Perhaps Andy Warhol's *Electric Chair* or photographs of the mushroom-shaped cloud have somewhat usurped the image of the hanged man in the contemporary imagination. Yet, the image of the hanging figure has a kinesthetic and symbolic authority that unites the opposites of the perpetual force of gravity and the infinite release from it. It represents the conviction of one's beliefs and condemnation for them.

See also Beheading / Decapitation; Death; Upside Down

Selected Works of Art

Medieval

Hanging Judas, capital, circa 1130, Autun, France, St. Lazare
Hanging Judas, west tympanum relief from *Last Judgment*, twelfth century, Conques, France, St. Foy

Renaissance

Giotto, *Despair; Last Judgment*, frescoes, circa 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
 Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, *Good Government in the Country*, 1337–1339, Siena, Italy, Palazzo Pubblico
 Pisanello, Antonio, *Hanged Men and Two Portraits*, pen over metalpoint, circa 1433, London, British Museum
 Pisanello, Antonio, *St. George and the Princess*, fresco, circa 1433, Verona, Italy, Museo Civico
 Leonardo da Vinci, *Barnardo di Bandino Baroncelli*, pen on white paper, 1479, Bayonne, France, Léon Bonnat Museum
 Canavesio, Giovanni, *Death of Judas*, fresco cycle, late fifteenth century, La Brigue, France, Notre-Dame-des-Fontaines
 Huber, Wolf, *Calvary*, drawing, 1511, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett
 Graf, Urs, *Battlefield*, pen drawing, 1521, Basel, Switzerland, Kupferstichkabinett de Affentlichen Kunstsammlung

Andrea del Sarto, *Nude Youth Hanging Upside Down*, drawings, 1530, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *The Magpie on the Gallows*, oil on panel, 1567, Darmstadt, Germany, Landesmuseum
 Caracci, Annibale, *A Hanging*, circa 1599, Berkshire, England, Royal Library, Windsor Castle

Seventeenth Century

Callot, Jacques, *Hangman's Tree*, etching from *Great Miseries of War Prints*, 1633
 Rosa, Salvator, *Scene of Witches*, oil on canvas, circa 1646, Althorp House, collection of Earl of Spencer
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Woman Hanging to a Gibbet*, pen, wash, and bistre, before 1669, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, H. O. Havemeyer Collection

Eighteenth Century

Blake, William, *A Negro Hung Alive by the Ribs to a Gallows*, line engraving from *Narrative of a Five Years Exhibition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam*, by Gabriel Stedman, 1792
 Tiepolo, Giovanni Domenico, *The Hanging*, pen, brown ink, brown wash over black chalk drawing for *Scenes from the Life of Pulcinella*, Palo Alto, California, Stanford University Art Museum

Nineteenth Century

Goya, Francisco, *Fuerte cosa es!; Por qué?; Tampoco*, etchings for *Los Desastres de la Guerra (The Ravages of War)*, circa 1809–1813, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection
 Géricault, Théodore, *Public Hanging in London*, drawing, 1820–1821, Rouen, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Heath, William, *Merry England*, colored etching, London, British Museum
 Rayski, Ludwig Ferdinand von, *Suicide in the Artist's Studio*, circa 1840, Dresden, Germany, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
 Hugo, Victor, *The Hanged Man*, drawing, 1854, Paris, Maison de Victor Hugo
 Hugo, Victor, *El Puente de los Contrabandistas (Smuggler's Bridge)*, drawing, 1854, Paris, Maison de Victor Hugo
 Rops, Félicien, *The Hanged Man*, etching, circa 1865
 Cézanne, Paul, *Guillaumin au Pendu*, etching, summer 1873, Auvers, France
 Ensor, James, *Skeletons Fighting for the Body of a Hanged Man*, oil on canvas, late nineteenth century, Antwerp, Belgium, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

Twentieth Century

Bloch, Albert, *Suicide*, drawing, 1911, Lawrence, Kansas, collection of Anna Francis Bloch
 Beckmann, Max, *The Night*, oil on canvas, 1918–1919, Düsseldorf, Germany, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen
 Arntz, Gerdt, *Things American*, hand-colored woodcut, 1925, Arnhem, The Netherlands, Collection Kees Broos
 Beckmann, Max, *Galleria Umberto*, oil on canvas, 1925, Campione, Switzerland, Ketterer Collection

- Kollwitz, Käthe, *The Last Resort*, woodcut, 1925, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Heartfield, John, lithographed endpapers for *Im Lande der Rekordzahlen*, New York, Museum of Modern Art
- Beckmann, Max, *Meeting in the Night*, pastel on black paper, 1928
- Guston, Philip, study for *Conspirators*, graphite, ink, colored pencil, and crayon on paper, 1930, New York, Whitney Museum of American Art
- Smith, André, *Even A Long Rope Has Two Ends*, watercolor, before 1936, private collection
- Burra, Edward, *Le Bal des Pendus*, watercolor and pencil, New York, Museum of Modern Art
- Ripper, Rudolph von, *500,000!*, etching from *Ecrasez l'Infime*, 1938, collection of Gert Schiff
- Carrington, Leonora, *Tiburón*, india ink and gouache, circa 1942, private collection
- Manzù, Giacomo, *Variations on the Theme: Christ in Our Humanity*, bronze panels, 1947–1957
- Noguchi, Isamu, *Death (Lynched Figure)*, metal, wood, metal and rope armature, before 1935, collection of artist
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- Wunderlich, Paul, *July 20, 1944*, oil, 1954, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Busch-Reisinger Museum
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- Hirsch, Joseph, *Hanging Man*, pastel and ink drawing, 1968, New York, Forum Gallery
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HARVESTING

Brucia Witthoft

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Harvesting:

ANCIENT

MEDIEVAL

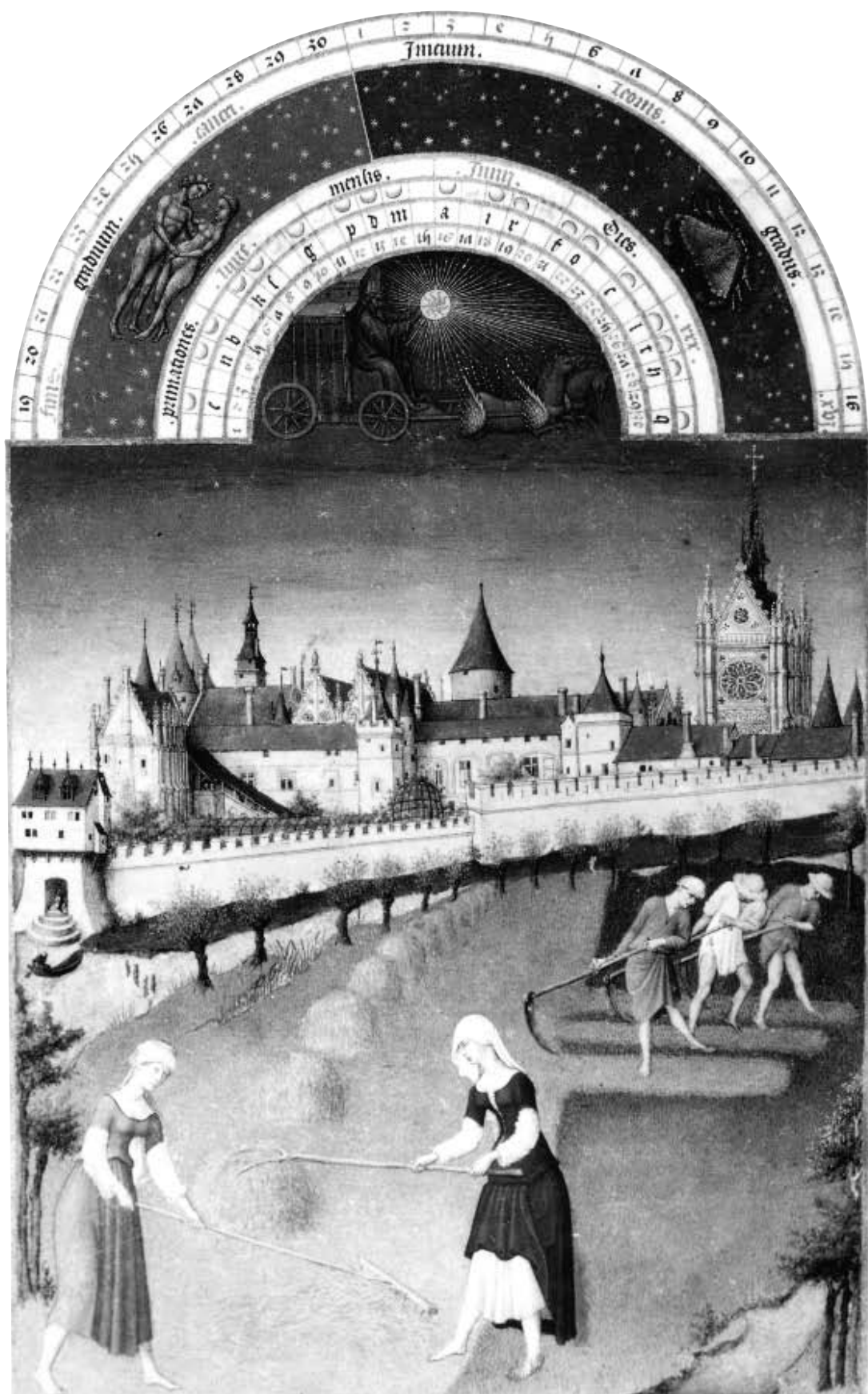
RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH AND

EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Limbourg Brothers, *June: Fenaïson* (Hay Harvest), Palais, S. Chapelle de Paris, from *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, before 1415, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé. (Courtesy of Giraudon/Art Resource, New York)

Since the Neolithic revolution, the survival of human societies has depended on the annual harvest. The year became a cycle in which planting, cultivating, harvesting, and storing the fruits of the harvest defined the passage of time. Early agricultural societies must have experienced an obsessive concern with the success of the year's crop. Thus, the harvest accumulated a wealth of symbolic as well as real significance in such societies. It was a metaphor for the history of the past and future (Matthew 13:3–8), the success or failure of that past and future, and a measure of God's pleasure or anger (I Samuel 6:13). It was accompanied by festivals (Exodus 23:15–16) and feasts of thanksgiving. In more recent epochs, the harvest was depicted as an example of the romantic cult of nature and illustrated the nineteenth-century radicals' concept of the dignity of labor. In America, it symbolized the Jacksonian agrarian ideal.

Harvesters gathering grain appear in Egyptian tomb paintings, where their function is a straightforward example of magical imagery: The painted figures gathering the painted grain can feed the soul of the departed. Largely absent from classical art, except in the personification of the Greek Demeter or the Roman Ceres, the goddesses of corn and the fertility of the Earth, the harvest reappears in medieval art at an early date. The most frequent image of the harvest is the Labors of the Months, a series of relief sculptures or calendar illuminations that support the vision of God's creation as a fixed system that rotates endlessly in accordance with Genesis 8:22: "While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night shall not cease." The wheat harvester is typically shown cutting and bundling grain with the aid of a sickle, as in a relief quatrefoil representing *July* from the west facade at Amiens Cathedral in France (circa 1220). Hay is cut with the scythe in the adjacent depiction of *June*. All the activities of the agricultural year appear as *bas-de-pages* in the early fourteenth-century *Luttrell Psalter*; for the harvest, two women bend over to sickle the grain while a man follows them to tie it into bundles. On the next page, the sheaves are stacked, and on the third page the haywain is pulled around the corner and up the margin by three laboring horses.

Abundant biblical references gave medieval illuminators frequent opportunity to depict the harvest. The stories of Joseph and Ruth require illustrations that depict grainfields. Proverbs draws on the harvest for moral reflections, and New Testament parables paint vivid pictures for a rural medieval society. Even the story of Cain and Abel depends on the fruits of the harvest. A capital from Moutier-St. Jean depicts Cain's bundled wheat—interspersed with tares—on the altar. Harvesting as an allegorical image could be adapted to seemingly unrelated topics. A twelfth-century *Speculum Virginum* in the Rheinisches Landesmuseum in Bonn, Germany (one of three detached folios), depicts three stages in the harvest: cutting and gather-

ing the wheat, carrying it to the barn (at the left is a figure reseeded the field), and tying the bundles (at the left is a man turning the earth). These scenes serve as allegories of the three honorable states of womanhood: virginity, marriage, and widowhood.

In fourteenth-century Italian and French works, the harvest scene retains its allegorical force but appears in increasingly naturalistic renditions. It partakes of the "discovery of man and nature" so aptly used to define the great social changes that characterized the transition from medieval to early modern Europe. Ambrogio Lorenzetti's frescoes *Effects of Good Government in the Countryside* (circa 1338) are the first extensive landscapes in postclassical art. They depict a well-ordered state that included fields of grain, stubble fields, and threshers at work. In the same room, the harvest season is also personified. A decorative roundel frames a handsome youth crowned with wheat sheaves. For the next two centuries, two modes of depiction competed: the classically inspired personification and the naturalistic landscape. Both modes appear together in the late fourteenth century in an illuminated north Italian *Tacuinum*, a representation of *Estas* (summer). The Wheat Boy stands at the left side of a field, crowned and garbed with grain, while two peasants harvest the crop at his right.

Fourteenth-century *Horae* gradually expanded the cycle of the months from small pictures at the bottom of the calendar to full-page illustrations. Perhaps the best known, and certainly among the most beautiful, of all harvest scenes are the months of *June* and *July* in the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, illuminated before 1415 by the Limbourg brothers. The Limbourgs drew on a number of sources, northern and Italian, especially the illuminations of Jean Pucelle and his followers, Sienese painting, and manuscripts such as the *Tacuinum* mentioned above. The illustration for *June* portrays the hay harvest. On the grounds of Berry's Hôtel de Nesle outside Paris, three men use scythes with long, straight handles to cut ripe hay. Two women in the foreground rake up the cut grass. The scythe, more labor efficient than the sickle (which requires grasping and bundling stalks in the free hand before cutting), is also more wasteful. It was employed earlier in the hayfields than in the cutting of wheat, where every grain was precious. In the same manuscript, the illustration for *July* depicts wheat harvesters using sickles.

Hours of Rohan (circa 1425) repeated the familiar distinction between *June's* hay harvest and *July's* wheat. The expressive artist who adapted Limbourg and others for his imagery shows a straight-handled scythe with no handgrip that is held at an angle dangerously likely to amputate the harvester's foot. The wheat harvest for *July* is juxtaposed with a crucifixion, emphasizing its eucharistic overtones. Other than calendar illuminations, however, harvesting seems to have held no interest

for either Italian or Flemish fifteenth-century painters despite the expanding interest in landscape settings.

Although at first glance Hieronymus Bosch's *Haywain* (circa 1500–1505) in the Prado in Madrid, Spain, appears to revive the harvest as subject, Bosch utilizes the familiar image of the harvest to present a complex allegorical scheme not closely related to the medieval cycles. The *Haywain* triptych represents the history of the world. Eden is depicted on the left wing, the Last Judgment on the right, and, by inference, all of human history in between. The haywain is surrounded by a diverse population, human and monstrous. Like Bosch's *Garden of Earthly Delights*, the imagery has been shown to draw on alchemical terminology. Its scriptural basis reflects passages such as Matthew 13:37–39: "He that soweth the good seed is the Son of man; the field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but tares are the children of the wicked one; the enemy that sowed them is the devil; the harvest is the end of the world; and the reapers are the angels."

Pieter Bruegel the Elder's harvest scenes, often discussed as late examples of the Labors of the Months or Seasons cycles, combine that tradition with illustration of biblical proverbs. *Hay Harvest* (circa 1565), in the National Gallery in Prague, Czech Republic, and *Wheat Harvest* (1565), in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, certainly correspond to the Labors for June and July. Their mimetic value—as mirrors of a real and familiar world—is as immediate today as it was 400 years ago. As depictions of agricultural practice, they are of great interest for the history of technology. Bruegel's contemporaries would have understood them in terms of both their didactic and their allegorical content. For Bruegel, the peasant, closest to the earth, represented the essence of humanity.

In *Hay Harvest*, the actual harvesting takes place in the middle ground. A busy road stretches across the foreground, where foot traffic moves to and fro. A huddled figure in the corner sharpens a scythe. The sinister implication this act conveys in allegories of death may well be intended. In *Wheat Harvest*, Bruegel accurately paints the process of cutting, gathering, and binding the grain (from left to right). He shows those who work, those who pause to eat, and the apparently exhausted laborer asleep on the ground. The image is both a depiction of a Labor and an allegory based on Proverbs 10:5: "He that gathereth in the summer is a wise son; but he that sleepeth in harvest is a son that causeth shame." It is noteworthy that wheat is cut with a scythe, the curved snath (handle) and hand-grips testifying to a more modern instrument. Apparently, the ability to cover larger areas in less time compensated for the loss of some grain.

Motifs from Bruegel's harvest scenes reappear with quite different import in later centuries. Baroque artists tended to draw on the drama of nature rather than the domesticated landscape, but in the Netherlands and Germany, Seasons series continued to be popular. One variant is isolated motifs, such as Peter Paul Rubens's appropriation of Bruegel's peasant women from *Hay Harvest* for use in a mythological landscape (*Odysseus on the Island of the Feaci*, before 1630–1635, in the Pitti Palace in Florence, Italy). Seventeenth-century Dutch painters developed their own variants on the Labors of the Months. They painted icy landscapes for January (rather than feasting or warming at the fireplace), thus localizing the sub-

ject matter and loosening ties to medieval precedent. Jan van de Velde designed a series of prints on the theme, doubtless profiting from the acquisitive collecting instinct of his bourgeois audience. His *July* (1616) is an extensive landscape with a group of harvesters relaxing in the foreground (Freedberg, pl. 29). Several series of drawings from the 1650s and 1660s by Allart van Everdingen (in the University of Kansas Museum of Art and other museums) illustrate the months and are sometimes labeled as such by the artist. Many of them are difficult to identify with specific months because van Everdingen chose a generalized genre scene to illustrate a canonical subject. Thus, the *Kansas August* (so labeled by the artist) is a boating scene, and *July* is represented by a huntsman in a marsh. On the other hand, *July* in the Brussels set (Grez Collection, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts) is a harvest scene. In the foreground, a load of loose grain is loaded on a small boat for transport. Stacks fill the field, and a hay wagon is in the distance. This is the hay harvest (the seasons being delayed a month in the northern climate). *August* in the same set shows wheat harvesters at work. Cornelis Dusart's *July* turns the harvest into a sexual comedy. A woman leans against the haystack and registers mock alarm as a young man threatens to bury her in an armload of hay.

Harvesting acquired new meanings in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in response to the Industrial Revolution. The cult of nature, expressed in poetry by writers such as William Wordsworth and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, celebrated a dying way of life. The sunlit field, the evocation of color and odor, and the self-sufficient yeoman all acquired a nostalgic glamour in contrast to the noise and dirt of the urban factory. English and Dutch painters turned to the harvest as a celebration of that idealized life, especially in the newly popular transparent medium of watercolor, with its immediacy and sense of transience. John Constable's *Cornfield* (circa 1826) in the National Gallery in London allows the viewer to peer through a gap in a wooded brookside to the fields beyond. Watercolors by Peter De Wint and John Robertson Reid in the Paul Mellon Collection and the Victoria and Albert Museum in London are among many examples showing harvesters at work or at rest.

Harvesters also become exemplars of the dignity of work and the value of labor. Jean-François Millet and Vincent van Gogh portray them as monumental figures. Millet's *Buckwheat Harvest* (1868–1874), in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, emphasizes the dignity and universality of the women who gather the grain and the men who thresh it. For nineteenth-century progressive thinkers, the peasants who retain ties to the natural world and fill the basic human need for food replace saints as objects of veneration. In pose and gesture, Millet's figures may echo the ancestors of Christ, prophets, and sibyls portrayed in Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel frescoes. Millet's approach reappeared, with rather less sincerity, in twentieth-century Socialist Realism.

The American variant depicts the harvest as the fruits of the agrarian democracy prevailing in the Jacksonian era and throughout most of the nineteenth century. William Sidney Mount's *Farmer's Nooning* (1836) is an echo of Bruegel's resting figures from *Wheat Harvest*. The black laborer sleeping against the haystack is an American note: Mount dispassion-

ately chronicles racial elements in American life. The farmer's son tickles the black man's ear with a straw, a liberty he probably would not have taken with a white employee.

George Inness's *Peace and Plenty* (1865), in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, makes explicit the connection between the "civilized landscape" (Inness's words) controlled by human efforts and the social conditions offered as an ideal to a country newly reunited after the fighting of the Civil War. The harvest as a symbol of that fulfillment was immensely popular, appearing in Winslow Homer's wood engravings for *Harper's Weekly*, farm scenes printed by Currier and Ives, and many oil paintings. In none of these works is the incipient mechanization of farming even implied.

Modern farming is an industrial process. Cyrus McCormick's mechanical reaper, invented in the 1830s and mass-produced in his Chicago factory after 1847, broke the intimate bond between the harvester and the soil he worked. Today, irrigation systems cover mile-wide circles visible from airplanes, and massive combines collect the ripe grain. But the peasant-harvester appears daily in television commercials for cereals and dairy products that exploit the nostalgic ideology associated with this figure, who survives in the popular imagination as a symbol of a supposedly more natural harmony between people and nature.

See also Abundance; Death; Labor/Trades/Occupations; Months; Peasantry; Seasons

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Ancient

Sennedjem and His Wife Working in the Fields of Ialu, wall painting, XIX Dynasty, Deir El Medineh, Egypt, Tomb of Sennedjem

Demeter, marble sculpture from Cnidus, circa 340–330 B.C., London, British Museum

Medieval

Speculum Virginum, one of three detached folios, twelfth century, Bonn, Germany, Rheinisches Landesmuseum
Labors of the Months, circa 1220, Amiens, France, Cathedral
Luttrell Psalter, manuscript, early fourteenth century, London, British Museum (Add.Ms. 42130)

Specchio Umano, circa 1330, Florence, Italy, Biblioteca Laurenziana

Belleville Breviary, calendar, *July*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms.Lat. 10483–4)

Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, *Effects of Good Government in the Countryside*, circa 1338, Siena, Italy, Palazzo Pubblico

Renaissance

Limbouurg Brothers, *June, July* in *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, before 1415, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé

June, July, in *Hours of Rohan*, circa 1425, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms.Lat. 9471)

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Wood, Grant, *Haying*, 1939, private collection

Benton, Thomas Hart, *July Hay*, egg tempera and oil on masonite, 1943, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

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HERMAPHRODITE/ ANDROGYNE

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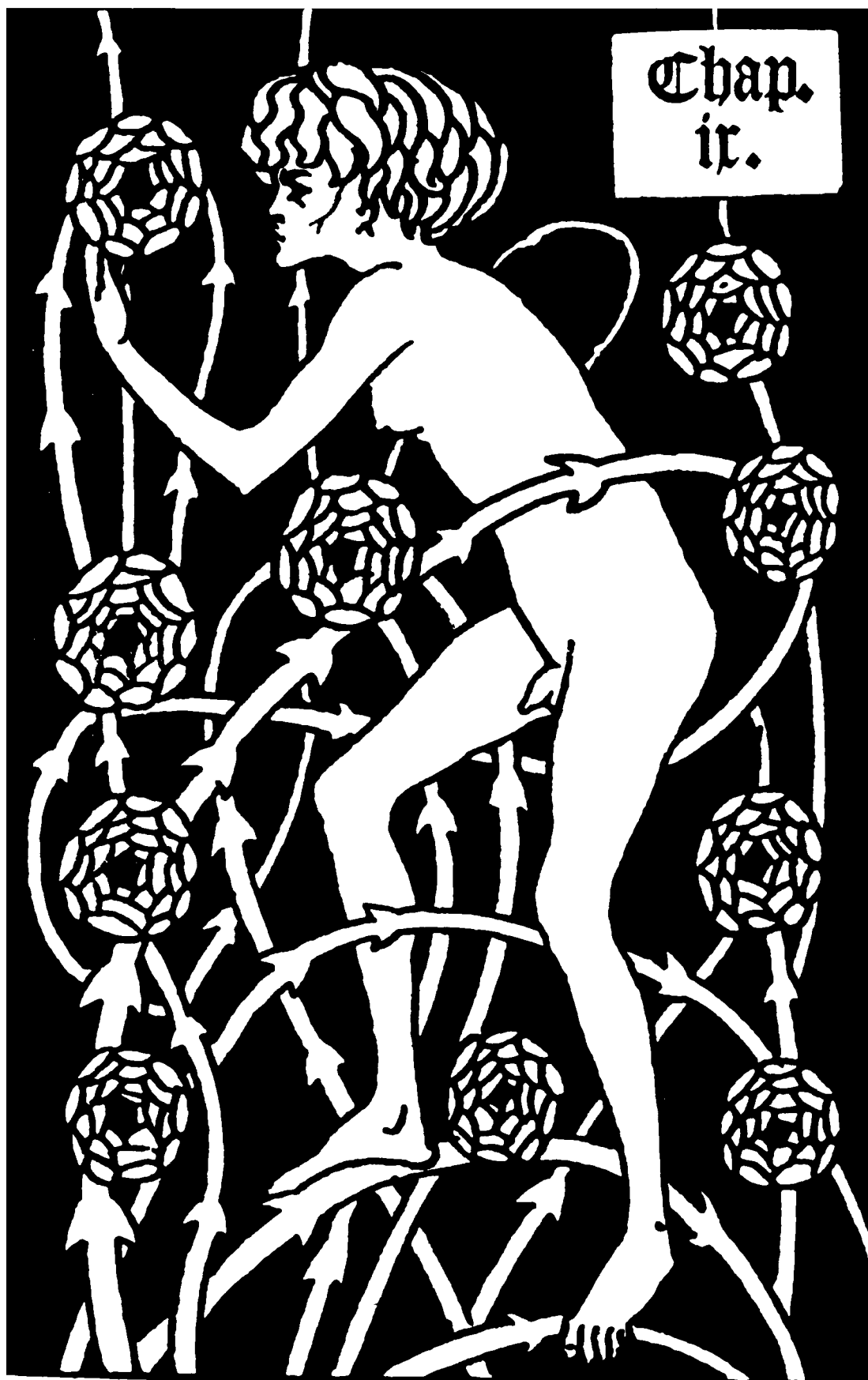
The following periods and styles are covered in the discussion of the theme Hermaphrodite/Androgyne:

CLASSICAL AND
NON-WESTERN

ALCHEMY, MAGIC, AND
RENAISSANCE

SYMBOLISM AND FIN-
DE-SIÈCLE

SURREALISM AND
TWENTIETH CENTURY



Aubrey Beardsley, *Hermaphrodite Among Roses*, chapter heading, book XX, chapter ix, p. 582, from Thomas Malory, *Morte D'Arthur*, London, 1909. (Courtesy of the Dartmouth College Library)

Many cultures, both Eastern and Western, have explained their place in nature by means of a cosmology based on the opposition between male and female elements. This often antagonistic relationship between the passive female reproductive component and the dynamic male generative element has dominated many cultures' conceptions of nature, human relationships, and social institutions. Yet this antagonism between "fundamental" oppositions has been challenged periodically. In fact, the same cosmologies that advance the opposition between male and female often refer to a primal past in which all elements of the cosmos were united in harmony before a cataclysmic rupture split the primary matter into disparate pieces, causing universal unhappiness and strife. The artistic reconciliation of the two opposites frequently takes the form of the hermaphrodite or androgyne.

The natural hermaphrodite is a person born with both male and female reproductive organs or characteristics. In classical Greek and Roman mythology, the bisexual hermaphrodite was the offspring of Hermes, herald and messenger of the gods, and Aphrodite, goddess of erotic love (thus the name Hermaphrodite). The androgyne, the combination of the Greek roots *aner* (man) and *gyne* (woman), is a purely imaginative representation of this meshing of sexual difference.

Hermaphroditic iconography pervades any account of the origin of human life. Child psychoanalyst Melanie Klein has noted many examples of children who picture a "phallic mother" who combines masculine and feminine traits. When philosophical and religious systems try to account for the differences between men and women, they often invoke a myth of original unity preceding sexual difference. Aristophanes recounted such a tale in Plato's *Symposium* (ll. 189e–193a), and the Roman writer Ovid described the birth of Hermaphrodite in *Metamorphosis* 4 (ll. 285–388) as the union of the originally male child and the nymph Salmacis. The *Berlin Hermaphrodite* in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, a Roman copy of an earlier Greek statue of 400 B.C., is the most well known and typical of the classical artistic depictions. The statue shows a slightly fleshy figure with male genitals and female breasts. The hair is elaborately styled, and the draped veil at the Hermaphrodite's side has been interpreted as a symbol of either femininity or fertility. Early Hellenistic marble plaques in the Delos Museum in Greece depict the standing *Hermaphrodite*, as do many Roman statues, such as one of the first century A.D. in the Palazzo Valentini in Rome. Also abundant are the *Hermaphroditus anasyromenos*, which are seen formally lifting the veil to reveal the erect male genitals.

Jewish and Christian traditions also allude to an original unity of man and woman: Adam was essentially two individuals in one body before Eve was created from one of Adam's ribs (Genesis 2:21–24). Unlike classical myths, the Christian themes suggest that sexuality is ultimately based on Eve's disobedience.

Sexuality is a result of the fundamental separation between individuals. The conflict between female sensuality and male spirituality underlies many images and pictorial representations of the androgyne: In an eleventh-century manuscript, the single body of Adam splits in two, as Eve, growing from his ribs, eats the apple. The devil watches their unhappiness.

In artistic representations, the androgyne usually represents not a perversion of nature but a more perfect and harmonious existence preceding sexual difference. African and Indian mythologies abound with images of hermaphroditism, invoking a universal order in which the split between the sexes is seen as an inevitable natural phenomenon but secondary to a primal union between the sexes. In Indian myth and religion, the original inseparability of the masculine and feminine elements is represented, for example, by the Ardhararishvara statues (the gods Shiva and Shakti). A typical statue of the third century A.D. shows the hermaphrodite's sexual union vertically, not horizontally, as is the Western custom: the right side of the figure is male, with erect phallus, and the right side is female, with breast and broad hips. African mythology refers to a "dream" time of a bygone past when the two sexes were harmoniously united. Numerous carved wooden statuettes show a bisexual figure with male genitals and female breasts. Many have baskets on their heads, further showing their feminine gender. The placement of the hands on the breasts is typical.

Whereas many cultures dreamt of a lost unity between male and female, the medieval practitioners of alchemy, the "science" of transformation, tried to instantiate it by combining disparate elements. The methods behind the alchemical transformation were multiple (numerology, mathematics, and so on), but their objective was the same: the union of opposites—male and female, square and circle, sun and moon, red and white, spirit and material. In alchemical iconography, the hermaphrodite symbolizes the fusion of opposites. Treatises containing etchings of androgyny in late Reformation books, such as *Rosarium Philosophorum* (1550) and *Symbola aureae mensae dudodecium nationum* by Michael Maier (1617), proliferated in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. In *Symbola*, a double-headed naked figure is represented with male and female genitals. The male/right side holds a large letter "Y" in his hand, which symbolizes both unity and separation in one simple element. The woman makes an ε (epsilon) with her hand, a secret sign of the adept that signifies the same unity. The figure itself imitates the separation/union literally as the two heads join to form one lower body. "Analogy of the Alchemic Microcosm to the Macrocosm" (1620) shows the entire universe as dually structured, with a masculine sun side and a feminine moon side and a hermaphrodite standing at the center of the two realms.

The earlier Renaissance painters also used symbols of androgyny to portray a perfected human personality whose

external traits stemmed from inner characteristics. The standards for many idealizations of inner beauty, such as virtue and grace, were “feminine” and were transposed onto male figures. Feminized androgynes are prominent in the religious paintings of Jesus Christ (e.g., the hermaphroditic Christ-child in the wooden statue *Maria mit dem Kind in einer Nische sitzend* in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria, or Bernardino Luini’s feminine *Christ Disputing* in the National Gallery in London). The representational emphasis shifted at this time from a depiction of purely sexual difference to a more psychological one. Perugino’s *Saint Magdalene* in the Galleria Palatina of the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, Italy, and Raphael’s *Saint Sebastian* in the Accademia Carrara in Bergamo, Italy, portray psychological features usually associated with the opposite gender. Both are three-quarter side portraits with the eyes looking down and left. Mary Magdalene seems “masculine” in her self-possession and austerity, but the expression of Raphael’s Sebastian is much milder with softer facial features and long, sinuous fingers. The best examples of Leonardo da Vinci’s androgynous portraits are *Mona Lisa* (1503) in the Louvre in Paris (long the subject of much playful androgynous caricature, such as surrealist Marcel Duchamp’s 1919 depiction of a mustached and shaved Mona Lisa, by “L.H.O.O.Q.” 1939/1965) and *Saint John the Baptist*. The latter possesses a somewhat fleshy, youthful body, similar to the classical depictions of hermaphrodites. The Renaissance androgyne epitomizes a fully developed character, or a “perfected” personality, linking the creative human to the divine, as in Albrecht Dürer’s *Self-Portrait* (circa 1500) in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, Germany.

The obsession with human perfectibility becomes especially evident in the much later paintings and writings of the so-called decadents and the schools and movements surrounding them. From the middle to the late nineteenth century, the artists of the avant-garde—the British Pre-Raphaelites, the French symbolists, and the German *Fin-de-siècle*—were preoccupied with depicting a new individual for the approaching twentieth century. For the decadent, sexuality was a means to transform one’s life into a spiritual reality; in the androgyne, sexuality was “transcended.” The Pre-Raphaelites, including Dante Gabriel Rossetti and his later followers (Simeon Solomon and Edward Coley Burne-Jones), painted beautiful, ambiguously asexual creatures who epitomized love as a spiritual exercise based on Platonic ideals. Jean Delville’s infamous *Plato’s Academy* (1898) in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothek Royale in Brussels, Belgium, shows a bearded Plato seated under a thorn-like tree at the center of a group of young pupils. The devotees surrounding the teacher are fully androgynous. The left group is made up of rounded figures who are clearly feminine, although male genitals are also visible; other figures embrace or are attentive to the speaking Plato. The facial features and long hair obscure real sexual identification. Male and female figures look alike, as if beauty were static.

Artists used the androgynous figure to symbolize a spiritual intellectuality removed from the sordidness and decay of the modern world. The androgyne promised a perfection that would overcome the polarity between the sexes and point to a utopian future devoid of emotion, sexuality, and women. At this time, the femme fatale was also a popular artistic motif; in spite of the promises of androgyny, the woman still was seen as

the embodiment of a morbid sexuality that could corrupt the male desire for spiritual purification. Gustave Moreau and Gustav Klimt’s figures are exemplary in this regard. Other painters began to defeminize the androgyne, who takes on a boyish look. The figure becomes “sanitized” of anything but adolescent masculinity. The function of the androgynous representation again shifts from a fusion of sexual opposites to the repudiation of one: the feminine. Indeed, in the early modern period, the underlying hostility toward women and sexuality, which is one basis of the androgynous ideal, becomes evident: Women are “androgynized” into purely masculine figures. At the same time, the androgyne becomes increasingly sterile and self-reflexive. It could be any sex; self-propagating, it is beautiful but sterile. Androgyny becomes synonymous with identity, and solipsism, a self isolated from the world, becomes the new ideal of perfection.

The self-conscious use of the androgyne was perhaps carried furthest by the surrealists in the twentieth century. André Breton, Paul Eluard, and Max Ernst used the androgyne to symbolize the perfect relationship between the “fleshy” and spiritual qualities of love and art. Breton consciously reevoked Plato’s *Symposium* to explain the desire between the sexes and the dynamic force that produces art. Art, like a child, was the creative product of male and female elements, as represented in Thomas Cooper Gotch’s painting *The Child Enthroned* (circa 1894). The feminine element, vital and associated with nature and dreams, was the goal toward which the male principle strove. André Masson painted many pictures with androgynous themes, including *Androgynous Hourglass* and a portrait of Breton (1941) depicting him with an androgynous Janus head, one side awake and conscious and the other side sleeping and dreaming. Man Ray’s photographs of Marcel Duchamp as the fictional *Rose Sélavy* (1921), Paul Delvaux’s dreamscapes populated with hermaphrodites, and Jean Delville’s paintings, such as *The Red City* (1943–1944), combine androgyny, femininity, and artistic productivity. Yet Hans Bellmer’s *Doll* photomontages illustrate that the feminine aspect of androgyny was also the subject of misogynistic brutality in many surrealist depictions.

More recently, the androgyne has been visible in performance art and in literature parodying social customs, gender roles, and the limits of social acceptability. Public figures, such as performers David Bowie and Grace Jones, openly flaunt the roles of gender they are trying to subvert. Performance artists such as “Salome,” Frank Dornseif, or Sergio Sermidi in *Hermaphrodite* (1983–1984) believe that the hermaphroditic/androgynous image best represents not only modern art but also modern life because it alludes to many things.

The ideal of androgyny represents an impulse to clarify the differences between the sexes and to render artistically both the discord and the reconciliation between the spiritual and material worlds of experience. The androgyne points to a knowledge of human alienation, especially between the sexes, and its depiction illustrates the need to overcome this radical separation. The hermaphrodite, with its physical union of sexual characteristics, provides the basis for the androgyne, an ideal that dreams of overcoming the rupture between the sexes and that imagines a world of harmony without loss or suffering.

See also Comic; Evil Eye; Margins/Outsiders; Virgin/Virginity

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HONOR/HONORING

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The following topics are covered in the discussion of the theme Honor/Honoring:

ALLEGORICAL
PERSONIFICATIONS

RELIGIOUS
REPRESENTATIONS

SECULAR PORTRAITS AND
COMMEMORATIVE IMAGES
INCLUDING TOMBS

CLASSICAL AND
MYTHOLOGICAL
REPRESENTATIONS IN
TRIUMPH IMAGERY



Andrea Sacchi, *Marcantonio Pasqualini Crowned by Apollo*, circa 1640, oil on canvas, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Enid A. Hapt Gift, Gwynne Andrews Fund, and Purchase, 1871, by exchange, 1981. (Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Honor or honoring means to regard or treat with respect, to pay homage, to live up to expectations, to fulfill the terms established, to accept and pay with gifts what is due, or to salute with a bow or deferential gesture.

Personifications of Honor allude to fame, death, time, and eternity, and many attributes are appended to them, such as trumpets, crowns of flowers, laurel, gold, palms, fronds, wings, hourglasses, skulls, skeletons, chariots, thrones, putti, festoons, trophies, banners, and festive processions. Art depicting honor or honoring consists of two kinds: religious and secular. In religious art, this theme is subdivided in two categories related to the Bible in Old Testament stories and New Testament stories (legends of saints' lives). Secular, like religious honoring, may refer to an individual (usually a humanist or ruler) or group (often in a military parade or feast celebration). The individual or group may be honored in statues, tombs, or commemorative paintings. The imagery of the triumph honoring the individual's achievement is represented in both classical and modern form and in both religious and secular scenes.

Personifications of Honor

The most significant attributes symbolizing honor and honoring are the crown, palm, scepter, books, globe, shield, victory figure, cornucopia, and riches. In emblem books, such as Andrea Alciati's *Emblematum libellus cum commentariis* (1531) and Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1603), the personification of Honor is depicted as a woman who wears and holds laurel crowns and represents the virtuous and honest person. The laurel is an evergreen plant, and a crown made of laurel is a symbol of nobility, immortality, and fame. The palm is a symbol of victory, as seen in Alciati's *Emblemata* 182, *Eternal Honor from Difficult Deeds*. The epigram explains the *pictura* (image): A work that is to endure in honor in the world for many years requires much time and labor. As the seer Calchas told the Greeks, they would besiege Troy for 10 years before they would be successful. As a test he used a dragon, which devoured a sparrow and its nine young.

Elaborating on the personification, or *figurazione*, of Honor, Ripa describes it as a woman robed in purple and wearing a crown. She stands holding a statue of victory in one hand and pointing to a tall obelisk behind her decorated with palm fronds and laurels and topped with a winged trumpet. At her feet a cornucopia spills out wreaths of palm, laurel, and oak leaves. On her right, a globe of the world lies near an open book with writing on its pages. Honor is the esteem and praise enjoyed by the successful person, be it for achievements in war, government, works of the mind, or great wealth. Because honor is the noblest reward one can receive from one's fellows,

its personification is dressed in purple, a color reserved for royalty and the highest in the land. The crown also symbolizes greatness and lofty estate. Honor holds a statue of victory in her hand, for honor is the child of victory, deriving from it in every field of endeavor. The obelisk is the tangible evidence of honor, a monument celebrating achievement. The palm and the laurel are the plants used to make the wreaths that once were the rewards of victors. The wreaths in the cornucopia represent the plentiful rewards, tangible and visible, that honor brings. The winged trumpet atop the obelisk is the symbol of fame. The globe indicates that the greatest honor is universal and is known all over the world. The book is the record of victories and achievement that was written for posterity.

The concept of honor is associated also with the classical virtue (Latin *virtus*, for manliness), parallel with excellence (Greek *arete*), an ethical signification implying strength, courage, and excellence. An honorable individual is a virtuous person who lives in accord with certain moral standards and who acts with power, efficacy, and success.

According to Giorgio Vasari in his *Lo Zibaldone* (notebooks), the personification of Honor should be portrayed as a young man wearing ancient armor and holding a crown of laurel and palms. The figure of Honor in the Chamber of Fortune of the Casa Vasari in Arezzo, Italy, a fresco painted in 1548, has suffered great physical changes, and it is difficult to ascertain the figure's attributes. Honor appears to be a female crowned with laurel and holding a crown of laurel and palms. Laurel is a symbol of eternity, victory, and triumph, as well as peace and truce, because it is an evergreen. During the Roman period, victors were given a laurel crown because it was a symbol of virtue and was sacred to the vestal virgins of Rome. In antiquity, the laurel was sacred to Apollo, Dionysus, Juno, Diana, and Silvanus. Laurel also represented the nymph Daphne, who was changed into a laurel. The palm branches shared with the laurel the allusion to victory, glory, and triumph; however, during the early Christian period, the palm began to symbolize the resurrection from death, and saints and martyrs were identified with this attribute.

A basket of flowers is located next to the Vasarian figure of Honor. Perhaps this basket suggests another attribute of Honor—the cornucopia, a symbol of richness. Honor probably had a very important meaning for Vasari. The image of Honor relates to recognition in reward for a person's actions. The praise for these virtues and noble endeavors distinguishes a person (Vasari as an artist) from his peers (other contemporary artists). These awards and honors bestow on a person fame and immortality as celebrated in his house.

Marie-Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, in *Allegory of Honor* (1787) in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin, depicts a young winged

cupid in a pastoral landscape dropping his bows in order to hold a crown of laurel that he has chosen. Cupid's actions allude to the preference for eternal fame and honor instead of the immediate and ephemeral pursuit of love. The specific features of this cupid may suggest a portrait of Prinz Heinrich Ludomirski, personified as Honor.

Religious Imagery of Honoring

In religious art depicting stories from the Old Testament, representations of honor focus on David. For example, Nicolas Poussin's *The Triumph of David* (1628–1629) in the Prado Museum in Madrid, Spain, depicts David proudly contemplating his trophy—the severed head of Goliath. The subject is an Old Testament theme from I Samuel 18:6–7: David, crowned by Victory, displays the head of Goliath. In Poussin's painting, the Victory presents him with a wreath of glory and a golden royal crown. Putti or cupids play with David's lyre; as one plays the instrument, the other is moved by its music and cries with joy. This joyous group is contrasted with the opposite side of the painting, which displays the pile of Goliath's arms and weapons around his severed head. With this compositional arrangement and iconographic implications, Poussin also makes David a symbol of peace and harmony. Although two crowns, one of gold and the other of laurel, are presented to David, he is crowned only with a wreath of laurel. The crown of gold withheld by Honor and reached for by one of the putti alludes to the fact that the golden crown will not be granted to David because of his indiscretions with Bathsheba (II Samuel 11:2–17). However, David's moral conduct did not discourage the medieval church from drawing a typological parallel between him as a prefigured Jesus Christ and Bathsheba as the church (Hall, p. 93).

Poussin completed another version of this painting in 1630, also entitled *The Triumph of David*. Unfinished and damaged, it is now in the Dulwich College Picture Gallery in London (Wright, pp. 166, 168). Again, Poussin illustrates a theme from the Old Testament (I Samuel 18:6–7): The head of Goliath is carried in triumph into Jerusalem by David. In the painting, David, on foot, triumphantly parades his trophy, the head of Goliath, through the main avenue of an old Jerusalem. The parade consists of trumpeters resounding hymns of glory, "Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands," followed by a cortege of horsemen and festive people singing and dancing. A cheering crowd has gathered along the street and inside porticos and colonnaded courtyards to greet and honor David's heroic deed. This biblical episode was seen as a prefiguration of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem.

The New Testament depiction of individual honoring can be best seen in the paintings of Christ's Entry into Jerusalem (Matthew 21:1–21; Mark 11:1–10; Luke 19:29–38; John 12:12–15). In the Passion cycle, this story is part of the first scene. It is found in early Christian art of the fourth century on sarcophagi from the Roman catacombs and in illuminated manuscripts; stained-glass windows; enameled altars such as Nicholas of Verdun's altar *Entry into Jerusalem* (1181) in Klosterneuburg, Austria; wall paintings such as the *Entry into Jerusalem* (circa 1100) by the Cassinese School in S. Angelo in

Formis; the twelfth-century *Entry into Jerusalem* in the church of Vicq-sur-Saint-Chartier in France; and stone reliefs of Gothic cathedrals, such as the twelfth-century *Entry to Jerusalem*, a stone relief in the tympanum of the church at Pompiere, France. The subject became less popular in Renaissance art, but examples include Duccio di Buoninsegna's *Entry into Jerusalem* (1308–1311) and the back panel from his *Maestà Altarpiece*, now in the Cathedral Museum in Siena, Italy (Schiller, pp. 18–19).

The four Evangelists recount how Christ visited Jerusalem for the last time. Riding sidesaddle on a donkey, in the Eastern tradition rather than astride in the Roman manner, the enthroned Christ entered his beloved city in tears. In contrast, the citizens of Jerusalem greeted him with cheers and joy, spreading their garments and carrying "palm or olive branches in their hand" (apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus) and chanting, "Hosanna to the son of David: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord; Hosanna in the highest" (Matthew 21:9). The spreading of garments in the entryway is a gesture to honor the anointed king. The olive branches refer to the scene taking place on the Mount of Olives when Christ descended the mount and was praised as king by the multitude. The symbolism of the palm alludes to ancient symbols of victory as well as peace. Furthermore, this commemoration of entry continued in Christian times as a procession of palms during the festival on the Sunday before Easter, called Palm Sunday (Hall, p. 114).

The Junius Bassus sarcophagus of A.D. 359 in the Vatican represents in registry format several stories about the Bible; one of them in the center of the lower registry illustrates in a reduced manner the story of Christ's entry into Jerusalem (Malbon). The beardless Hellenistic-type Christ rides in Roman fashion (astride) on the donkey. He raises his right hand in a princely manner and holds the reins with his left while receiving two children who hold olive branches. The sarcophagus of Adelpia (A.D. 340) in Syracuse, Sicily, expands the narrative scene carved in the Junius Bassus sarcophagus by representing children spreading their garments to honor the blessing Christ, depicted here in the form of a Roman-type emperor. Some illuminated manuscripts illustrate the scene of Christ's entry into Jerusalem with more elaboration and depict a bearded Byzantine-type Christ. These include the sixth-century *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis* in Rossano, Italy, illuminated in Constantinople or Antioch; the *Echternach Golden Gospel* (circa 1020–1030) in Nuremberg, Germany; and the *Winchester Cotton Psalter* (circa 1050) in London. Other attributes selected in the depictions include the use of the palm as a greeting symbol in lieu of the olive branch. Numerous figures populate the scene as onlookers and as celebrants and rejoice at seeing Christ riding triumphantly while blessing his subjects.

The visual representation of the entry into Jerusalem derives from Roman ceremonial entries for emperors (*adventus*) (Schiller, p. 19). The Christianization of the pagan event reinforces the imperial power of Christ on Earth as well as in heaven. Christ's entry into the city represents his triumph over death won for the faithful, a redemption from sin and death, a gift of love to humanity.

In Christian iconography, Christ's victory over death became the measure by which martyrs and saints viewed them-

selves not only as mentors for humankind but also as followers of Christ. For humans, victory over death is related to the concept of immortality of the soul (the belief in an afterlife) and salvation with God's gift of a residence in a celestial world (paradise). One of the most significant rewards and symbols for martyrdom was the palm. In ancient times, the palm was associated with the goddess of victory, who granted a branch, frond, or palm to the conqueror; thus, the palm is an attribute of victory as well as fame. Religious triumph expanded to the representations of the four Evangelists (The Apocalyptic Beasts), the Seven Sacraments (The Triumph of the Eucharist), and saints' martyrdoms.

As a result of the Counter-Reformation, the Baroque period in the Catholic countries—Belgium, France, Italy, and Spain—was unique in the proliferation of martyrdom representations. The Roman Catholic Church encouraged artists to paint monumental scenes of religious sacrifices to immortalize holy figures and honor their martyrdom, thus creating for the viewer a spectacle of empathy and an image of fervor and emulation. Artists responded enthusiastically. Orazio Riminaldi's *The Martyrdom of St. Cecilia*, now in the Pitti Palace in Florence, Italy, was painted in the 1620s for the monks at Santa Maria della Rotonda in Rome. It was transferred to Pisa and installed in the Church of Santa Catherina, from which it was taken in 1697 by Ferdinand de' Medici for his collection at the Pitti Palace. St. Cecilia is a Christian saint and virgin martyr who lived in the second or third century. According to the accounts of her life, she is known as the patron saint of musicians because on her wedding day she heard the sound of musical instruments (*cantatibus organis*) and requested God to keep her soul and body chaste. The painting illustrates the moment of St. Cecilia's beheading. She kneels in front of her attributes—an open musical book and a stringed instrument (perhaps a type of viola) with a bow (the latter two objects form a cross). A flying angel appears from the heavens to honor her with a crown of white and red roses and a palm. The reception of these divine gifts alludes to God's reward of eternal salvation for her martyrdom.

Ludovico Gigoli's *Martyrdom of St. Stephen*, signed and dated "Lod Gig. F. 1597," in the Pitti Palace, was commissioned for the church of the Franciscan monastery of Santa Maria di Montedomini in Florence. St. Stephen, a protomartyr, was stoned to death after arousing anger in the Jewish legislative council in Jerusalem by pointing out a vision in the sky during his sermon: "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God" (Acts 7:56). As a painter of the Counter-Reformation, Gigoli closely follows the written account of this martyrdom. In the painting, the torture takes place in a landscape with classical ruins; an atmospheric background shows an ancient cityscape. In the foreground, an angry crowd violently stones St. Stephen because he points out the vision of the Trinity in the sky. To facilitate their cruel actions, the executioners have disrobed, leaving their garments with a witness named Saul (later known as St. Paul), seen on the lower left of the painting. As one of the seven deacons ordained by St. Peter, the young, beardless St. Stephen wears the deacon's dalmatic. Bleeding profusely from a head wound, St. Stephen, before collapsing on the ground, sees two angels

with divine gifts (a palm and a golden, noble crown) and extends his hands in orant position to receive them. He knows his martyrdom has been honored by the Trinity.

In Anthony van Dyck's *Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine*, signed "A VAN DYCK 1630," in the Picture Gallery of Buckingham Palace in London (Wheelock, p. 224), divine authority, the Virgin, holds the honorific gift, a crown of flowers, for Catherine's martyrdom and marriage with her Son. Christ holds the saint's hand to place a ring, symbol of their celestial marriage as well as a gift of love, on her finger. Holding the attributes of her martyrdom (the spiked, broken wheel and frond), St. Catherine receives these heavenly gifts with humility. Van Dyck depicts an intimate scene, in contrast to some of his other painted versions on this theme in the Prado Museum in Madrid and the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The legend of St. Catherine of Alexandria states that she was a saint of beauty and noble birth who lived during the third century. Her punishment of being bound to a spiked wheel came about when she converted the emperor's wife to Christianity. Miraculously, the wheel was destroyed by a lightning bolt, saving her from this ordeal; however, she was then beheaded with a sword (Ferguson, p. 66).

Bartholomaeus Spranger's *St. Catherine* (circa 1595–1600) in the Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin (Bock) portrays the saint as a heroine—an icon of moral praise. The noble crown decorates her head, alluding to her honorable birth, whereas the palm and sword she holds in her right hand relate to her triumph over her martyrdom. It is not accidental that Spranger painted the sword in the shape of a cross. St. Catherine gazes at it and the palm with pride and satisfaction. She holds a book with her left hand, alluding to her Christian teaching. The spiked wheel, instrument of her martyrdom, is also on the left side of the painting, as is the book held by the saint. Spranger's intentional association alerts the viewer to the cause of her martyrdom, that is, teaching Christianity to the wife of the emperor. Other works based on this theme are Pietro Lorenzetti's *St. Catherina* (circa 1335) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and Paolo Veronese's *The Mystic Marriage of Saint Catherine with Musical Angels* (circa 1575) in the Accademia in Venice, Italy.

By contrast, Annibale Carracci's *Coronation of the Virgin* (1595) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York represents not an intimate scene but a celestial feast at which all the heavenly court has reunited to honor and praise the Mother of God and all Christendom. She is recognized for her numerous heroic deeds and as a chaste woman and *mater dolorosa* (mother of sorrow). The Virgin is glorified by the Trinity with a celestial crown, making her *Regina coeli* (Queen of Heaven). In the heavens, a choir of angels surrounds this most holy group, seated on clouds playing musical instruments, while on Earth people chant following the heavenly music. The theme of the Coronation of the Virgin developed in the thirteenth century in the sculptured portals of French cathedrals. In the fourteenth century it is most commonly seen in churches of monastic orders dedicated to the Virgin. Annibale Carracci's unusual depiction of this theme is focused on a heavenly celebration in a highly aesthetic coloristic manner in which the holy protagonists and musical angels are separated from the celestial

and natural realms and enveloped by silver clouds (Hibbard, p. 294).

Secular Commemorative Imagery

During Roman antiquity, artists and the public were especially fond of portrait busts. This formal type survived during the Middle Ages in religious art only, especially in relics. In the classical revival of the Renaissance, however, the portrait bust was identified with civic humanism, for example, Desiderio da Settignano's bust of Niccolò da Uzzano (circa 1460) in the Bargello in Florence. The portrait of this notable figure is inspired by the death mask; like the ancient Romans, the Italians of the Renaissance commissioned such masks to be hung in their dwellings as memorials honoring the deceased. Other examples of this type include Andrea del Verrocchio's bust *Lorenzo de Medici* (1475), Antonio Rossellino's *Matteo Palmieri* (1468), Michelangelo's *Brutus* (1537), and Gian Marco Cavalli's *Bust of Mantegna* (1480), honoring the Mantuan painter.

Honor was also paid to the *condottieri* (mercenary captains) who victoriously defended the honor of their patrons' states. To honor these personages, equestrian statues were built in their memory, as in the case of Donatello's *Equestrian Monument of Gattamelata* (1445–1453) in Padua, Italy, and Andrea del Verrocchio's *Equestrian Monument of Bartolommeo Colleoni* del (1481–1496) in Venice. *Condottieri* were honored in painting as well as in sculpture, as in Paolo Uccello's *Sir John Hawkwood* (1436) and Andrea del Castagno's *Niccolò da Tolentino* (1456), both in the Cathedral in Florence.

Commemorative art can also be seen in humanistic Florentine wall tombs, such as Bernardo Rossellino's *Tomb of Leonardo Bruni* (circa 1445) in Santa Croce in Florence or Desiderio da Settignano's *Tomb of Carlo Marsuppini* (after 1453), also in Santa Croce. Leonardo Bruni was a Florentine secretary of state as well as a historian. When he died, Carlo Marsuppini replaced him. The iconography of Bruni's tomb is a combination of Roman and Christian attributes. Eagles of his victories uphold his bier while angels, posed like winged victories, hold a tablet inscribed with the lament of the Muses over his death. The realistically carved figure of Bruni holds one of his own books, and a laurel crowns his brow. Above the bier, the Madonna and Child are flanked by praying angels while at the apex of the composition winged youths hold a medallion with the lion of the Florentine Republic. The Marsuppini tomb also includes putti and angels, but it is lighter in feeling. These Florentine humanistic tombs create the prototype of commemorative art honoring a deceased humanist hero. The structure of the wall tomb is typically framed with a triumphal arch, and allegories or personifications depict the virtues of the deceased.

Representations of honoring extended to medals and coins. Enthroned spiritual and temporal rulers or coats of arms had been depicted in ancient and medieval medals and coins. These graven images were emblems of the authority responsible for the victories, or failures, of their government. As an honorific vehicle, the medal was a most creative invention of the Renaissance. The university town of Padua was ruled by Francesco II Novello da Carrara, who, after winning back his

illegitimate authority, had two display coins of markedly different characters struck. These bore accurate likenesses in profile of the Paduan despot and his father. The portraits were modeled after old Roman coins, specifically the sesterces bearing profiles of the Roman emperors. Among the famous medalists of the Renaissance, Antonio Pisanello excelled, as seen in the artistry of the *Medal of Alfonso V of Aragon* (circa 1449) in the Bargello in Florence.

Other types of secular representations honoring famous individuals include Andrea Sacchi's painting *Marcantonio Pasqualini Crowned by Apollo* (circa 1640) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. This allegorical portrait with classical allusions refers to Pasqualini's triumph acknowledged by the beautiful Apollo, who crowns him with a laurel wreath. Pasqualini's triumph is in contrast to the fall of the bound and ugly satyr Marsyas, who is punished for his pride in thinking he is a better musician than Apollo. Marcantonio Pasqualini was a castrato singer in the choirs of San Luigi dei Francesi and the Sistine Chapel. He sang in many operas composed by Giulio Rospigliosi (Pope Clement IX) and performed in the Barberini theater. The painting praises Pasqualini's talents as an opera singer and musician, as he achieves supreme recognition in being crowned by the god of music, Apollo; whereas Marsyas represents the opposite: the failure of recognition. Furthermore, the portrait suggests that reward and praise come to those who foster their own talent and intellect and control their passions and vanity, unlike Marsyas in his musical contest with Apollo; therefore, virtue triumphs over vice (Harris, pp. 82–83).

Triumphal Imagery

Representations of honor or honoring are often associated with the triumph (the honoring ceremony following a victory) or the triumphator (the person being honored). Triumphal imagery in paintings and sculptures includes ceremonial processions or feasts, equestrian monuments, commemorative portraits, and funerary monuments. During Roman times, the senate honored its victorious generals, rulers, or emperors with a grand procession through the streets of Rome. Emperor Trajan, for example, was victorious in the Dacian wars. Each time he reported his success to the senate, he was honored with a procession for the victor (or triumphator), as seen in the reliefs of the Column of Trajan. The Roman triumphal procession consisted of members of the senate, followed by musicians, the spoils and trophies of war, white steers for sacrifice, prisoners, magistrates, and finally the victorious commander riding in a gilded chariot drawn by four white horses. The streets were decorated, and the procession passed beneath garlanded archways that had been specially erected for the occasion. It proceeded to the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, where the triumphator offered sacrifices to absolve himself from the *vota* (promise) he had entered into before the campaign.

Such a procession is also depicted on the Arch of Titus (A.D. 81). Emperor Titus, after the capture of Jerusalem, brings back the booty from the temple and is honored with a triumphal procession in which he, as the triumphator, rides in his quadriga. The triumphator was accompanied in the chariot by a slave

or a Nike (Victory) figure whose task was to hold steady the heavy golden crown or his crown of laurel while the emperor held a scepter and an olive branch.

The triumphal procession passing through the streets remained a popular public spectacle in the Middle Ages, when the pagan celebrations were replaced by the major feast days of the church. The Renaissance assimilated the old concept of procession, expanding it into elaborate spectacles and ceremonial entries for princes and military leaders and glorification for the pagan gods, heroes, and poets of antiquity. This concept of triumph culminated in the narrative stories of Petrarch's *Trionfi*, in which allegorical figures of Virtues (e.g., Chastity, Fame, Love, Time, and Eternity) or Liberal Arts ride in cars or chariots with their corresponding attributes. These processions were depicted on *cassoni* (bridal chests). Such a *cassone* was made for Caterina Strozzi by Marco del Buono Giamberti and Apollonio di Giovanni di Tommaso and is pictured in a scene in *Conquest of Trebizond* (circa 1460), now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Trebizond was a Greek port on the Black Sea and the last Christian stronghold in the East to fall to the Turks.

The triumph was used as a vehicle for allegory, personification, and religious and profane events, as in Andrea Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar*, which honored the successes of the Gonzaga family, thus showing how the glories of ancient Rome shed their luster on the rulers of Mantua. Mantegna, influenced by ancient Roman art and especially by the reliefs of the Arch of Titus that he saw when visiting Rome in 1488, worked on the commission by Francesco Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua, from 1478 to 1494. The elaborate procession consists of nine large canvasses that were originally intended as decorations for a theater or an open courtyard. Unfortunately, these canvases were badly damaged when they were moved from place to place. Purchased by Charles I of England, acting on the advice of Inigo Jones, they were transported from Mantua to Hampton Court near London. Their misfortune continued, however, as they were repainted twice, once in the seventeenth century by Louis Laguerre and again in the twentieth century, in part by Paul Nash under the direction of Roger Fry (Clark, p. 135). Presently, they are located in London, although some drawings can be seen in the Print Room of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Mantegna's ambition was to incorporate his archaeological and antique knowledge in these works. They represent Mantegna's understanding of Roman *gravitas* (grandeur) and the ideals of republican Rome and Renaissance humanism. In a friezelike composition fused with foreshortening and illusionistic perspective, Mantegna alludes to an classical military procession, reconstructing a heroic vision of antiquity. He has created a pageant of victory for a Renaissance ruler, with banners, trophies, spoils, military standards, exotic animals, carts with antique statues, and soldiers on foot or riding astride on horses, all alluding to imperial power. Mantegna's sources are Appian's account of the triumph of Scipio and Seutonius's *Triumph of Caesar*.

Even weddings were used to celebrate triumphs. Decorations for the Medici wedding of 1589 were executed by many artists, including Giambologna, Alessandro Allori, Ludovico Cigoli, and Andrea Boscoli, to honor the political tri-

umph of the Medici family through the marriage of the Grand Duke Ferdinando de' Medici and the French princess Christine of Lorraine (Saslow). The literature and fine arts of the Renaissance used classical myths of the triumph of the gods to parallel stories of contemporary personages. One such work is Raphael's *Triumph of Galatea* (1514) in the Villa Farnesina in Rome. The villa was commissioned by Agostino Chigi, a Siennese banker, to enshrine Imperia and, when she died, Andreosia, two of his celebrated courtesans. The ceiling in the Sala di Galatea reproduces the heavenly configurations of the night of December 1, 1466 (Agostino Chigi's birth date), and the ceiling panels represent his horoscope, thus surrounding him with the promises of greatness.

During the Renaissance, Mantegna's *Triumph of Caesar* cycle had immortalized ancient Rome. In the Baroque period, under Mantegna's influence, Peter Paul Rubens executed two splendid commemorative cycles, one of these being the cycle decoration honoring Henry IV, commissioned in 1627 by Marie de Médicis, Queen of France, now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. The second was another collection of paintings for Marie de Médicis (1623–1625). Rubens paid homage to a female monarch and to the seventeenth-century doctrine of divine right in a splendid painted cycle for the Luxembourg Palace in Paris. Of course, this concept of monarchical apotheosis culminated at Versailles with the splendor of Louis XIV as the Sun King.

The act of honoring through mythological paintings focuses attention on gods and goddesses as well as famous people, poets, or philosophers, as in Jean-August-Dominique Ingres's *Apotheosis of Homer* (1827) in the Louvre in Paris. In a grandiose courtyard in front of an Ionic temple, Homer, the great ancient poet and philosopher, is rewarded with a frond, a lyre, and gifts and is crowned by Poetry. The ancient poet, seated on a throne, is surrounded by ancient and contemporary literati—poets, philosophers, and artists, including Nicolas Poussin, Ingres's artistic mentor—who pay homage to him.

In the seventeenth century, Poussin, the poet/painter/philosopher, had designed numerous images for frontispieces and paintings paying homage and crowning poetic inspiration. Claude Mellan, after Poussin, engraved the frontispiece for Horace's *Works* (1642). Here, in a landscape filled with laurel trees, Poetry, or the Muse of History, masks, or unmask, the humanist while a putto crowns him. Other representations by Poussin, such as *Inspiration of the Epic Poet* (1640) in the Louvre and *Inspiration of the Lyric Poet* (1640) in the Niedersächsische Landesgalerie in Hanover, Germany, attest to the significance of recognition and praise in the arts. Poussin's honorific fervor had extended to the triumphs of the pagan gods (not common in ancient art but frequently depicted in Renaissance art), mythological feasts, banquets, and bacchanals, such as the series of bacchanals executed for Cardinal Richelieu for his castle at Pauton (1634–1637). These luxurious and exuberant festivals, designed to appear as decorative tapestries, take place in aquatic fantasies or pastoral landscapes and include the *Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite* in the Philadelphia Museum of Art in Pennsylvania, the *Triumph of Pan* in the National Gallery in London, the *Triumph of Bacchus* in the Nelson Gallery in Kansas City, Missouri, and

the *Triumph of Silenus* in the National Gallery. In this last composition, the triumph of life is expressed to its fullest, with merrymaking, drinking, eating, and dancing. The passivity encountered in paintings honoring a hero, humanist, or ruler, in which the concepts of fame and immortality dominate, is nonexistent in these bacchanals. Evocation of the zest for life and the moment of joy is pursued. This type of mythological painting pays homage to life itself.

See also Apotheosis/Deification; Fame; Funeral/Burial; Grieving/Lamentation; Offering

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 Vigée-Lebrun, Marie-Louise-Élisabeth, *Allegory of Honor*, 1787, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie

Religious Representations

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 Nicholas of Verdun, *Entry into Jerusalem*, metalwork, altarpiece, 1181, Klosterneuburg, Austria, Stiftsmuseum
 Cassinese School, *Entry into Jerusalem*, wall painting, circa 1100, S. Angelo in Formis
Entry into Jerusalem, wall painting, twelfth century, Vicq-sur-Saint-Chartier, France
Entry to Jerusalem, stone relief, twelfth century, tympanum at Pompierre, France
 Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Entry into Jerusalem*, back panel, *Maestà Altarpiece*, 1308–1311, Siena, Italy, Cathedral Museum
Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, illuminated manuscript, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, sixth century, Rossano, Italy
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 Spranger, Bartholomaeus, *St. Catherine*, oil on canvas, circa 1595–1600, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz
 Riminaldi, Orazio, *The Martyrdom of St. Cecilia*, oil on canvas, 1620s, Florence, Italy, Pitti Palace
 Gigoli, Ludovico, *Martyrdom of St. Stephen*, oil on canvas, 1597, Florence, Italy, Pitti Palace
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 Lorenzetti, Pietro, *St. Catherina*, panel, circa 1335, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
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Images Including Tombs

- Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius*, bronze, circa A.D. 165–180, Rome, Capitoline Hill, Piazza del Campidoglio
 Uccello, Paolo, *Sir John Hawkwood*, fresco transferred to canvas, 1436, Florence, Italy, Cathedral
 Rossellino, Bernardo, *Tomb of Leonardo Bruni*, white and colored marbles, circa 1445, Florence, Italy, Santa Croce
 Donatello, *Equestrian Monument of Gattamelata*, bronze statue, 1445–1453, Padua, Italy, Piazza del Santo
 Pisanello, Antonio, *Medal of Alfonso V of Aragon*, medal, circa 1449, Florence, Italy, Bargello
 Desiderio da Settignano, *Tomb of Carlo Marsuppini*, white and colored marbles, after 1453, Florence, Italy, Santa Croce
 Andrea del Castagno, *Niccolò da Tolentino*, fresco transferred to canvas, 1456, Florence, Italy, Cathedral
 Desiderio da Settignano, *Niccolò da Uzzano*, portrait bust, circa 1460, Florence, Italy, Bargello
 Rossellino, Antonio, *Matteo Palmieri*, portrait bust, 1468, Florence, Italy, Bargello
 Verrocchio, Andrea del, *Lorenzo de Medici*, portrait bust, 1475, Florence, Italy, Bargello
 Verrocchio, Andrea del, completed by Alessandro Leopardi, *Equestrian Monument of Bartolommeo Colleoni*, bronze statue, circa 1481–1496, Venice, Italy, Campo SS. Giovanni e Paolo
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- Triumph of Titus*, relief from *Arch of Titus*, A.D. 80, Rome, Forum
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HUMORS

Zirka Zaremba Filipczak

The following topics are covered in the discussion of the theme Humors:

HUMORS

CONTRAST BETWEEN MEN
AND WOMEN



Herman Jansz Muller, after Maarten van Heemskerck, "Cholerici" and "Phlegmatici," from *Four Temperaments*, from *Heemskerck Album*, 1566, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum. (Courtesy of Rijksmuseum-Stichting, Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

For more than two millennia Western Europeans differentiated human beings as having hot or cold, dry or wet bodies. Thinking about people in terms of their temperature and degree of wetness was part of the humoral theory that originated in classical antiquity, especially in texts attributed to Hippocrates, Aristotle, and Galen. The theory survived through the Middle Ages (stimulated by the triumph of Aristotelianism in the thirteenth century), the Renaissance, and most of the seventeenth century. Widespread acceptance of the theory did not, however, make it a common subject of art. Relatively few works illustrated humoral beliefs as directly as the series *The Four Humors* that Herman Jansz Muller engraved in 1566 after drawings by Maarten van Heemskerck. Nevertheless, a great many subjects and motifs (for example, the god Apollo and the nymph Daphne; river gods) can be understood better knowing what humoral ideas the artists and contemporary viewers accepted as given.

According to the theory of humors, the four elements of fire, air, water, and earth made up the whole physical world. These same elements also constituted the human body, in which they were identified as humors (black bile, red bile, phlegm, and blood). Medieval microcosm/macrocasm diagrams illustrated this idea when they paired each element with its corresponding humor. Illness resulted from the abnormal rule of a single element. Because physicians believed that blood contained each of the other humors in addition to itself, bloodletting became popular as one way of bringing the humors into proper balance. Even in a healthy body, however, one element predominated, making that person melancholic (black bile), choleric (red bile), phlegmatic (phlegm), or sanguine (blood). Of course a body's temperature and degree of wetness could not be represented directly, but they could be evoked through juxtapositions. For example, flames recur throughout the scene in the first print of van Heemskerck's series to indicate the dominance of fire in the men represented, all hot, dry choleric. Phlegmatics, cold and wet like their watery setting, appear in the next work in the series. The other two engravings in the series feature melancholics, cold and dry like the rocky earth prominent in that scene, and sanguines, hot and wet like air (the element to which van Heemskerck makes least visible reference).

What caused one element to become primary in a given person? As the looming presence of planetary gods and goddesses above their small human subjects in van Heemskerck's *The Four Humors* suggests, the position of the stars at the moment of birth inclined the newborn to a specific humor for life. This affected the person's intellectual and emotional as well as physical functioning, and so "temperament" served as a synonym for humor. Van Heemskerck's choleric, for example, behave far more aggressively than any other men in the series, his san-

guines appear more pleasure loving, and his melancholics include men depressed to the point of suicide. Only the phlegmatics in the second print do not act lethargically. Instead, they exemplify professions considered natural for people born under the "wat'ry moon" (Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 2:1:162) and thus fish and trap water fowl. Similarly, the choleric born under Mars, who radiates flames, include smiths working at a fiery forge. Such groupings of people under their ruling planets could easily be mistaken for "children of the seven planets," a closely related humoral subject occasionally represented after the fourteenth century (as in an anonymous fourteenth-century fresco in Padua, Italy, in the Salla della Ragione).

Although the stars set a humoral direction for life, substantial shifts took place during a person's lifetime. Shakespeare's "youth is hot and bold, age is weak and cold" (*Passionate Pilgrim*, 12:7) carried biological, not just metaphorical, significance. A young man tended to be sanguine, hot and wet, but as he matured his heat turned dry and he grew choleric. Dryness remained as he aged but heat diminished, inclining him to cold-dry melancholy. Finally, in advanced old age, came the influence of the least desirable humor of all, the cold, wet phlegmatic. The ages of the humans in van Heemskerck's series fit this sequence, except for the phlegmatics in the second print, who are not old. In some works, however, including the 1644 edition of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, the "Flegmatico" has a long, white beard. Having lost his own internal heat, he wears a long robe for warmth. His passive pose also reveals his phlegmatic state.

The biological identification of aged men with cold, wet water helps explain why it became customary in classical antiquity, and then again in the Renaissance, to depict river gods as men who are old, as in *Nile* at the Vatican Museums and *Rhône*, by Jean-Baptiste Tuby, in the garden at Versailles, France. Likewise, when Roman artists symbolized the four seasons by personifications of varying ages, they used old men for winter, characterized as a cold, wet time, as in Jacopo Tintoretto's *Allegory of Winter* at the Carnegie Institute Museum of Art in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Van Heemskerck's *The Four Humors* dates from 1566, but where would it fit along a time line of humoral illustrations? Although the theory originated in fifth-century B.C. Greece, no surviving classical art focused directly on the humors, but only on the related subjects of the elements and the seasons. Medieval manuscript illustrations of humoral themes produced up to the 1300s generally used a quadripartite format to show that the human body included all four of the elements, as was the case in an anonymous illustration in St. Bede's *De temporum ratione* (circa 1200). In the 1300s, however, the focus

shifted to humoral imbalance. First the children of the planets became an occasional subject in the 1300s. Then in the late 1400s, after the invention of printing made humoral ideas far more readily available, artists again began occasionally depicting the four humors. Prints such as those by van Heemskerck visually conveyed humoral concepts to an unprecedentedly wide audience.

The demise of humoral theory began about a century after van Heemskerck created *The Four Humors*. John Donne registered this change in *The Second Anniversary of the Progres of the Soule*:

Have not all soules thought
For many ages, that our body is wrought
Of Ayre, and Fire, and other Elements?
And now they think of new ingredients.
(*Divine Poems*, V)

The “new ingredients” about which he wrote were “chymical,” part of the new, chemically oriented medicine of the mid-seventeenth century. Like most of his contemporaries, however, Donne still held to the traditional view; for him the human body remained “a little world made cunningly / Of Elements . . .”, as had been accepted for more than two millennia.

Even after the theory as a whole ceased to be accepted in Western Europe, separate parts of it remained in circulation. Identifying individuals with one of the four humors proved particularly tenacious, and as a subject lasted far into the nineteenth century. For example, Johann C. Lavater’s *Physiognomische Fragmente*, an influential book published in the late 1770s and reprinted through the nineteenth century, included engraved profiles representing the four humors.

Artists did not illustrate all the leading humoral ideas with equal directness. If texts and images that dealt with humoral material are compared, a major discrepancy emerges. The written sources directly and repeatedly linked dominant humor and sex. “The man is hot and dry and the woman cold and wet.” This statement by Marin Cureau in *L’art de connoistre les hommes* (1660) succinctly summarized an idea already accepted for more than two millennia. Texts also attributed the conventional inequalities between the sexes in status, intelligence, bravery, constancy, and capacity for action to men’s greater heat, women’s greater wetness. Yet no pictorial images drew an explicit contrast between the typical choleric man and phlegmatic woman. This absence helps explain why art historians have given other humoral ideas considerable attention but, unlike historians of science, have barely discussed the variable of sex; hence its emphasis here.

Although never explicitly illustrated, the widely shared belief in the hot dryness of men and the cold wetness of women influenced both the choice and the interpretation of a whole range of subjects and motifs. For instance, viewers understood the mythological subject of Apollo and Daphne (for example, Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s sculpture in the Borghese Gallery in Rome) in various ways, but part of its popularity undoubtedly derived from how fully it fit humoral expectations. A hot, dry male, the god of sunlight himself, and a cold, wet female, the water nymph Daphne, are the main protagonists. Since herbal knowledge was widespread, many viewers understood that

when the fleeing Daphne changed into a laurel tree, henceforth a symbol of Apollo, she underwent a double metamorphosis. The laurel was not cold and wet, as Daphne had been. As George Sandys noted in his commentary on the story in *Ovid’s Metamorphoses Englished* (1632), “this tree is concentrated to Apollo, or the Sunne, as agreeing with his nature, being hot and dry.” In fact, the laurel was “hot and very drie, saith Galen” (John Gerard, *The Herbal*, 1633).

The explanation of Christian commentators for why water ruled in women and fire in men originated in the Garden of Eden. Significantly, when Hendrick de Clerck and Denis van Alsloot included personifications of the elements around Adam and Eve in their *Paradise with the Four Elements*, they portrayed Water as a woman and Fire as a man. All four elements had coexisted harmoniously within human bodies prior to the fall, but in disharmony thereafter. Because Eve bore the greater blame for eating the forbidden fruit, the heavy, low-ranking element of water henceforth ruled in her body and those of her female descendants, making them passive. In other words, she became cold and wet, like the fruit she holds. Assigned less blame, Adam and his male descendants became subject to fire, a higher ranking element whose dominance made them active. In paintings of Adam and Eve, as in other subjects, skin color often carried part of the humoral story. That was why “complexions” became yet another synonym for humors. “If white it argues wet” (Phineas Fletcher, *The Purple Island*, II:17:5). Eve’s whiter skin testifies to her phlegmatic humor, not just to women’s more domestic lives.

Already colder in the womb than a man, a woman typically remained colder even if born under the same planet as a man. Thus a male “child of Mars” would be far hotter and drier than a female. But as the first print of van Heemskerck’s series exemplifies, artists rarely included women among the “children” of the sun or Mars, both of which were consistently associated with dry heat.

Innately cold and wet, women normally gained heat from a relationship, from sexual involvement with men, or from exceptional love of God and humankind. Thus Venus, Charity, and other lustful or loving women were often pictured with a torch, a flaming heart, or some other reference to their heat. Van Heemskerck included women in *The Four Humors* solely as companions of the sanguine youths ruled by Venus. As Michel de Montaigne remarked in “On Some Verses of Virgil,” his contemporaries contradictorily wanted women to be “both hot and cold,” and this inconsistency is amply evident in representations of women.

Other than such situational gains in heat, a woman did not undergo the marked humoral changes standard in a man’s life. Thus when a man finally turned phlegmatic in his old age, he became what a woman had largely remained since birth. Consequently, artists could interchange images of a young woman or an old man in allegories of the elements. It made biological sense to contemporary viewers for a young man to personify fire, but for an old man—or a young woman—to personify water, as in Jacob Matham’s engraving *The Four Elements*, after Hendrik Goltzius.

“Why are not women bald? Because they are cold and moist, which are the causes that the hair remaineth.” This quotation

comes from the *Problemata*, a series of brusque questions and answers misattributed to Aristotle. The text focuses on illness, but also generalizes about healthy people. Repeatedly, it describes women as wet, a condition they shared with children. New editions of this memorable publication poured from Western European presses during the sixteenth century, particularly during the first decade and then again in the 1560s and 1570s. The popularity of the *Problemata* may have contributed to a contemporaneous shift in iconography: beginning in the late sixteenth century, more images identified women with water. The woman-water motif took various forms.

Certain subjects changed to include water. Medieval art had placed a stable, clothed personification of Fortuna on dry land, but late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century art relocated her body, now nude and precariously balanced on a sphere, right on top of waves. That setting had only been implied in ancient Roman depictions of Fortuna standing at a rudder, as appropriated by Peter Paul Rubens in *Fortuna* in the Prado in Madrid, Spain. The new image of Fortuna embodied the widely shared belief that women's wetness made them inconstant. An increase in sea voyages of trade and exploration would sufficiently explain Fortuna's repositioning if, without precedent, many images at the time were not associating women with water. For example, seventeenth-century portraits often placed the woman near a fountain, and Anthony van Dyck introduced the motif of her actually touching the water.

Depictions of traditional subjects that juxtaposed woman and water, such as standing at a well or bathing in a garden or a forest, also multiplied during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Rubens, for example, depicted all the leading bathing subjects, the Old Testament's Bathsheba, the apocryphal Susanna, and classical mythology's Diana with her nymphs (already shown as a bather in Hellenistic and Roman art). Rembrandt van Rijn and his followers, however, favored the woman at a well—Rebecca and the Samaritan woman.

What makes the proliferation of bathing women—and the contemporaneous decrease in bathing men—intriguing is that these pictorial changes happened while Western Europeans virtually stopped bathing. Worry about syphilis, which led to the closing of most public baths, turned into a general dread of water. Even physicians rejected bathing with water as dangerous. "The bath, except for medical reasons when absolutely necessary, is not only superfluous, but very prejudicial to men. . . . The bath destroys the body. . . . Bathing fills the head with vapours. It is the enemy of the nerves and ligaments" (Theophraste Renaudot, *Recueil général des questions*, 1655). The conflicted feelings toward women manifest in the witchcraft trials, which peaked between the mid-sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries, were more subtly evidenced by the rapid increase in images identifying women with water when extensive contact with water became feared.

Apprehension probably gave new meaning and greater interest to a traditional mythological subject that brought together women and water in a dramatic scene of fatal harm to a helpless man: Diana and Actaeon. It proved particularly popular around 1600 when numerous artists, including Joachim Wtewael in a painting in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, depicted how the goddess punished the young hunter because he

saw her bathing. Lacking her bow, she scooped up water and splashed him. As soon as the water touched his head, Actaeon suffered a double metamorphosis. From a human he turned into a stag; from being hot he became a cold animal, devoid of the masculine bravery that his former heat had generated.

What about subjects, however, that associated water and a man with a supernatural function or origin? With such subjects as St. John baptizing, Moses or St. Peter striking a rock to produce water, or St. Hyacinth walking on water, the man controlled the water, but it did not dominate within his own body, unless he was old. By contrast, viewers knew water to be integral to the very identity of Diana, "all moist and cold" (Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* 5:3:25).

The main humoral ideas that Western Europeans accepted as givens found expression in another form of visual culture: fashionable clothing. By the early modern period clothing substantially reshaped the appearance of human bodies, in keeping with the distinctions that humoral theory made between men, women, and children. Although probably neither makers nor wearers consciously intended the clothing to convey how people's temperature and wetness varied with their sex and age, that was the result. Clothed bodies fit humoral expectations far better than undressed bodies.

"Why have women narrower breasts than men? Because there is more heat in men, which doth naturally move to the uppermost part of them, making those parts large and great . . . but in women cold predominates, which naturally tends downward." This description from the highly popular *Problemata* could readily be applied to early modern clothing, especially from the second half of the sixteenth century. A "downward" silhouette resulted from women's cone- or bell-shaped skirts and their flattened bodices. Conversely, hose, and then the newly fashionable pants, helped make men's "uppermost part" look "large and great." The padded and decorated codpieces in vogue during the 1500s (as shown in van Heemskerck's *The Sanguine Temperament*) likewise had humoral significance. They gave sartorial acknowledgment to Galen's conviction that men and women had the same genitals, but women lacked sufficient heat to externalize theirs. Accessories reinforced the message conveyed by the main silhouette. Given the watery origin of pearls, for example, the pearl necklaces, earrings, and bracelets that women wore in such profusion, especially in the 1600s, only strengthened their own identification with water.

Even children's dress changed in keeping with humoral beliefs. Starting around the mid-sixteenth century, little boys as well as girls began to wear floor-length dresses, which made them all look like women. This new fashion fit the established humoral view that little boys as well as girls were wet and, some argued, cold like women. Old men wore long gowns for practical reasons. Nevertheless, their costume again increased their resemblance to women, an appropriate change given their growing coldness and, eventually, wetness. Women's basic silhouette did not change much between childhood and old age, however, a visual parallel for their general lack of humoral development.

With the eighteenth century, only particular humoral notions continued to be accepted, but not the theory as a whole. Nevertheless, the silhouettes of men's, women's, and

children's clothing retained many of the shapes developed when fashion and humoral theory had visibly intersected.

See also Bath/Bathing; Melancholy; Metamorphosis; Seasons

Selected Works of Art

Humors

Mundus, Annus, Homo, manuscript illumination, *De natura rerum*, eighth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. lat. 6413, fol. 5v)

Man and the Four Elements, manuscript illumination, *De temporum ratione*, circa 1200, Vienna, Austria, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Ms. 12600, fol. 29r)

Four Temperaments, manuscript illumination, first half of fifteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. nouv.acq. Fr. 337)

Four Humors, woodcut, *Augsburg Calendar*, circa 1480, Zürich, Germany, Zentralbibliothek

Muller, Herman Jansz, after Maarten van Heemskerck, *The Four Temperaments*, engraved series, 1566, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Jegher, Jan Christoffel, *De Vier Complexien*, woodcuts, 1603, Rome

Gheyn, Jacob, I de, after Hendrik Goltzius, *Lute Player Representing Sanguine Temperament; Soldier Representing Choleric Temperament; Saturn Representing Melancholic Temperament; Old Fisherman Representing Phlegmatic Temperament*, engravings

Mola, Pier Francesco, *The Phlegmatic Temperament*, Venice, private collection

Four Humors, sculpture, Versailles, France, Gardens at Versailles

Contrast Between Men and Women

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HUNTING/HUNTER/HUNTRESS

Sarah S. Gibson

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Hunting/Hunter/Huntress:

PREHISTORIC CAVE
PAINTINGS

ANCIENT
CLASSICAL

MEDIEVAL

RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



LE JARDINIER ET SON SEIGNEUR. 2^e planche. Fable LXIV.

Jean-Baptiste Oudry, "Le Jardinier et son Seigneur," engraving, from Jean de La Fontaine, *Fables Choisies* (Paris, Desaint & Saillant, et Durand, 1755–1759), second plate, fable 4 of book 4 in volume 2, labeled fable 64. (Courtesy of the Sterling and Francine Clark Institute)

Hunting, or the chase for wild animals for food or sport, has existed as a primary subject in the visual arts since the Paleolithic Age. For these early hunters, life revolved around the pursuit of game. Representations of the chase and prey cover the walls of caves and are incised on rocks throughout southwestern Europe and North Africa. The exploits of great hunters and huntresses fill the realms of mythology and religious symbolism. What had occupied entire cultural groups gradually became the privilege of an upper stratum of society, with an emphasis on the individual prowess and courage of individual hunters. Display of the accoutrements of the hunt reflected the chase becoming sport. Even in the modern world, the hunting motif retains the power to evoke the image of an outdoor world far removed from daily urban reality.

In the powerful animal images of the great Franco-Cantabrian caves of the Paleolithic Age, such as Altamira in Spain and Lascaux in France, we sense the all-pervading obsession of early hunters with their prey. Still, we do not know whether these images represent purely artistic impulses, aids to magical rites, or both. The ultimate intention of the rock art in Africa is equally obscure.

Many millennia later, however, Egyptian and Mesopotamian art showed two strands that are more familiar and that would persist for many centuries. The hunt and the hunter are depicted as metaphors of royal power. Primarily in Egypt, hunting is also frequently shown as a sport enjoyed by the upper classes in general. The theme is depicted in many Egyptian tomb paintings and reliefs and involves a wide variety of animals. An example from the Old Kingdom is the hippopotamus hunt, a relief from the tomb of Ti, in which harpoon-wielding men in reed boats pursue the animal through the papyrus marshes. In a realistic, spontaneous scene from the tomb of User-het at Thebes (mid-Eighteenth Dynasty), the royal scribe had himself depicted (imitating his pharaoh, Amenhotep II) in a chariot pursuing a fleeing host of antelopes and hyenas as well as a hare and a fox. A fowling scene from the tomb of Nakht, another scribe of Thebes, dated to the reign of Thutmose IV (mid-Eighteenth Dynasty), depicts the dead man hunting birds and harpooning fish. The implication is that these men will spend part of their afterlife in these pleasant pursuits.

A different emphasis appears in the well-known scene from Ashurbanipal's palace at Nineveh, the ancient capital of Assyria (now in Iraq), in the British Museum in London. The king's chase for lions and wild asses demonstrates his personal skill, courage, and power over all the beasts of the Earth, thus making him worthy to rule over his human subjects. The unforgettable image of the mortally wounded lion, blood pouring from arrow wounds and streaming from its mouth, yet still defiant, is the ultimate tribute to the king's prowess. Other Assyrian, Babylonian, and Hittite portrayals of hunting and hawking

make clear that these occupations are the privilege of the ruling classes, an emphasis that will be found in European art as well.

Hunting for pleasure does not occur in the Bible. In fact, only two biblical figures—Nimrod (Genesis 10:9) and Esau (Genesis 25:27–31)—are identified as hunters in the Old Testament, and hunting is incidental to their other, more important activities. Only Esau is portrayed with any reference to his hunting abilities. Esau, the first-born of Isaac and Rebecca and older twin of Jacob, is described as a skillful hunter who prepared savory dishes for his father with the meat obtained by his prowess. Returning weak with hunger from one of his forays, he agreed to surrender his right of primogeniture to his brother Jacob in return for bread and lentil soup.

Although it was not an especially popular subject, there is a painted chimney fireplace decoration, *Hunt of Esau* (1555–1560), at the Château d'Ecouen in Val d'Oise, France, in which the young hunter is displayed against a landscape. Somewhat later, the sale of the birthright formed a popular subject in seventeenth-century Dutch painting. Hendrik Terbrugghen painted at least two versions around 1627, one of which is now in Berlin and the other in the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection in Madrid, Spain. Esau is accompanied by his hunting dogs and holds a dead animal.

Similarly, the Greeks and Romans regarded hunting as a sport as well as a school for war. Additionally, they developed a rich mythology of gods, heroes, and heroines who were mighty hunters and huntresses. Innumerable representations of mythological hunts decorate Roman sarcophagi. All these myths pervaded Western culture, although their popularity varied through time.

Among the most frequently portrayed myths was the hunt for the Calydonian boar, a savage animal killed in a great hunt organized by Meleager, a son of Oeneus, king of Calydon, in which the huntress Atalanta participated. The rampaging boar had been turned loose by the goddess Artemis (Roman Diana), daughter of Zeus (Jupiter) and Leto (Latona), twin sister of Apollo, and patroness of the hunt. Diana was often represented carrying bow and arrow, wearing animal skins, or accompanied by a troop of animals.

In sixteenth-century France, during the reign of Henri II, there was a veritable infatuation with Diana as goddess of the hunt, due no doubt partly to the role of Diane de Poitiers as royal mistress and partly to a desire to glorify the favorite royal sport of hunting. At the Château d'Anêt, designed for Diane de Poitiers by the architect Philibert de l'Orme, representations of the great goddess abound. One of the most beautiful is a marble fountain, possibly from the studio of Jean Goujon (circa 1549), in which the nude Diana reclines gracefully with her companion stag. A bronze relief in demi-lune form attributed to Benvenuto Cellini, *Nymph of Fontainebleau* (circa 1545),

may also represent the goddess with her stag. Now in the Louvre in Paris, *Nymph of Fontainebleau* was intended by François I for the Château of Fontainebleau. However, after his death, Diana de Poitiers persuaded Henri II to give it to her for Anêt. These images of Diana seem to have inaugurated the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century vogue for mythological portraits of women assuming the guise and attributes of the goddess, as in Jean-Marc Nattier's painting *Marie-Adélaïde of France as Diana* (circa 1745). Diana's popularity stretches into the twentieth century, when Paulanship sculpted several versions of her running with her hounds.

Derived primarily from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, as were so many of the tales of gods and goddesses, the narrative of Diana and Actaeon remained popular in post-classical art. Painted versions range from Titian to Paolo Veronese, Giovanni Tiepolo, and Eugène Delacroix. Perhaps the appeal was to be found in the extremity of the goddess's punishment for what seems a misfortune rather than a crime. The story says that Actaeon discovered Artemis as she was bathing in the nude accompanied by her nymphs. For such a violation of her chastity, she transformed the hunter into a stag that was then torn to pieces by his own hounds.

Unlucky chance, similar to Actaeon's, frequently dominates the relations of humans with the gods; many such encounters revolve around hunting, such as the tale of Cephalus and Procris. According to Ovid, Procris gave her husband, Cephalus, a magic spear that never missed its mark and a dog, Laelaps, that always caught its prey. Procris, believing gossip that Cephalus was having a liaison with another woman, followed him on a hunting expedition. Hearing movement in the bushes, Cephalus mistook her for an animal and killed her with the magic spear. A moving depiction of the end of this episode is Piero di Cosimo's *The Death of Procris* (circa 1506), in which the dog too is bowed down with bewilderment and grief. This narrative would also find many interpreters throughout the centuries.

The aristocracy of Europe appears to have been obsessed with hunting from the Middle Ages on, perhaps reaching its apogee in the seventeenth century. Of course, the meat resulting from the pursuit of game, birds, and fish was an important part of the diet, and exclusive access to it was for a long time a jealously guarded privilege. Hunting was so much a part of yearly activities that portrayals of hunting scenes are prominently featured in medieval manuscript calendar scenes, as, for example, the August and December scenes by the Limbourg Brothers from the *Très Riches Heures* of Jean, Duke de Berry.

Frederick II, Holy Roman Emperor, wrote an important book on hunting with birds, *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*, of which an elaborately illustrated copy from around 1260 is found in the Vatican Library. This treatise on falconry emphasizes the care and training of these birds of prey and is also an important early work of ornithology. Many of the depictions and comments on bird behavior and habitats are apparently based on empirical observation.

Medieval hunting scenes appear in various media and settings. Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco *Effects of Good and Bad Government* (1340s) in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, Italy, depicts a group of nobles under good government riding out from the city to enjoy their falconry. The mere presence of a fal-

con on the wrist came to be a sign marking noble status and wealth, as in Francesco Traini's *Triumph of Death* (after 1348) in the Campo Santo in Pisa, Italy. The angel of death flies over a group of the dead toward a garden where a group of men and women are gathered. They can be identified as noble by the presence of falcons and dogs and by their leisurely activities of conversation, music making, and meditation.

Tapestries and wall paintings with courtly images of hunting, hawking, and even fishing decorated the palaces and hunting lodges of the nobility. Many of these are "encyclopedic" in that they show different kinds of hunting, different game, or successive phases of the hunt. In the Palace of the Popes at Avignon, France, the Studiolo of Clement VI, called the *Chambre du Cerf* (Room of the Stag), was frescoed by Matteo di Giovanetti with various types of hunting scenes, such as with falcons and with greyhounds. Perhaps inspired by Franco-Flemish tapestries, a fishing scene and bird catchers are also portrayed. In another example, *Devonshire Hunting Tapestries* (circa 1450), fragments of four separate sets, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, combine hunts for boar and bear, otter and swan, and deer.

As these images reflect a way of life, so did various books, the best known of which is probably *Livre de la Chasse* (*Book of the Hunt*), written in 1405–1410 by Gaston III, Count of Foix, known as Gaston Phébus. Many copies of this book exist, and one of the most striking is in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. This copy was probably made for John V, Duke of Brittany, around 1410. With chapters on each beast of prey and on the various kinds of dogs used to pursue them, it also emphasizes a particular virtue of hunting—it prevents sloth, the source of all evil thoughts. Thus, the art of venery slips easily into an allegory of "spiritualized hunting." A similar evocation of the salubrious nature of the hunt is found in Henri de Ferrière's *Livre du Roi Modus et de la Reine Ratio* (*Book of King Modus and Queen Ratio*, 1379). Dealing with hawking as well as hunting, like the *Book of the Hunt*, it is a manual of hunting methods with an ethical intention. The notion of virtue associated with hunting was revived in the nineteenth century in response to public criticism of rural sports.

A notable Christian assimilation of the chase is found in the hunt for the unicorn. Depicted on tapestries, this theme, found in northern Europe at the end of the Middle Ages, functioned as an allegory of the incarnation of Jesus Christ in the womb of the Virgin Mary. Among preeminent examples are the series of six tapestry pieces *The Hunts of the Unicorn* (1490–1500), now at The Cloisters in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and another series, *The Lady with a Unicorn*, at the Musée de Cluny in Paris.

Eustace and Hubert of Liège are two Christian saints invoked as patrons of the chase and hunters. Although their legends differ, their attributes are very similar. Both are often depicted with horse, hound, and horn while experiencing a vision of a stag with a crucifix between its antlers. The story of the legendary St. Eustace is recounted in the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus da Voragine; St. Hubert was the Bishop of Tongres and Maastricht around 665. St. Eustace's cult was especially popular in France and Germany. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, his legend became intertwined with that of St. Hubert, and his cult fell into neglect. Among his best known represen-

tations is a painting by Antonio Pisanello, now in the National Gallery in London. Images of St. Hubert appear as late as 1758, when Carle Vanloo painted this subject for Louis XV for the chapel of his hunting lodge in the forest of Yvelines in France (now in the Church at Rambouillet, France).

In Islamic art, the hunter with his falcon is often a metaphor of the soul's search for God, although the motif can also be connected with a lover's pursuit of his beloved. Thus, the secular and the divine are reconciled in images appearing in works ranging from book illustrations to textiles, including carpets.

European hunting scenes also frequently contain an undercurrent of amorous dalliance, sometimes depicted quite overtly. The chase is not limited to the animals alone. As the milieu is out of doors in woodlands or flowering fields, a connection with the Garden of Love (another popular courtly motif) is evident. In fact, the entire hunting genre can be construed as an elaborate metaphor of the pursuit of the sexes. In *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid suggested the hunt as an amatory pursuit, and in *Aeneid*, Virgil had used the simile of Dido, the mythological founder and first queen of the ancient city of Carthage in Libya, as a wounded hind. Images of Dido and Aeneas, son of Aphrodite, taking refuge in a cave after being caught in a storm during an elaborate hunt were popular, as were those of the Greek hero Adonis being seduced by Aphrodite as they rest from hunting. The connections between the pursuit of game and the pursuit of the opposite sex are thus made explicit.

By far, the most persistent notion of hunting has been as a prerogative of the upper classes of society. As a sport, hunting offered the opportunity to display heroism in an act of danger and to demonstrate the skill and strategy needed to kill the game. A proper training ground for kings and nobility, hunting became a major form of court entertainment and a vehicle for kingly glorification. Pictorial examples include the tapestry series designed by Bernart van Orley, *Hunts of Maximilian* (circa 1560).

Jean-Baptiste Oudry's mid-eighteenth-century design for an engraving illustrating Jean de La Fontaine's fable of the gardener and his seigneur portrays the elements of the courtly pastime—and some of its drawbacks from the viewpoint of the common man. Reveling in the day's sport, mounted hunters follow closely on their pack of hounds coursing a hare through a cabbage patch. As the fable says,

Farewell chicory and leeks
Farewell ingredients for the soup pot
. . . these are games for the Prince.
But . . . dogs and men
do more damage in one hour
Than all the hares of the province in a hundred years.

Scenes of famous hunts were considered appropriate decorations for hunting lodges, as were portraits of favorite hounds or pictures of game, alive or dead. Cosimo de' Medici ordered a tapestry set for his villa at Poggio a' Caiano, Italy, from Jan van der Straet of Bruges, Belgium (known as Stradanus). This set, widely disseminated by means of engravings, reestablished the ancient theme of pitting men against exotic beasts, a theme that would be magnificently exploited by Peter Paul Rubens in his vast portrayals of wolf, lion, boar, and bear hunts. These

depict the encounter between two equal adversaries, dramatically emphasizing the fact that the outcome is by no means certain.

Frans Snyders painted similar scenes with wild animals. In his painting of 1625–1630, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, a number of hunting dogs chase a wild sow and her litter across a background of wooded landscape. Snyders concentrates on the climactic moment when the hounds—one evidently highly prized because he is attired in a protective leather coat—reach their prey.

In the nineteenth century, Eugène Delacroix and Antoine-Louis Barye took up the motif of animals pitted against animals. In the wake of the French conquest of North Africa, Delacroix also depicted Arabs in heroic combat with lions, as in his three versions of a lion hunt (1855, 1858, and 1861). The dramatic ferocity of the images recalls the tradition of Rubens and Snyders. This combat between equals later metamorphosed into images of futile resistance of creatures who presented no risk to the hunter.

As the middle classes grew in numbers and accumulated wealth, they appropriated the tastes and fashions of the aristocracy. Not only could they indulge in hunting, but they also discovered that by acquiring pictures they could assume the status associated with this socially exclusive activity. Such pictures included not only narrative scenes, such as Henry Alken's foxhunts, but also hunting variants, such as the dead-game pieces of Jan Fyt, Jan Weenix, and Frans Snyders. The game, or trophy, piece enjoyed great popularity in seventeenth-century Holland; subsequently in eighteenth-century France, exemplified by Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin's many paintings; and finally in the nineteenth century in the United States with still lifes such as William Harnett's *After the Hunt* (1883).

By the late eighteenth century, hunting had become far more accessible to the middle classes, and the element of danger had considerably lessened for most sportsmen. Connotations of established social status remained, but public criticism had arisen, especially in England. Rural sports were associated with backward country squires, and satirical representations of hunts emerged, such as those in which the hunted fox becomes the hunter. These variations on the world-upside-down motif date to the medieval *bas-de-page* images of rabbits shooting and netting their human prey.

Devotees of the sport fought back, emphasizing the moral virtues of the healthy life of the country in contrast to the decadence of city life. Thomas Rowlandson underscored this opposition in his prints *Four O'Clock in the Country* and *Four O'Clock in the Town* (both 1785). In the former, a virile country squire rises with the sun for a morning's sport; in the latter, in a scene reminiscent of William Hogarth, a debauchee has to be put to bed at dawn after a night of revelry.

For many nineteenth-century Americans, the notion of hunting was dominated not by the typical English fox chase on horseback with hounds but by the solitary trapper-hunter in a wilderness untouched by civilization. By a trick of inversion, the old-world aristocracy is replaced by an image of the independent man of the woods in a paradise on Earth, albeit a paradise often tinged by melancholy, as in Winslow Homer's *Hound and Hunter* (1892) or his many other paintings of

hunting in the Adirondack Mountains. The commonest of men thus becomes the true aristocrat. Charles M. Russell, in *Buffalo Hunt* (circa 1890) in the C. M. Russell Museum in Great Falls, Montana, takes a different approach. It is closer to the drama of Delacroix in portraying a wild melee of animals and men—by the 1890s an evocation of a truly vanishing world.

Although Alfred Munnings found a ready market for his paintings among the upper classes, as, for example, in *Huntsman with Hounds, Zenner Hill, Cornwall* (1914), for the most part the exploits of sportsmen have been a subject of little interest to the general public. Although the hunting picture continues to exist, it appears most frequently as a cover illustration for magazines such as *Field and Stream*. No longer associated primarily with the upper classes, hunting has nevertheless become a genre without a substantial audience. However, its long life and varying manifestations suggest that a new transformation is always possible.

See also Bacchanalia/Orgy; Sport

Selected Works of Art

Prehistoric Cave Paintings

- Lascaux Cave, circa 15,000–13,000 B.C., Dordogne, France
- Pêche-Merle, circa 15,000–13,000 B.C., Lot, France
- Niaux, circa 15,000–13,000 B.C., Ariège, France
- Deer Hunt*, wall painting, circa 15,750 B.C., Çatal Hüyük, Turkey
- Wounded Bison*, circa 15,000–10,000 B.C., Altamira, Spain

Ancient

- Hippopotamus Hunt*, painted limestone relief, circa 2400 B.C. Saqqara, Egypt, Tomb of Ti
- Fowling Scene*, painted relief, circa 1450 B.C., Thebes, Egypt, Tomb of Nebamun
- Hunting Scene*, painted limestone relief, Eighteenth Dynasty, Thebes, Egypt, Tomb of User-het
- Canaanite Hunting from His Chariot*, gold bowl, circa 1400 B.C., from Ugarit, Damascus, Syria, National Museum
- Lion Hunt of Ashurnasirpal II*, alabaster, ninth century B.C., from Calah, London, British Museum
- Ashurbanipal Hunting Lions*, alabaster, circa 650 B.C., from Nineveh, London, British Museum
- Dying Lioness*, limestone, circa 650 B.C., from Nineveh, London, British Museum

Classical

- Artemis and Actaeon*, limestone relief covered with stucco, part marble, formerly painted, metope from Temple E at Selinus, circa 460 B.C., Palermo, Italy, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale
- Lion Hunt*, mosaic, circa 300 B.C., Pella, Greece
- Hadrian as a Hunter*, marble relief tondo, circa A.D. 130–138, Rome, Arch of Constantine
- Meleager: Calydonian Hunt*, Roman sarcophagus, late third century A.D., Bedfordshire, England, Woburn Abbey

Medieval

- Vision of Saint Eustace*, wall painting, twelfth century, Zenobani, Georgia, Church of the Holy Saviour
- Frederick II, *De Arte Venandi cum Avibus*, illuminated manuscript, circa 1260, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (Ms. Pal. lat. 1071)
- Hunter Rabbit with His Victim*, detail from illuminated manuscript, *Romance of Alexander*, 1338–1344, Oxford, England, Bodleian Library (Ms. Bodley 264, fol. 81v)
- Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, *Effects of Good and Bad Government*, fresco, 1340s, Siena, Italy, Palazzo Pubblico, Council Chamber
- Giovanetti, Matteo di, *Chambre du Cerf*, fresco, 1343, Avignon, France, Palais des Papes
- Traini, Francesco, *Triumph of Death*, fresco, after 1348, Pisa, Italy, Campo Santo, south wall

Renaissance

- Ferrière, Henri de, *Le Livre du Roi Modus et de la Reine Ratio*, illuminated manuscript, 1379, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (BN fr. 12395)
- Phébus, Gaston, *Le Livre de la Chasse*, illuminated manuscript, 1405–1410, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (BN fr. 616)
- Limbourg Brothers, *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, illuminated manuscript, 1413–1416, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé (Ms. 65, 2484)
- Pisanello, Antonio, *The Vision of Saint Eustace*, painting, circa 1435, London, National Gallery
- Devonshire Hunting Tapestries*, circa 1450, London, Victoria and Albert Museum
- Uccello, Paolo, *The Hunt in the Wood*, before 1475, Oxford, England, Ashmolean Museum
- The Lady with a Unicorn*, tapestry, circa 1495–1500, Paris, Musée des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny
- Carpaccio, Vittore, *Hunting on the Lagoon*, circa 1490–1496, Los Angeles, California, J. Paul Getty Museum
- The Hunts of the Unicorn*, tapestry, circa 1490–1500, New York, Metropolitan Museum, The Cloisters Collections
- Dürer, Albrecht, *The Vision of Saint Eustace*, engraving, 1501
- Cosimo, Piero di, *The Death of Procris*, painting, circa 1506, London, National Gallery
- Pinturicchio, and studio, *The Hunt of the Calydonian Boar*, fresco from Palazzo Pandolfo-Petrucchi, 1512, Siena, Italy, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *The Stag Hunt*, painting, 1540, Cleveland, Ohio, Cleveland Museum of Art
- Cellini, Benvenuto, *Nymph of Fontainebleau*, bronze relief, 1545, Paris, Louvre
- Titian, *Diana and Actaeon*, painting, 1546–1559, Edinburgh, Scotland, National Gallery of Scotland
- Fogolino, Marcello, *Hunting Scene*, fresco, 1548, Gorizia, Italy, Palazzo Lantieri, Sala d'Armi
- Goujon, Jean, studio of, *Diana with Stag*, marble fountain, circa 1549, Paris, Louvre
- School of Fontainebleau, *Diana the Huntress*, painting, circa 1550–1560, Paris, Louvre

Hunt of Esau, painted fireplace decoration, 1555–1560, Val d'Oise, France, Château d'Ecouen, Chamber of the Duc de Montmorency

Orley, Bernart van, *Hunts of Maximilian*, cartoons and tapestries, circa 1560, Paris, Louvre

Veronese, Paolo, *Atalanta Receiving the Boar's Head from Meleager*, painting, circa 1561–1563, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Veronese, Paolo, *Diana Huntress*, painting, circa 1565–1570, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage

Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *Hunters in the Snow*, painting, 1565, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

School of Fontainebleau, *Diana Caressing a Stag*, marble bas-relief, 1565–1568, Paris, Musée des Thermes et de l'Hôtel de Cluny

Straet, Jan van der, *Series of 28 Hunting Tapestries*, engraving, 1567–1578

Momper, Joos de, the Younger, *Landscape with Boar Hunt*, painting, before 1600, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Seventeenth Century

Prieur, Barthélemy, *Diana*, bronze sculpture, 1603, Fontainebleau, France, Musée National du Chateau

Snyders, Frans, *Boar Hunt*, painting, 1610, Prague, Czech Republic, Národní Muzeum v Praze

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Diana and Her Nymphs Departing for the Chase*, painting, circa 1617, Cleveland, Ohio, Cleveland Museum of Art

Snyders, Frans, *Stag Hunt*, painting, 1620s, Milan, Italy, Pinacoteca di Brera

Gentileschi, Orazio, *Diana the Huntress*, painting, 1624–1626, Nantes, France, Musée des Beaux Arts

Snyders, Frans, *Boar Hunt*, painting, 1625–1630, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Terbrugghen, Hendrik, *Esau Selling His Birthright*, painting, circa 1627, Madrid, Spain, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection

Terbrugghen, Hendrik, *Esau Selling His Birthright*, painting, circa 1627, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

Honthorst, Gerrit van, *King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria/Apollo and Diana*, painting, 1628, East Molesey, Surrey, Hampton Court Palace

Birkner, Wolfgang, *Jacht Buch*, manuscript, 1639, Gotha, Germany, Landesbibliothek

Snyders, Frans, *Game and Poultry*, painting, 1640s, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Bol, Ferdinand, *Aeneas and Dido Hunting*, paintings, 1647, London, Ranger's House, Blackheath; Stockholm, Sweden, Bergsten Collection

Hyre, Laurent de la, *Countess of Beauvais as Diana*, painting, 1656, Châlons-sur-Marne, France

Fyt, Jan, *Dogs Guarding Booty*, painting, 1659, Vaduz, Liechtenstein, Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten van Liechtenstein

Lorrain, Claude, *View of Carthage with Dido, Aeneas, and Their Suite Leaving for the Hunt*, painting, 1676, Hamburg, Germany, Kunsthalle

Eighteenth Century

Weenix, Jan, *Game and Fruit*, painting, 1704, The Hague, The Netherlands, Mauritshuis

Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista, *Diana and Actaeon*, painting, circa 1720–1722, Venice, Italy, Accademia

Boucher, François, *Leopard Hunt*, circa 1736, Amiens, France, Musée de Picardie

Boucher, François, *Diana Returning from the Hunt*, painting, 1745, Paris, Musée Cognac-Jay

Nattier, Jean-Marc, *Marie-Adélaïde of France as Diana*, painting, circa 1745, Versailles, France, Château de Versailles

Dunthorn, James, *John Sidney and His Hounds at a Farmhouse Near Hadleigh, Suffolk*, painting, 1765, Upperville, Paul Mellon Collection

Rowlandson, Thomas, *Four O'Clock in the Country; Four O'Clock in the Town*, hand-colored engravings, 1785

Nineteenth Century

Barye, Antoine-Louis, *Python Crushing a Crocodile*, bronze, 1840, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Delacroix, Eugène, *Lion Hunt*, painting, 1855, Bordeaux, France, Galerie des Beaux Arts

Delacroix, Eugène, *Summer: Diana and Actaeon*, painting, begun 1856 (unfinished), São Paulo, Brazil, Museu de Arte

Renoir, Pierre-Auguste, *Diana (The Huntress)*, painting, 1867, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Delacroix, Eugène, *Lion Hunt*, painting, 1858, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Delacroix, Eugène, *Lion Hunt*, painting, 1861, Chicago, Illinois, Art Institute

Harnett, William, *After the Hunt*, painting, 1883, Columbus, Ohio, Gallery of Fine Arts

Homer, Winslow, *October Day*, watercolor on paper, 1889, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute

Russell, Charles M., *Buffalo Hunt*, painting, circa 1890, Great Falls, Montana, C. M. Russell Museum

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IMAGINATION/ CREATIVITY

Liana De Girolami Cheney

The following motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Imagination/Creativity:

ST. LUKE PAINTING THE
VIRGIN

THE ARTIST IN HIS STUDIO
ARTISTS' STUDIOS

IMITATION

ACADEMIES

THE ARTIST'S INSPIRATION



Rogier van der Weyden, *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin and Child*, 1435–1440, oil and tempera on panel, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Lee Higginson. (Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Imagination is synonymous with the Greek *phantasia* (imagining). Imagination is the mind's capacity to generate images of objects, states, or actions that have not been felt or experienced by the senses. Over the centuries, philosophers have concerned themselves with the explanation of imagination and creativity. Many of them have harked back to Plato's concept that time is the moving image of eternity where the world is an image or an imitation of the eternal forms of ideas. Plato states in the *Republic* that art is an imitation of an imitation. Aristotle expanded the theory of imitation by considering that art imitated not necessarily actual things but possible things.

In the Renaissance, the concepts of imagination and creativity were fused with the idea of imitation, a translation of the Greek term *mimesis*. With their interest in classical theories of art and the revival of such, Renaissance theorists initiated an interpretation and application of the nature of imitation and invention as well as the correlation of these ideas to poetry and music, the sister arts (Panofsky, 1968; Lee). The theory of imagination or mimesis achieved full study during the eighteenth century with the work of Abbé Du Bos in *Critical Reflections on Poetry, Painting and Music* (1719).

To the idealists, imagination consisted of two aspects: reproductive and productive imagination (Immanuel Kant) or fancy and constructive imagination (Samuel Taylor Coleridge). Reproductive imagination is intuitive and a response of the senses. Productive imagination realizes or brings to focus intuitive imagination. The freely creative and transforming power of the imagination was a central principle of Romanticism (Coleridge).

According to Benedetto Croce, the early twentieth-century idealist, imagination is the creation of an individual intuition and is central to the aesthetic creation. Thinkers of the later twentieth century place the emphasis on the process or results of imagination, that is, on creativity. Sigmund Freud's analysis on the subject focuses on personal creativity in terms of sublimation. Nikolai O. Losski and Nicolas Berdyaev hold that creativity is an essential characteristic of both God and the individual, whereas Alfred North Whitehead emphasizes that creativity is the category of the ultimate, which is a constant process in the universe. The nineteenth- and twentieth-century position on imagination and creativity made a clear-cut distinction between the two, a distinction not made in the Renaissance. This essay discusses various artistic approaches to the philosophical concepts of imagination and creativity.

An exponent of the sixteenth-century quest for the understanding of these concepts is the Florentine painter, architect, and writer Giorgio Vasari, who stated,

Many painters achieve in the first design of their work, as though guided by a sort of inspirational fire, some-

thing of the good and a certain measure of boldness; but afterwards, in finishing it, the boldness vanishes. (Vasari and Milanesi, vol. V)

Furthermore, Vasari's explanation of artistic creativity is based fundamentally on the Italian Renaissance tradition, which considered creativity to be a faculty present in all human activity (Panofsky, 1968).

Vasari's conception of artistic creativity is related to this theory of painting, as is seen in the Chamber of Fame in his house in Arezzo, Italy (*Allegory of Painting*, 1542). He believed that there were two alternatives in a painter's development or achievement of artistic creativity: imitation (*imitazione*) and invention (*invenzione*) (Vasari and Milanesi, vol. II). Imitation is the copying of art as a method of learning, whereas invention is independent of imitation and constitutes the means for conceiving artistic ideas. Imitation serves to guide and teach the artist in composing and creating perfection. For Vasari, imitation draws on three different sources. The first two are copying from nature (*copia dal vero*) and copying the masters. He emphasized that copying from nature is important for artists so that they may learn to create forms that are alive (Vasari and Milanesi, vol. I). It also helps the artists to learn how to draw in a way that eventually will lead to drawing anything from memory, without need for a model. In the Chamber of Fame, the Fine Arts appear to be creating from memory, as no model is seen. Vasari's idea of *giudizio* (judgment) is also related to selection from an improvement on nature. Thus, artists must study antiquity and the masters so that they may learn how others have acquired the experience of imitating nature.

The third aspect of imitation, wherein artists copy or quote from their own work, demonstrates the manner in which the arts surpass nature. Vasari found examples of this achievement in the works of Titian, Michelangelo, and Raphael. In the Chamber of Fame, Vasari quotes from his own work: The portraits in the *ovati* are after the woodcuts of the second edition of his *Vite (Lives of the Artists)*. Around the chamber ceiling, each image of the Fine Arts is in the process of creating a work of art through a fusion of imitation and invention. Indeed, here is a pictorial commentary on the methods and classification of the arts that was later set down in words in Vasari's own writings.

Vasari combines these three types of imitation in his painting *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* (1562–1565), located above the altar in the Chapel of the Artists, also known as the chapel for the Accademia del Disegno in Florence, Italy. In this work, Vasari portrays himself as St. Luke. The patron saint of artists is drawing a portrait of the Madonna and Child in his studio, where one sees his box of paints, his palette, and his maulstick. His assistant grinds color pigments in the background. Two

onlookers, beside a bull, the attribute of St. Luke, admire the rendering seen in the easel painting. The *disegno* (drawing) on the canvas illustrates Vasari's theory that *disegno* is the principle of art. The Madonna and Child have appeared in the artist-saint's studio to guide him in his design as well as in his observation of nature. The indication of guidance can be observed in the Madonna's active participation and instruction to the painter regarding how to paint her. The concepts of imitation (*copia dal vero*) and judgment (*giudizio*) are clearly expressed.

The ideas of *disegno* in *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin* refer in part to previous works by Vasari, for example, the Fine Arts on the ceiling of the Chamber of Fame. Vasari continues to express his artistic theories of invention and imitation in another room of the Casa Vasari, the Chamber of Fortune. In the lower section of the north wall, where themes of ancient painters are illustrated, one sees a depiction of Zeuxis in his studio selecting parts of the most beautiful women for his painting of Helen (or Venus). Zeuxis, as well as Vasari, tries to surpass nature through the process of selection and judgment. In the Sala Fiorentina in Vasari's house in Florence, Vasari again repeats the same theme of Apelles the artist (always with Vasari's features). In his studio, Apelles is painting a nude portrait of Juno/Diana (the personification of power/nature).

In the painting *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, Vasari expresses his theory of art. Vasari, as St. Luke, receives divine inspiration from the Madonna and Child. The artist imitates from nature (*copia dal vero*); St. Luke (as Vasari) draws from life, as the Madonna and Child are his models. The artist invents and surpasses nature by imitating himself or quoting himself from previous works—"the artist is working in his studio." Vasari varies from the actual, live model (Madonna and Child) and repeats earlier statements on the same theme: Drawing (*disegno*) is the principle of art. Finally, the onlookers oversee, analyze, and admire the artist at work. The act of judgment is expressed in their faces and their gestures. *Giudizio*, or judgment, on the part of the viewer is essential for the deification of art as well as the fame of the artist. Vasari's self-imitation (*imitare se stessi*) is achieved because the artist has quoted from his own previous works, as observed in the St. Luke painting.

The theme of St. Luke painting the Virgin was a popular theme in the Renaissance throughout Europe because it combined and reflected the concepts of creativity as well as the artist's imagination. The representations and compositions for this theme derive in part from the illuminated manuscript tradition, especially the illumination of Marcia or Tamara painting her self-portrait in Boccaccio's book *Noble and Famous Women* (1401–1402), illustrated for the Duke of Berry and now in Paris (Bonafoux, p. 8). Seated at her desk, Marcia holds a mirror while painting herself. Behind her are brushes, jars of paint, and a book of hours resting on a table and in front of her a self-portrait on an easel and the painter's palette with three brushes.

The artist is finishing the last touches on her portrait. The richly patterned designs on the wall contrast with the simplicity of Marcia's dress and hairdo. It is interesting to note that the painted self-portrait is larger than her reflected image. Has the painter wished to aggrandize herself, or is the largeness because she is using the mirror to portray herself?

Boccaccio's Marcia takes a step further in the investigation of a painter by painting not only a religious female (nun) but

also a *persona*. She portrays a self-portrait and the activities of an artist, for example, looking in the mirror and painting what she sees in it on an easel. Marcia shows a sense of scrutiny and scientific investigation as she studies the physical reality before her. What she has drawn is carefully conveyed; the portraiture is an accurate rendition of reality. Marcia as a painter is involved with two realities: the reflection of her image in the mirror that she holds and the painted self-image that she has depicted by viewing herself in the mirror. Unlike the discrepancies seen in the perspectival rendition of the overall composition—that is, the floor and table are tilted and the table behind the painter is not proportionate in size—the placement of the seated figure in relation to the mirror, the reflection of the portrait in the mirror, and the painted portrait on the easel are all accurately and proportionately interrelated and rendered. Marcia has carefully studied nature and observed its spatial complexity.

Marcia is aware of the fourteenth-century Italian tradition of St. Luke Painting the Virgin (Levey, pp. 14–16). Although there was no muse of painting in the early Renaissance, according to art historian Michael Levey, the emergence of St. Luke in the West established the association of a founder figure with a patron saint of painters. Florentine painter Cennino Cennini calls St. Luke the first Christian painter. Depictions of St. Luke at this time show a seated St. Luke painting at an easel. The image portrayed in the painting is a Madonna and Child, and the interior setting is surrounded with painters' paraphernalia—the environment alludes to a painter's studio. Thus, the artist portrayed himself as St. Luke, the patron saint of painters.

Most of these portraits of St. Luke have physical, if not psychological, resemblances to the painter. Other artists have also observed St. Luke at work: Hinrich Bornemann the Younger, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (1499), a diptych with a self-portrait in the lower right, at the Hauptkirche St. Jacobi in Hamburg, Germany, and Pierre Mignard, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (1695), in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Troyes, France. On the left of St. Luke, the artist himself appears holding palette and brushes. In Italian manuscripts of the early fourteenth century, St. Luke paints the Virgin in his studio without external guidance or spiritual assistance, his imagination and internal inspiration providing the saint with inspiration. In the fifteenth century, representations of St. Luke were associated with activities and influences of the messenger god Mercury, as in the Master of the Planet's engraving *Children of Mercury* (1460–1465) in the British Museum in London. This planetary god ruled the realm of intelligence and creativity. In the northern Renaissance, works representing St. Luke painting the Virgin in his studio include Rogier van der Weyden's *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (1435–1440) at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Colijn de Coter's *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (1505) at the Église Notre-Dame-Allier in Veuire, Niklaus Manuel's *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (circa 1505), and Jan Gossaert's *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (circa 1515) at the National Gallery of Prague in the Czech Republic. The saint is drawing or painting from his vision of Virgin and Child, that is, from imagination. However, Manuel's representation illustrates the influence of illuminated manuscripts, as he paints only the Virgin and requires no model or vision for his inspiration. In other

instances, St. Luke's creativity or imagination is guided by divine intervention in the form of an angel. The celestial tutor assists St. Luke in painting the apparition of Virgin and Child, as seen in Jan Gossaert's *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (circa 1525) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria, and Maerten van Heemskerck's *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (1532) in the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem, The Netherlands. In Gossaert's painting, St. Luke kneels to sketch the Virgin (as in Rogier van der Weyden's painting and his own Prague representations), who has appeared in a cloud before him. St. Luke is inspired by the vision; however, in his representations he is assisted and instructed by an angel who stands behind him. Van Heemskerck's painting also depicts St. Luke in his studio. The saint/painter is seated on a sarcophagus surrounded by classical elements (a mask, a Bacchic figure, and a relief of the *Rape of Europa*) alluding to the erudition of the painter. The vision of the Virgin and Child—or the models for the painter—are illuminated by a torch-bearing angel.

Artists throughout Europe continued to depict this religious theme during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, perhaps paralleling the development of *botteghe* (workshops) into schools for artists, or academies. The academies were set up to promote discussion among artists and thus broaden their artistic knowledge. These academies, such as Vasari's Accademia del Disegno in Florence and the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, had St. Luke as the patron of their arts. Agostino Veneziano painted such an academy in 1531 in his *Bandinelli's Academy in Rome*, now in the British Museum in London. Skulls and skeletons can be seen in this sculptor's studio, reflecting the contemporary interest in anatomy, while the plaster casts of classical statuary clearly demonstrate the renewed fascination with antiquity. Here, artists are inspired by observed objects. Later other academies focused not on the religious aspect of their origin but on their function as centers of training and learning. Theodor Galle and Jan van der Straet (Johannes Stradanus) demonstrate this shift in the engraving *Dutch Studio in the Sixteenth Century*. In this elegant studio, the master is painting an image of St. George from imagination while an assistant executes a lady's portrait. Another apprentice copies a bust, another cleans a palette, and two studio hands grind and mix colors. The learning room is filled with paintings, in process or finished, classical sculptures, and other artistic paraphernalia. The illustration of creativity or imagination is represented in several aspects. The master paints from internal inspiration, for he is a genius. The assistant paints from a natural model, and the apprentices copy from plaster casts of classical statuary. For them, unlike their master, imagination derives from external observation, which is sometimes second-hand.

The academy continued to develop and expand through the centuries: in the seventeenth century with the French Academy in Paris; in the eighteenth century with the Academy in Amsterdam (The Netherlands), The American School, and The British Royal Academy; in the nineteenth century with the proliferation of state and city academies; and in the twentieth century with the growth of art schools and art departments in universities (Bellony-Rewald). For Vasari, the establishment of the Accademia del Disegno was dictated by artistic necessity to foment discussion of the aims of the arts, to teach the princi-

ple of *disegno* in Florence, and to foster the cinquecento theories of art.

These cinquecento ideas about artistic creativity combined with the conception of poetic inspiration in relation to yet another central idea: *ut pictura poesis* (as is painting, so is poetry). Artists and theoreticians of the cinquecento, including Leonardo da Vinci, Carlo Dolce, Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, and Vasari himself frequently employed this phrase, derived from Horace. The idea of *ut pictura poesis* captures the complementary nature of poetry and painting, equating the inspiration of the poet with the imagination of the painter. Both are concerned with the imitation of nature, the painter through the use of visual elements—line, color, tone, texture, and shape—and the poet through words. Leonardo, commenting on the versatility of the painter, remarked on this parity: "And if a poet should say: 'I will invent a fiction with a great purpose,' the painter can do the same, as Apelles painted Calumny . . ." If poetry deals with moral philosophy, painting deals with natural philosophy. Poetry describes the action of the mind; painting considers what the mind may effect by the motions. If poetry can terrify people by hideous fictions, painting can do as much by depicting the same things in action. In his *Dialogue on Painting*, Dolce expressed similar sentiments, characterizing the poet as a *parlante dipintore* (a speaking painter) and the painter as a *poeta mutolo* (a mute poet). Lomazzo's *Trattato dell' arte della pittura, scultura et architettura*, summarized Leonardo's and Dolce's conceptions of the relationships between poetry and painting (Lee; Armenini). Torquato Tasso referred to the poet as a *pittore parlante* (speaking painter) in *Del Poema Eroico*. Years later, Vasari wrote in the *Ragionamenti* that "it is permissible for the brush to treat philosophical subjects as narrative, since poetry and painting, as sisters, use the same means" (Vasari and Milanesi, vol. VIII).

The addition of poetry to the realm of the arts is most revealing because it alludes to the Renaissance Neoplatonic concept of *furor poeticus* (poetic inspiration). This concept derives from the writings of the Neoplatonic philosopher Marsilio Ficino, who explained that there are four forms of inspiration, or *furor divinus*. One of these is *furor poeticus*, or the frenzy of the poet, as stated by Ficino's *Platonic Theology: Concerning the Immortality of the Soul* (1474, VIII), an intellectual force that is intuitive, creative, and contemplative. Another probable source is Leon Battista Alberti's treatise *On Painting*, where he described painting as highest among the arts because "it contains a divine force." In cinquecento art, the paradigm for the pictorial representation of *furor poeticus* is Raphael's *Poetry (Numine Afflatur)* on the ceiling of the *Stanza della Segnatura*. Some years after Raphael's rendering, this conceit became so popular that even Andrea Alciati and Cesare Ripa had an emblematic entry for it in their books. In the Chamber of Fame, the concept of *furor poeticus* (poetic inspiration) is manifested not only by the depiction of Poetry but also by the fact that all the Fine Arts are themselves seen to be in the process of creating an art form. In his writings, Vasari related the concept of *furor poeticus* to the creation of visual art:

Many painters achieve in the first design of their work, as though guided by a sort of inspirational fire, some-

thing of the good and a certain measure of boldness; but afterwards, in finishing it, the boldness vanishes. (Vasari and Milanesi, vol. V)

Furthermore, Vasari's explanation of artistic creativity is based fundamentally on the Italian Renaissance tradition, which considered creativity to be a faculty present in all human activity.

The artistic conception of *ut pictura poesis* appears to be illustrated in the Chamber of Fame in that Poetry is portrayed among the Fine Arts, and Painting shows a portrait of a man holding a scroll. This is the poet Dante. The latter resembles Raphael's *Parnassus*, where the poet Sappho holds a scroll bearing her name.

On November 14, 1593, the Academy was inaugurated in the church, and Federico Zuccaro was elected president (*principe*). The instruction and discussions on art were organized in the following manner. Every day they attended mass; after the service, students would listen to theoretical debates about art initiated by Federico; and Federico's nephew Romano Alberti recorded these lectures. The artistic ideas that were developed from these debates and the compiled explanatory notes formulated Federico's book. With the notes of Alberti we know that the lectures dealt with two factors: instruction and theory. Instruction focused on the artist's education, that is, explanations and definitions of the ABCs of painting, and the lectures on theory contained discussion on the theories of art postulated by Aristotle, St. Thomas Aquinas, Alberti, Albrecht Dürer, Pico della Mirandola, Vasari, and Lomazzo and explanations of the metaphysical and theological nature of design (*disegno*).

Federico's theory is modeled to answer one question: How does an artist create a work of art? His answer is that creativity is manifested through design; therefore, his theory of art emphasizes the theory of design, both internal and external (*disegno interno e disegno esterno*). Unlike Vasari, Federico does not instruct the artist how to make a work of art. His concern is how the idea of art appears in the mind of the artist and how it is translated into the form of a drawing. His table on the property and quantity of design clearly explains how the artist's idea moves from God to the artwork. In an Aristotelian fashion, Federico describes the process for design from the abstract concept of the idea to the practical or material execution of the design idea (starting from the top of Federico's diagram). A divine spark suggests the name and then the properties or qualities of circumscription, mensuration, and form (image). These qualities in turn give substance to a form and figure by simple outlines. This appearance reveals the light of the intellect represented through the instruments of pencil or pen, and the result creates a design. As a Christian of the sixteenth century, Federico explains the origin of design, or *disegno*, in terms of the number three, which composes God's name and the Trinity, as in *di-segn-o*, or *Dio* (Italian for "God"), and *segn* (Italian for *segno*, or "sign") for *design*. Influenced by St. Thomas Aquinas's *Summa theologiae* ("God, as a creator, also 'designs' internally and externally, so to speak," I, 1-15), Federico in his writings states that the structure of the word *disegno* contains "the true sign of God within us" (*vero segno di Dio in noi*). Design extends from the internal to the external, that is, from the image in mind to the drawing on paper. Federico states that

"one should remember that there are two kinds of operations: external ones like drawing, outlining, shaping, building; and, internal ones like reasoning and desiring." Internal design is a concept or idea formed in the artist's mind by God, and external design, or artistic representation, is the manifestation on paper of that concept or idea. Internal design is "free from its execution in any artistic medium." Because of Federico's intellectual investigations on the creation of art, his book, according to distinguished art historian Sydney Freedberg, is the "most systematic and the most lucid" on the aesthetics of *maniera* (style).

During the seventeenth century, the concept of imitation was fused with inspiration or imagination. In Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1603), the personification, or *figurazione*, of Imitation (*Imitazione*) is described: A woman holds a palette in her right hand and a mask in her left hand, and a monkey is at her feet. The element of imitation can be seen in works of art, which explains why the palette is depicted as alluding to the copying of other forms in terms of color and figures seen in nature. The mask and the monkey symbolize the imitation of human actions. For Ripa, the monkey copies human gestures and actions, and the mask recalls the comedies in which human life is performed with different actors who imitate daily life. Annibale Caracci's *Allegory of Painting* or *Man with a Monkey* (1605) and Artemisia Gentileschi's *Allegory of Painting* (1620) reflect Ripa's description. In the eighteenth century, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin elaborated this idea of imitation further by humorously replacing the artist with a monkey in *The Monkey-Painter* (circa 1740), now in the Louvre Museum in Paris.

For Cesare Ripa, Imagination is the personification of a beautiful female who is richly dressed, has wings, wears a feather in her hair, and is seated on a stone while looking at her reflection in a mirror held for her by a page in sixteenth-century costume. Insects are flying around her head, and, seeing them, she recoils from her reflection. The richness of the woman's dress indicates the rich variety of thoughts and ideas of which the imagination is capable. The wings suggest the spiritual (i.e., mental) nature of imagination, for it is not earth-bound.

In the seventeenth century, the fusion between the origins of the theories of imagination and creativity still relate to two ideas: imagination or creativity derives from outside, that is, from divine intervention (angel, muse) or from inside, that is, artistic genius. For example, Caravaggio's second version of *The Inspiration of Saint Matthew* (1602) in the Contarelli Chapel of the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome represents St. Matthew writing on the inspiration of the moment while guided by divine intervention, the angel. Caravaggio's painting was influenced by the Venetian Francesco Bassano, whose *The Inspiration of Saint John the Evangelist* (1590) in the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery in Birmingham, England, reflects the same type of inspiration. This celestial inspiration for representations of evangelists through angelic assistance is a continuation of Christian iconographic tradition. Divine inspirations are depicted not only in Christian but also in mythological stories, and especially in French Baroque paintings.

For example, Nicolas Poussin's *The Inspiration of the Epic Poet* (1640) in the Louvre is a pastoral landscape in which

monumental figures of Calliope (muse of heroic epic) and Apollo (god of poetry and music) assist a poet composing the hymns. Influenced by ancient sarcophagi, Poussin achieves a Hellenistic grandeur in his allegorical figures contrasting with the earthly and heavy form of the poet (Oberhuber, p. 188). Poussin differentiates between the divine (Calliope and Apollo) and the natural (poet) realms. In the natural realm, the poet seeks inspiration, which Apollo gives as he directly points to the poet's notations. In the divine realm, Calliope accompanies the Greek god without interfering with his inner inspiration.

Poussin's *Inspiration of the Lyric Poet* (1640) in the Niedersächsische Landesgalerie in Hanover, Germany, shows a compositional arrangement that is influenced by ancient sculptural reliefs. The poet, in a supplicant position, drinks the inspirational nectar provided by Apollo from the Castilian spring while a putto crowns him with laurel. In contrast, in *The Inspiration of the Epic Poet*, the poet seeks divine inspiration as Apollo guides him to write. The muse, Calliope, reverently observes the putto's coronation of the poet—an occasion of Olympian solemnity. Both paintings are examples of Poussin's use of the Hypolidian mode.

Poussin defines his theory of imagination and artistic creativity by modes, which he defines as the ratios or measures and the forms that we employ to do anything (Jouanny). The French painter enumerates the modes that derive from Pythagorean, Platonic, and Aristotelian sources. The Dorian mode was firm, grave, and severe and was applied to matters that were grave, severe, and full of wisdom. The Phrygian mode represented subjects that were vehement, furious, and highly volatile and was suitable primarily for battles. The ancients invented and employed the Ionic mode to represent dances, bacchanals, and feasts. The Lydian mode was used for mournful subjects, and the Hypolidian mode "fills the soul of the beholders with joy." These poetical paintings convey exactly John Milton's attitude in *Ad Patrem* as he convinces his father, in Hypolidian terms, to release him from his promise to suppress his poetic aspirations in favor of the ministry:

Do not you look down on song divine, creation of the bard, for naught graces more finely than does song and his heavenly source, his heavenly seed, his mortal mind in origin. (Patterson)

For an artist, the source of imagination does not always give benign and divine guidance. Sometimes, diabolic interference reminds the artist of the ancient saying, *Ars longa vita brevis* (art is long, life is short), as in Arnold Böcklin's *Self Portrait with Death Playing the Fiddle* (1872) in the Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin. Here, he portrays himself in the act of painting, but he is suddenly distracted by a haunting musical sound: Death is playing a single-stringed fiddle while laughing at the artistic creation. Böcklin's portrayal of Death alludes to his and other artists' fear of artistic failure and evanescent fame.

The Renaissance representations of imagination or creativity usually are set in an artist's studio and include a painting with a religious theme and Neoplatonic references regarding the artist as creator imitating God, the divine creator. Through the centuries, however, the studio as an environment of inspi-

ration, or a place for creation, develops a more complex meaning and begins to investigate further the source of artistic creativity, moving away from the Platonic and focusing on the Romantic interpretation of the artistic genius as a human maddening force (Levey; Bellony-Rewald). The studio becomes a center of learning for the artist, where artworks are collected, visitors are invited to see and judge works of art, and models are employed for the artist's inspiration. These circumstances can be seen in the paintings of many artists, including Willem van Haecht II's *Alexander in Apelles' Studio* (circa 1625) in the Bestegui Collection in Paris; Rembrandt van Rijn's *Studio* (1660) in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Weimar, Germany; Jan Miense Molenaer's *Painter's Studio* (1631) in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin; Diego Velázquez's *Las Meninas* (1656) in the Prado in Madrid, Spain; Luca Giordano's *Rubens Painting an Allegory of Peace* (circa 1680), also in the Prado; François Boucher's *The Painter in His Studio* (circa 1770) in the Louvre; Jan Stolker's *Rembrandt in His Studio* (1781) in the British Museum in London; Louis-Léopold Boilly's *Young Woman Seated in Front of an Easel* (circa 1840) in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow; Jean Alaux's *Ingres' Studio in Rome* (1818) in the Musée Ingres in Montauban, France; Edward Matthew Ward's *Hogarth's Studio* (1863) in the City Art Gallery in York, England; Hendrik Jacobus Scholten's *Princess of Orange in van der Helst's Studio* (circa 1860) in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam; Nicaise de Keyser's *Raphael in His Studio* (1865) in a private collection in England; Gustave Courbet's *L'Atelier* (1855) in the Louvre; and Henri Fantin-Latour's *A Studio in the Batignolles* (1870) in the Louvre.

During the post-Renaissance, the visual imagery used in paintings of artists' studios paralleled the representations of artists' participation in academic centers for artistic training and exposition of their work. Although artists of this modern era were often trained and dependent on an academic center, they became interested in creating a professional studio for exhibiting and discussing their artworks with friends and patrons and in teaching about art. Examples of studios as gathering places for artists include Frederic Edwin Church's studio-palace at Olana, built in the 1870s, in New York State; the studio represented in Frédéric Bazille's *The Artist's Studio* (1870) in the Louvre; Augustus Saint-Gaudens's Arts Student League in New York (1892); Pablo Picasso's studio at Bateau-Lavoir in France (1904); Henri Matisse's studio-apartment at the Hotel Regina (1960s); and Jackson Pollock's barn on Long Island, New York (1960s) (Bellony-Rewald).

In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, illustrations of the artist's imagination take on sexual overtones. The artist's muse of inspiration during the Renaissance is transformed or replaced by the nude model, an object of intellectual and physical stimulation during the modern era. Freud's impact on the concept of imagination and creativity is evident among contemporary artists and writers as they focus more on the object painted (Picasso painting his models with a phallic brush) than the subject thought (Albrecht Dürer's engraving *Melancholia I*, 1514).

Is there a gift of talent or genius that makes some individuals uniquely able to create? Or are ordinary individuals at times lifted by divine inspiration to a level of genius? Those who adopt the latter position have often embodied the source of

Inspiration in the figure of a Muse. Originally a Greek invention to explain the creative imagination of historians, poets, dancers, and musicians, the idea has been expanded to include artists. The ancient Greeks had nine Muses—the daughters of Mnemosyne (Memory) and Zeus—who inhabited streams and had the ability to impart inspiration. They are depicted in a Roman relief found near Ostia, Italy, each with an attribute of her particular specialty. They were often associated with Apollo and depicted on Mount Helicon, or Mount Parnassus, their abode.

In the medieval period, some other form of divine aid often supplied the inspirational role of the Muses. For example, in the ninth-century *Gospel Book of Archbishop Ebbo of Reims*, St. Mark, a figure of swirling energy in a frenzy of creation, looks to his symbol of the winged lion with scroll for inspiration as he dips his pen into the ink pot. In the twelfth-century *Gospel Book of Abbot Wedricus*, St. John is helped in the writing of his Gospel by the hand of God coming out of the sky and holding a dove close to his ear.

Painters of the Renaissance put the Muses to a variety of uses, from merely decorative figures to purveyors of complex iconographic meaning. For example, Andrea Mantegna used them in his *Parnassus* (1497) to celebrate the marriage of Francesco Gonzaga and Isabella d'Este and to provide an allegory of marital harmony under which the arts would flourish. At the end of the nineteenth century, the winged horse Pegasus swoops down in the upper panel to touch the raised arms of the young artist in Xavier Mellery's large double painting *L'Ispirazione*. In the lower panel, a winged figure touches the head of a naked young man surrounded by the nine classically dressed Muses.

In more modern times, muses have often been specific women who indeed had an inspirational influence over artists. For example, in the nineteenth century, the painter Anselm Friedrich Feuerbach relentlessly and obsessively painted his model, mistress, and muse, Nanna. In the twentieth century, the prolific sculptor Gaston Lachaise produced few works that were not images of his wife, Isabel. He described their meeting:

At twenty, in Paris, I met a young American person who immediately became the primary inspiration which awakened my vision and the leading influence that has directed my forces. Throughout my career as an artist, I refer to this person by the word "Woman." (Lachaise, as quoted in Nordland, p. 8)

The voluptuous yet elegant volumes of Isabel's form were lovingly repeated with many variations in Lachaise's sculptures. According to American painter and poet Marsden Hartley, Lachaise saw "the entire universe in the form of a woman" (as quoted in *Sculpture of Gaston Lachaise*, p. 27), and the "woman" was clearly recognizable as Isabel.

The surrealists, who delved into the unconscious and encouraged free expression of sexuality as their source of inspiration, turned to Sigmund Freud and the Marquis de Sade in their desire to revolt against an exhausted and discredited society at the end of World War I. They experimented in automatic writing, collage, and the "collective imagination" of "Exquisite Corpses," for which each artist contributed a por-

tion of a composition on folded paper without seeing the rest of the paper. They recast the passive-dependent nineteenth-century woman as a sensuous and surreal child of nature—ethereal, erotic, hypnotic, and transforming—and were capable of giving form to the underlying erotic energy of their art.

The name for the surrealists' muse, Gravidia, was adapted from a novella by Wilhelm Jensen about a young man who is attracted to a Roman bas-relief of a striding woman whom he names Gravidia. His obsessional dream about her leads him to visit Pompeii, Italy, where he meets a mysterious woman with Gravidia's features and walk. Sigmund Freud's analysis of this novella impressed the surrealists, and they adopted the name Gravidia for the gallery they opened in Paris and used the name as an equivalent for the muse in their paintings. Within their circle in Paris in the 1920s, Gala, the wife of the surrealist poet Paul Eluard, acted as a real-life muse, especially in her relationships with Eluard, Max Ernst, and Salvador Dalí. It is reported that whenever an especially successful painting or poem was created, the comment would be, "Ah well, he was in love with Gala then" (Chadwick, p. 50).

Whether imagination and creativity come from divine aid or good training, from imitation or invention, or from genetic genius or the inspiration of a woman, artists have found it necessary to speculate and theorize about this source and to give it a visual form in their work. Whether in the Muses, St. Luke, Ripa's emblems, the artist's studio, or Gravidia, artists have paid tribute to the mysterious forces that inspire their imagination and creativity.

See also Artists/Art

Selected Works of Art

St. Luke Painting the Virgin

Weyden, Rogier van der, *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin and Child*, panel, 1435–1440, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
Master of the Planet, *Children of Mercury*, engraving, 1460–1465, London, British Museum

Bornemann, Hinrich the Younger, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, diptych, 1499, Hamburg, Germany, Hauptkirche St. Jacobi

Coter, Colijn de, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, panel, 1505, Vieure, France, Église Notre-Dame-Allier

Manuel, Niklaus, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, panel, circa 1505, Bern, Switzerland, Kunstmuseum

Gossaert, Jan, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, panel, circa 1515, Prague, Czech Republic, National Gallery

Gossaert, Jan, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, circa 1525, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Heemskerck, Maerten van, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, 1532, Haarlem, The Netherlands, Frans Hals Museum

Vasari, Giorgio, *Saint Luke Painting the Virgin*, panel, 1562–1565, Florence, Italy, Santa Annunziata, Capella degli Artisti

Mignard, Pierre, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, 1695, Troyes, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

The Artist in His Studio

Self-Portrait, from *Noble and Famous Women*, by Boccaccio, circa 1401, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

Vasari, Giorgio, *Zeuxis's Story*, fresco, 1548, Arezzo, Italy, Casa Vasari, Chamber of Fortune

Vasari, Giorgio, *Apelles' Stories*, fresco, 1554, Florence, Italy, Casa Vasari, Sala Fiorentina

Molenaer, Jan Miense, *Painter's Studio*, 1631, Berlin, Germany, Staatliche Museen

Velázquez, Diego, *Las Meninas*, 1656, Madrid, Prado

Giordano, Luca, *Rubens Painting an Allegory of Peace*, circa 1680, Madrid, Prado

Boucher, François, *The Painter in His Studio*, circa 1770, Paris, Louvre

Stolker, Jan, *Rembrandt in His Studio*, 1781, London, British Museum

Boilly, Louis-Léopold, *Young Woman Seated in Front of an Easel*, circa 1840, Moscow, Russia, Pushkin Museum

Alaux, Jean, *Ingres' Studio in Rome*, 1818, Montauban, France, Musée Ingres

Ward, Edward Matthew, *Hogarth's Studio*, 1863, York, England, City Art Gallery

Scholten, Hendrik Jacobus, *Princess of Orange in van der Helst's Studio*, circa 1860, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Keyser, Nicaise de, *Raphael in His Studio*, 1865, England, private collection

Courbet, Gustave, *L'Atelier*, oil on canvas, 1855, Paris, Louvre

Fantini-Latour, Henri, *A Studio in the Batignolles*, 1870, Paris, Louvre

Bazille, Frédéric, *The Artist's Studio*, oil on canvas, 1870, Paris, Louvre

Böcklin, Arnold, *Self Portrait with Death Playing the Fiddle*, 1872, Berlin, Nationalgalerie, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Artists' Studios

Frederic Edwin Church's studio-palace at Olana, 1870s, New York

Augustus Saint-Gaudens's Arts Student League, New York, 1892

Pablo Picasso's studio at Bateau-Lavoir, Paris, 1904

Henri Matisse's studio-apartment at Hotel Regina, 1960s

Jackson Pollock's barn on Long Island, New York, 1960s

Imitation

Chardin, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon, *The Monkey-Painter*, oil on canvas, circa 1740, Paris, Louvre

Ripa, Cesare, *Imitazione*, woodcut

Haecht, Willem van II, *Alexander in Apelles' Studio*, circa 1625, Paris, Bestegui Collection

Academies

Zuccaro, Federico, *Drawing of Antiquity*, 1585, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Veneziano, Agostino, *Bandinelli's Academy in Rome*, engraving, 1531, London, British Museum

Galle, Theodor, and Jan van der Straet, *Dutch Studio in the Sixteenth Century*, engraving, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

Dürer, Albrecht, *Melancholia I*, engraving, 1514, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Vasari, Giorgio, *Frontispiece*, woodcut, from *Lives*, 1550

The Artist's Inspiration

The Nine Muses, relief found near Ostia, Italy, Rome, Capitoline Museum

Saint Mark, illumination from *Gospel Book of Archbishop Ebbo of Reims*, A.D. 816–835, Épernay, France, Municipal Library

Saint John the Evangelist, illumination from *Gospel Book of Abbot Wedricus*, circa 1147, Avesnes, France, Société Archéologique

Duccio, *The Muses*, marble relief, 1457, Rimini, Italy, Cappella San Francesco

Mantegna, Andrea, *Parnassus*, 1497, Paris, Louvre

Raphael, *Parnassus*, 1510–1511, Rome, Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura

Primaticcio, Francesco, *The Nine Muses*, fresco, 1539–1542, Château de Fontainebleau, Galerie Basse

Veronese, Paolo, *Muse of Painting*, before 1588, Detroit, Michigan, Art Institute

Bassano, Francesco, *The Inspiration of Saint John the Evangelist*, oil on canvas, 1590, Birmingham, England, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery

Caravaggio, *The Inspiration of Saint Matthew*, oil on canvas, 1602, Rome, Church of San Luigi dei Francesi, Contarelli Chapel

Gentileschi, Orazio, and Artemisia Gentileschi, *The Nine Muses*, from *Allegory of Peace and the Arts Under the English Crown*, fresco panels, 1638–1639, London, Marlborough House

Poussin, Nicolas, *The Inspiration of the Epic Poet*, oil on canvas, 1640, Paris, Louvre

Poussin, Nicolas, *Inspiration of the Lyric Poet*, oil on canvas, 1640, Hanover, Germany, Niedersächsische Landesgalerie

Ripa, Cesare, *Imaginazione*, woodcut, in *Iconologia*, 1618

Drouais, François Hubert, *Madame Du Barry as a Muse*, 1771, Versailles, France, Musée

Delacroix, Eugène, *The Muse of Aristotle*, ceiling painting, 1845–1847, Paris, Palais de Luxemborg, Senate Library

Feuerbach, Anselm, *Nanna*, 1861, Karlsruhe, Germany, Staatliche Kunsthalle

Feuerbach, Anselm, *Nanna*, 1861, Stuttgart, Germany, Staatsgalerie

Mellery, Xavier, *L'Inspirazione*, oil on canvas, begun 1885, Anversa, Koninklijk, Museum voor Schone Kunsten

Aman-Jean, Edmond-François, *Hesiod Listening to the Inspirations of the Muse*, oil on canvas, circa 1890, Los Angeles, California, Los Angeles County Museum of Art

Puvis de Chavannes, *The Inspiring Muses Acclaim Genius Messenger of Light*, 1895, Boston, Public Library

Rodin, Auguste, *The Sculptor and His Muse*, bronze sculpture, 1895, San Francisco, California, Palace of the Legion of Honor

- Rousseau, Henri, *The Muse Inspiring the Poet*, before 1910, Basel, Switzerland, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung
- Lachaise, Gaston, *Standing Woman (Elevation)*, bronze sculpture, 1912–1927, Buffalo, New York, Albright-Knox Gallery
- Chirico, Giorgio de, *The Disquieting Muses*, 1916–1918, Milan, Italy, private collection
- Lachaise, Gaston, *La Force Éternelle (Woman with Beads)*, bronze sculpture, 1917, Northampton, Massachusetts, Smith College, Museum of Art
- Tanguy, Yves, *Genius*, oil on canvas, 1926, Paris, private collection
- Lachaise, Gaston, *Standing Nude*, chrome sculpture with black onyx base, 1927, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Dalí, Salvador, *Gravida*, pen and ink, 1930, private collection
- Picasso, Pablo, *The Muse*, 1937, Paris, Musée National d'Art Moderne; New York, Museum of Modern Art
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JOURNEY/FLIGHT

Sarah S. Gibson
Alicia Craig Faxon

The following iconographic narratives are covered in the discussion of the theme Journey/Flight:

TROJAN WAR

JASON AND THE ARGONAUTS

THESEUS

ODYSSEUS (ULYSSES)

AENEAS'S FLIGHT FROM
TROY

VENUS AND ADONIS

HERO AND LEANDER

CUPID AND PSYCHE

JOURNEYS TO THE
UNDERWORLD

DELUGE

PATRIARCHS

EXODUS

CHRIST'S DESCENT INTO
HELL (LIMBO)

BOOK OF TOBIT

JOURNEY OF THE MAGI

FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

PRODIGAL SON

CHRIST TAKING LEAVE OF
HIS MOTHER

ST. URSULA

TONDAL

OTHER PILGRIMAGES

OTHER CHRISTIAN JOURNEYS

WAR

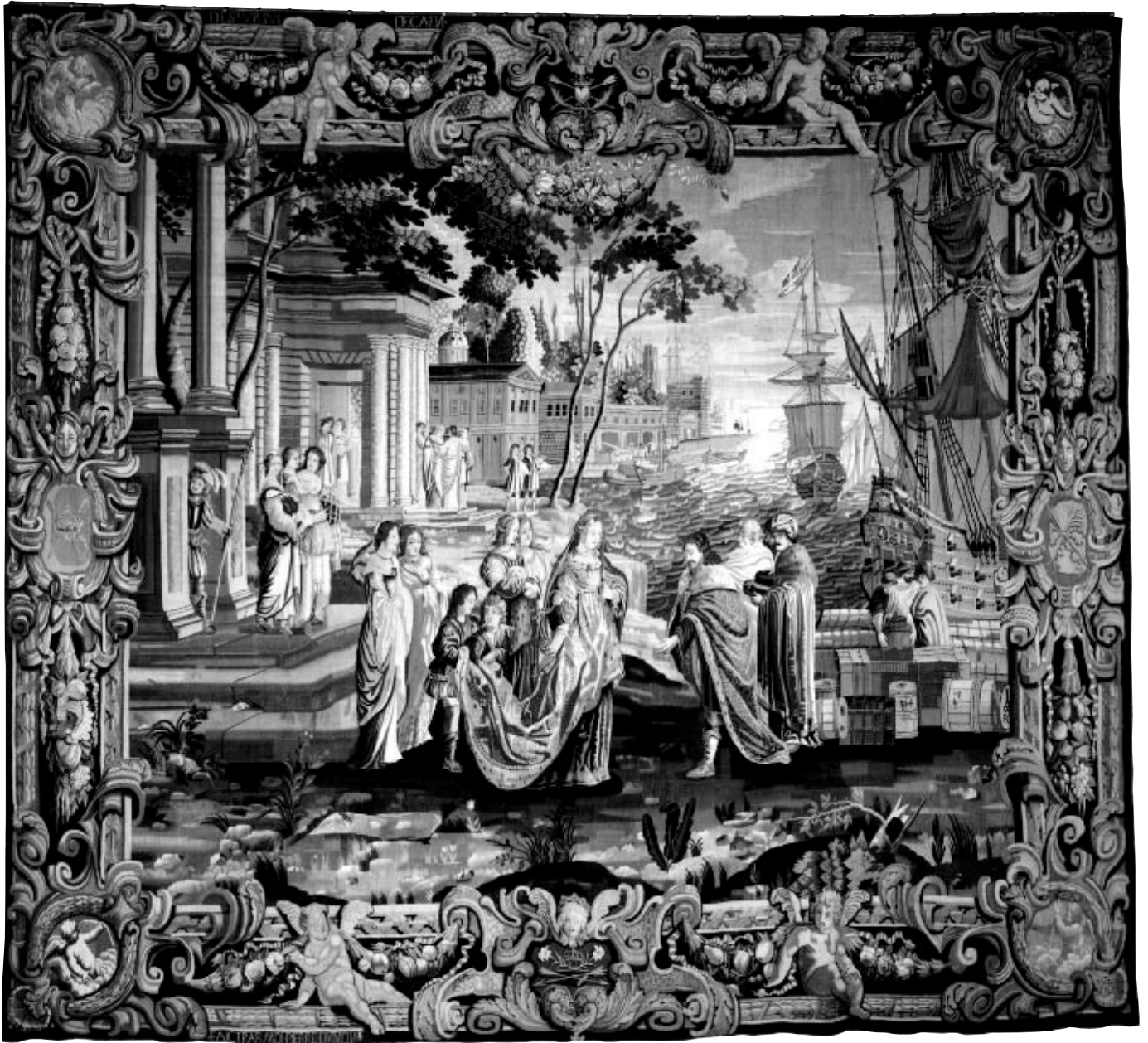
ALLEGORICAL

DANTE'S *DIVINE COMEDY*

TWENTIETH-CENTURY
JOURNEYS

METAPHORICAL JOURNEYS

OTHER DEPARTURES AND
JOURNEYS



The Embarkation of St. Ursula, circa 1654–1656, tapestry, wool, and silk, probably designed by La Champagne La Faye, woven by Pierre Dumon, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, gift of Hugh R. Sharp Jr. and Bayard Sharp. (Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

A journey is described by various names: voyage, travel, trip, embarkation, flight, exodus, excursion, emigration, or immigration. Journeys are undertaken for many different reasons: to visit friends, to conquer enemies, to gain riches, to seek adventure, to flee oppressors, or to establish new homes. Travelers may set out alone with only the clothes on their backs or with families and goods in luxurious accommodations. The traveler may wander aimlessly, have a complicated itinerary, or have only magic instructions as a guide. A number of journeys are described with great length in sacred texts and works of literature. On the other hand, visual depictions of journeys are limited to one place and one instant and tend to focus on one point in the narrative. The artist often chooses the departure, some defining incident on the journey, or the traveler's return.

Departure, the act of going away or of leaving a place or person, has many aspects. It implies a separation from someone or something that may or may not be permanent and that may entail pain, sadness, or even despair. Conversely, departure is a starting forth for a new life or venture, a new course of action, or a new beginning and in this sense may embody hopefulness, excitement, or joy. The act of departure seems to be omnipresent—people have been parting from one another or from some place for one reason or another for as long as recorded time. Voluntary leave-takings are often tinged with pathos or tragedy when the viewer is aware of the outcome of the story. Sometimes, such departures are really less than voluntary because the protagonists may have been constrained to leave because of duty, economics, political pressure, or the will of the gods. Departure scenes occur widely in works of art based on myth and legend and on Old and New Testament narratives. They also occur in genre scenes.

The Trojan War provides a prototypical farewell scene when the Trojan hero Hector takes leave of his wife, Andromache, to go into battle. Their infant son, Astyanax, frightened by his father's armor, begins to cry, whereupon Hector, removing his crested helmet, takes the child in his arms to reassure him. Hector did not meet his death in the coming battle with Ajax, but medieval romances ignored this detail and preferred to think of Hector's farewell as preceding his fatal encounter with Achilles. Antecedents of the parting scene can be found in Greek paintings depicting women bestowing arms on warriors prior to the departure for battle, which in turn found their source in the mythical story of the sea goddess Thetis giving arms to her son Achilles. Early examples are *The Departure of a Warrior* on a lekythos (circa 450 B.C.) in the Antikenmuseum in Berlin and *Hector and Paris Taking Leave of Andromache* on a terra-cotta krater (circa 540 B.C.) from Vulci, Etruria, now in the University Museum in Würzburg, Germany. In the fifth century B.C., images of the bestowal of arms change to women

pouring ritual wine as departure libations for the warriors as in *Departure* on the libation cup (circa 430 B.C., now in the Antikenmuseum in Berlin. In the eighteenth century, Hector's farewell had been codified as a theme of the conflict between duty to one's country and to one's family, as can be sensed in Charles-Antoine Coypel's *Hector Taking Leave of Andromache* (circa 1711) in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Tours, France.

The theme of the departure of the warrior was reenacted in different times and places throughout the history of art. For example, Henry Nelson O'Neil's nineteenth-century painting *Eastward Ho! August 1857* shows women and children bidding farewell to the soldiers as a British troop ship departs to quell the Indian Mutiny. The popularity of the painting led O'Neil to paint the sequel, *Home Again, 1858*, showing the returning troops welcomed home by their families.

Nineteenth-century genre painting also reflected the poignancy of emigrants forced to journey to a new land. Although emigrants could choose to stay in their country, economic forces were as ruthless in determining the necessity to leave their homeland and journey to a new land as were conquering armies or commands from divine authorities (see the essay *Expulsion*). The acts of departing and leave-taking are such recurrent phenomena that they occurred frequently in genre painting of this era. A vast number of other scenes of departure also have had visual interpretations, ranging from *John the Baptist Leaving His Parents to Go into the Wilderness* (1450–1460) by Giovanni di Paolo in the Art Institute of Chicago to *The Departure of Elizabeth of France for Spain* (circa 1848) by Eugène Isabey in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Maryland. A much more lighthearted view in a tourism vein is depicted in Édouard Manet's *The Departure of the Folkestone Boat* (1869) in the Philadelphia Museum of Art in Pennsylvania.

A departure scene from the Bible that was often portrayed is that of Jesus Christ taking leave of his mother, a part of the Passion iconography. Examples include a woodcut by Albrecht Dürer from the *Little Passion* series (1509–1511), an Italian Renaissance painting by Correggio (before 1514) in the National Gallery in London, and an early sixteenth-century painting by Gerard David in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The artists emphasize the pathos of the scene, which is a voluntary departure but one that is the foreordained initial episode in the tragic drama about to unfold.

Although emigration may be a journey by ship, it may also be the weary trudging of refugees on foot who were exiled from their homes for political, religious, or economic reasons. At times, emigration has been for economic reasons and at other times for religious freedom, as when the Pilgrims first left for Holland and then for North America. The history of the United

States can be seen in terms of emigrations from Europe, Africa, and Asia. Some of these were voluntary (the Pilgrims) and some involuntary (the slave trade from Africa). The story has continued from the landing of the Virginia and Massachusetts Bay colonists in the seventeenth century to the migrations of the Haitian boat exiles in the 1990s. A series of emigrations have also occurred within the United States (to the West and to Alaska especially) and are summed up in art in Emmanuel Leutze's mural *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way* in the Capitol in Washington, D.C.

Quite different emotions are found when considering those themes of travel undertaken by heroes in search of adventure. Heroes tend to be travelers—restless or ambitious adventurers embarking on rescues, quests, and conquests or in search of a goal. Psychiatrist Carl Jung observed that traveling is an urge of aspiration, that is, of an unsatisfied longing that never finds its goal. This would be true of Lord Byron's romantic heroes but less true of the ancient Greek heroes Jason or Theseus, who had specific goals in mind. Jung posited that the goal of the heroes was to find the lost mother, but it could also be flight from the mother's domination.

Classical sources tell of a number of journeys of heroes. One is the story of Jason, whose uncle had usurped his father's throne. When Jason requested its return, his uncle Pelias said he would restore the throne as soon as Jason brought back the Golden Fleece to Colchis. Jason built a ship of 50 oars called the *Argo* and was joined by 50 Argonauts, among them the heroes Hercules, Theseus, Meleagar, the Dioscuri, and Orpheus. Finally, after many adventures, Jason gained the Golden Fleece with the aid of the sorceress Medea, daughter of the keeper of the fleece. The main literary sources in classical times for this story are Pindar, a fifth-century B.C. poet, and Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. William Morris provided an updated version in his epic poem *The Life and Death of Jason* (1867). Representations in art include that of Jason seizing the Golden Fleece on a red-figure vase (circa 470–460 B.C.) by the Orchard Painter in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. J. M. W. Turner provides a more modern vision in his painting *Jason* (1802) and his etching and mezzotint from the painting (1807).

The story of Theseus, the son of the king of Athens, tells of many adventures on his various journeys. Perhaps best known, and most often depicted, is his journey to Crete as one of seven youths and seven maidens sent by ship as tribute to Minos, king of Crete, to be sacrificed to the Minotaur. Theseus, helped by Ariadne, the daughter of Minos, overcomes the Minotaur but abandons Ariadne on his way home. His story appealed to many artists. For example, Luca Cambiaso painted a series of frescoes, *Myth of Theseus* (circa 1565), for the Palazzo della Meridiana in Genoa, Italy, and André Masson executed a series of surrealist paintings, *Story of Theseus* (1938–1939).

Odysseus (Ulysses in Roman mythology) is the archetypal adventurer whose wanderings during the return journey to his kingdom of Ithaca following the Trojan War are detailed in Homer's *Odyssey*. Many works of art focus on specific encounters with danger on his journey: the Lotus-Eaters, Polyphemus the Cyclops, Circe, the Sirens, Scylla and Charybdis, Calypso, Leucothea, and Nausicaä. His return to Ithaca and his wife, Penelope, is also frequently depicted. A few works form series

depicting his adventures, as Pinturicchio's *Scenes from the Odyssey* (circa 1480s). Of the earlier representations in the classical era, the late first-century B.C. wall paintings *Voyages of Odysseus* from a house on the Esquiline Hill in Rome, now in the Museo Profano in the Vatican, are the most dramatic and well preserved. His adventures have also been dealt with in many derivative works and in an opera, *The Return of Ulysses* (1640) by Claudio Monteverdi.

The destiny not only of the individual but of a whole people may be decided in the course of a journey. One might imagine that the Babylonian epic of Gilgamesh, with its story of the flood, was the oldest account of journeys by sea. However, it was actually antedated by a Sumerian source that depicts the water god Enki telling King Ziusudra to construct a large boat to escape the flood of seven days and seven nights, which destroyed all other life on Earth—an obvious prefiguring of the biblical account of Noah. The embarkation of Noah, his family, and two of every species of animals on Earth in the ark is another version of the destruction of the Earth by flood, told in Genesis 7:1–17. The biblical flood lasted 40 days and 40 nights and is attested to by archaeological evidence in the vicinity of Mount Ararat in Turkey, where the ark reputedly landed. It is shown in art by Jan Brueghel the Elder's *Collecting the Animals on the Ark* (circa 1613) at Apsley House in London; Guido Reni's *The Building of the Ark* (1608) in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, Russia; and Nicolas Poussin's *Winter* (1664) in the Louvre in Paris from his series *Seasons*, which contains an ark on the waters of the flood and desperate survivors looking for refuge in the foreground. In Poussin's painting, the ark is a symbol both of baptism (waters of the flood) and of salvation. The ark is also used as a symbol of the church, thus “the Ark of our Salvation.” An American version of the scene is Charles Wilson Peale's *Noah and His Ark* (1815) in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia.

Another Old Testament journey is that of Abraham leaving Ur of the Chaldees for Canaan, recounted in Genesis 12: 1–8. Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione (also known as Il Grechetto) painted several versions of Abraham's journey to the Land of Caanan. His *Abraham's Journey to the Land of Canaan* (circa mid-seventeenth century) concentrates on a close-up view of the patriarch with only two young travelers and a few animals.

Another patriarch who wandered extensively was Jacob, whose departures are rather frequently depicted. In Claude Lorrain's painting *Landscape with the Voyage of Jacob to Canaan* (1677) at the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Massachusetts, the story has become subordinate to a masterful depiction of landscape.

Another important biblical search for a new land was narrated in the book of Exodus, which describes how Moses led the children of Israel from Egypt to the Promised Land after 40 years of wandering in the wilderness (Exodus 14–40). This time, the circumstances of the departure were not so harrowing, nor was the ultimate destination unknown. Surprisingly, although the important incidents on the journey to Canaan are often illustrated—including the parting of the Red Sea, Moses receiving the tablets of the law, and the worship of the golden calf—the actual departure itself seems not to have been a favorite scene. J. M. W. Turner painted a series, *Plagues of*

Egypt (circa 1800, Tate Gallery in London), by which Moses forced Pharaoh to release the Israelites. Cornelis Bos engraved a lively scene, *Israelites Bearing the Ark Across the River Jordan* (1547). The most dramatic event of the emigration—the Red Sea drowning the pursuing Egyptians after the Israelites had safely crossed it—is depicted by artists ranging from an anonymous Byzantine in *Paris Psalter* (circa 900, Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris) to Titian's large woodcut of the crossing, *Red Sea* (sixteenth century).

One of the most charming biblical journeys is that of Tobias and the angel, described in the apocryphal Book of Tobit. The young Tobias is sent by his blind father to Media to collect money due him. Tobias is accompanied by his faithful dog and by the Archangel Michael. Along the way, Tobias catches a fish in the Tigris River that they take with them as they continue their journey. Tobias collects the money and meets his cousin, Sarah, a young woman who has had seven husbands killed by a demon on the wedding night. Following the advice of Michael, Tobias burns the fish innards and exorcises the demon. Tobias returns home with the money, a wife, and the remains of the fish, which he uses as an unguent to cure Tobit's blindness. The story contains all the elements of a mythical journey—the goal achieved, the prize claimed, the woman won, and the return accomplished—plus many Christian and secular associations that were exploited in paintings. Paintings of the subject were commissioned to celebrate the journey of a favored son, with his visage becoming that of Tobias. Votive paintings of the healing of Tobit demonstrated the wish of patrons for a similar cure. The fish was associated with Christ and his ability to heal; Tobias, as a sign of filial piety and devotion, became a precursor of Christ. The story also acts as a powerful example of the comforting presence of a guardian angel. Artists illustrated all aspects of the story, but the most popular scene depicted Tobias and the angel, gaily walking along a road, often in an animated conversation. A scampering dog usually accompanies them, and sometimes Tobias carries the fish in a sort of sling. They readily evoke the camaraderie of travelers and the freedom of life on the road. Of all artists who illustrated the Book of Tobit, Rembrandt van Rijn is the artist most closely associated with it. Rembrandt painted many Bible subjects, but the Book of Tobit claims the most works of art—about 55 extant drawings, etchings, and paintings. Art historian Julius Held speculates not only that the filial piety of the story appealed to Rembrandt but also that Rembrandt's own father was blind.

In the New Testament, the journey of the Magi found in Matthew 2:1–12 is not specifically described as entailing a voyage by ship, but Benozzo Gozzoli represented it with the sea in the distance in his fresco *Procession of the Magi* (1459–1463) in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi in Florence, Italy. Although this fresco implies a sea journey, most representations of the journey of the Magi do not include this detail. In the foreground of his painting *The Adoration of the Magi* (1423), Gentile da Fabriano shows the Three Kings offering their gifts to the Christ Child while in the background the same figures are mounted on horses in a large procession making their way into the city. In the nineteenth century, James Tissot shows the Magi at the head of a long camel caravan

winding through mountains in his painting *The Journey of the Magi* (circa 1894).

Journeys in the form of flights are undertaken to escape destruction or imprisonment. A notable classical flight, detailed in book I of Virgil's *Aeneid*, was forced on Aeneas, a Trojan leader, by the fall of Troy to the Greeks, leaving the hero to embark on a series of adventures ending with the transplanting of Greek culture to Latium, or Italy. The Christians were inventive in adapting pagan themes to demonstrate continuity between the pagan and Christian worlds. For them, the image of Aeneas and his old father, Anchises, came to symbolize God's design for the unification of the civilized world under Rome as well as the spread of the faith from that divinely ordained seat of Christendom founded by Aeneas's descendants. Aeneas's flight can be understood on several levels: historical, cultural, religiously symbolic, and moral, by way of injunction to practice filial piety. Raphael's incorporation of a figure of a young man carrying an older one on his back in the fresco *The Fire in the Borgo* (1514–1517) in the Stanza dell'Incendio in the Vatican was an immediately recognizable symbol for Rome. Andrea Alciati's emblem "Pietas filiorum in parentes" (emblem 49 in *Viri Clarissimi D. Andrea Alciati, Emblematum Liber*, 1531) was understood by Renaissance humanists as an ethical and moral message. Federico Barocci's *The Flight of Aeneas from Troy* (1598) and Gian Lorenzo Bernini's *Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius* (circa 1619), both in the Borghese Gallery in Rome, each developed versions of the subject in different media—Barocci in paint, Bernini in marble—that conveyed these multiple layers of meaning to the viewer. The eighteenth century retained an interest in classical allusions, but moral and ethical precepts became so attenuated that Pierre Lepautre's marble rendition of *Aeneas and Anchises* (1716) was relegated to the Tuileries Gardens in Paris.

Aeneas's departure from Troy was not only a departure for a new land but also a flight that had a biblical counterpart in the Gospel story of the flight of Mary, Joseph, and the Christ Child to Egypt. In the New Testament, the flight into Egypt can be seen as a journey forced by Herod's resolve not to be supplanted as king of the Jews. The story of the escape of Mary, Joseph, and the Christ Child into Egypt is told in Matthew 2 and shown in works such as Giotto's fresco (1305–1306) in the Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy; Cosimo Tura's *The Flight into Egypt* (fifteenth century) in New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art; and Philipp Otto Runge's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (1805–1806) among others.

Examples of the story abound in various media. The illuminated manuscript *Les Très Belles Heures* of the Duke of Berry (circa 1400) shows *Flight into Egypt* taking place in a wintry landscape with bare ground and trees. Martin Schongauer's engraving (circa 1470) and Albrecht Dürer's woodcut (1504–1505) of this subject employ similar forest backgrounds, Dürer having been influenced by Schongauer. In Schongauer's rendition, a palm tree is bent downward by an angel to provide dates to feed the Christ Child. Sometime before 1515, Joachim de Patinir painted *Flight into Egypt*, now in the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten in Antwerp, Belgium, in which the tiny figures are set in a vast landscape spotted with buildings. Annibale Carracci's *Flight into Egypt* (1600–1604) in

Galleria Doria-Pamphili in Rome is set in the Roman Campagna, echoing Patinir's formula of an ideal landscape as a setting for small figures from religious stories.

Historical flights, too, found visual interpreters, such as Napoleon's *Retreat from Moscow* (1879) painted by Robert Gibb II. The subject had also been depicted previously in Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier's 1814 (1864) and in Théodore Géricault's series of lithographs *Return from Russia* (1818). Another historical flight, *James II of England Fleeing After the Battle of the Boyne* (1888), was painted by Andrew Carrick Gow.

Love is also an incentive for embarking on journeys and for restraining loved ones who wish to leave. One celebrated encounter in classical mythology was that of Venus, the goddess of love, and the mortal youth Adonis. In the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid says that Orpheus told the tale to an audience of birds and animals, saying that Venus departed first, returning to her swan-drawn chariot. Most artists since the Renaissance have preferred to follow Titian in his *Venus and Adonis* (1553, Prado in Madrid, Spain) in picturing the dramatic moment when Venus attempts to restrain or dissuade her lover from leaving her for his hunt. As a reminder of Venus's own departure, Titian's painting includes, in the upper right, a tiny figure of the goddess in a chariot from which a ray of light descends to a grove of trees, where Adonis lies mortally wounded. Later artists usually omit this part of the story but often include a small Cupid aiding his mother in trying to restrain Adonis, as in Jean-Baptiste Regnault's painting of 1810 in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen, France.

Another lovers' parting, destined to be their last, was that of Hero and Leander, a tale best known from Musaeus's Greek poem of the late fourth or fifth century A.D. These star-crossed lovers lived on opposite sides of the Hellespont, and every night Hero lit a torch in a tower to guide Leander as he swam to her from Abydos on the Asian shore. One night during a storm, the torch was extinguished, and Leander drowned. On finding his body, Hero threw herself into the sea and was drowned. Artists usually chose to depict the moments when Leander drowns while Hero waits and looks for him or when his corpse is being pulled from the sea. There are a few exceptions, however, such as J. M. W. Turner, who chose to show their previous night's parting, perhaps as a portent of dire things to come, in *The Parting of Hero and Leander* (1837) in the National Gallery in London. Turner also painted another famous departure of a lover, that of Aeneas from Dido in *The Departure of the Fleet* (1850) in the Tate Gallery in London. Aeneas's parting from Dido is usually referred to as an abandonment and was an endlessly popular theme for many centuries.

The journey of the princess Psyche in search of Cupid is also a familiar tale from *The Golden Ass* of Apuleius. Curious about the lover she had never seen, Psyche spills a drop of oil from her lamp on the sleeping Cupid, causing him to leave her. She wanders the Earth, fulfilling seemingly impossible tasks set for her by the jealous Aphrodite (Venus) in order to find him again. She finally reaches Mount Olympus and is reunited with Cupid. The story has often been used to represent the searching and frustrations of the human soul and the final reunion in death. Many artists have depicted the theme. The most com-

mon subject is Psyche's first sight of the sleeping Cupid, but other artists have depicted the wandering of Psyche and her marriage to Cupid on Olympus. The story of Psyche was frequently used for cycles of fresco decorations, as by Giulio Romano (1528) in the Palazzo del Tè in Mantua, Italy, and series of prints, such as those by Max Klinger (1880).

Another form of the journey frequently depicted in art is the pilgrimage. Although all the major religions involve pilgrimages to sacred places (Muslims are instructed to visit Mecca, Saudi Arabia, at least once), Christian works of art have left the most copious record in art. The first goal of Christian pilgrimages was to visit the sites associated with the life of Jesus Christ. In the fourth century, Helena, the mother of Emperor Constantine, erected the Church of the Holy Sepulcher on the site of the tomb she identified as that of Jesus Christ. The Church of the Holy Sepulcher was later replicated in Europe and became a substitute goal for the pilgrim, especially when the original sites became more difficult to visit. Soon the burial places of saints and the sites of their martyrdoms also became the goal of pilgrims. Journeys to sacred sites were increasingly undertaken to expiate sins and to acquire relics. A series of hospices, the most famous being in the Alpine passes at Simplon, Septimer, and Great St. Bernard and at St. James of Compostela in Santiago, Spain, were set up to shelter pilgrims on their journeys. Even as late as the nineteenth century, Lourdes, France, became a new pilgrimage site.

In Japan, where pilgrims once walked the 900-mile circuit of the 88 Buddhist temples on the island of Shikoku, the birthplace of the great eighth-century Buddhist monk and teacher Kokai, tens of thousands now take a high-speed bus tour. Even in modern secular culture, fans of rock stars and other celebrities make pilgrimages to sites associated with their heroes. For example, Graceland, the home of Elvis Presley in Memphis, Tennessee, hosts hundreds of thousands of fans who come to visit his grave or participate in the Elvis Presley International Tribute Week.

In works of art, Christian pilgrims can be recognized by their attributes: a gray hooded cowl with a broad belt and a red cross, a broad-brimmed hat, staff, sack, and a gourd or scallop shell. Saints James the Greater, Roch, Bridget, and Alexis are often depicted in this garb in paintings and sculpture. St. James, for example, in the 1490 painting *Saint James the Greater* by Bartolomeo Vivarini in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, California, carries a staff on which a scallop shell hangs, an attribute derived from the distinctive badge worn by pilgrims to the saint's shrine at Santiago de Compostela in Spain.

One of the most intriguing pilgrimages depicted in art is that of St. Ursula. The story is taken from the *Golden Legend* by Jacobus da Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, Italy, in the thirteenth century. It tells of Ursula, a princess of Cornwall who agreed to marry the pagan son of the king of Britain if he became a Christian and waited three years while she went on a pilgrimage to Rome. The prince decided to become a convert. They set out together for Rome, where he was to be baptized. Ursula was accompanied by 10 female virgin companions whose numbers were multiplied somewhere along the line into 11,000: 1,000 for each of the original 10 and another 1,000 for Ursula herself. (The increase is probably due to misreading the

numerals on an inscription.) Making stops at Cologne, Germany, and Basel, Switzerland, they eventually reached Rome, where they were married by the pope. On the return trip, Ursula met her martyrdom when the Huns besieging Cologne massacred them.

Among the most enchanting depictions of the 11,000 virgins is Hans Memling's *châsse* (reliquary, 1489) made of gilded wood in the form of a Gothic church shrine with six painted panels detailing the narrative events and now located in the Hospital of St. John in Bruges, Belgium. In 1490–1498 in Venice, Italy, Vittore Carpaccio also painted a series of nine canvases incorporating new elements into the Ursula legend. Claude Lorrain took up the theme in *Seaport with the Embarkation of St. Ursula* (1641), now in the National Gallery in London, showing a majestic seaport in which the figures have become subordinate to the setting. *The Embarkation of St. Ursula* is also shown in a French tapestry woven by Pierre Dumon (1654–1656), now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Here, the princess with attendants is pictured on the left and the ships, ready to sail, on the right. The textures of the robes, trees, waves, and sails are marvelously captured. The organization of the tapestry is similar to Claude Lorrain's paintings in which the sun illuminates the horizon and grandiose buildings line the harbor. Lorrain painted a number of harbor scenes, some of them showing specific embarkations, such as *The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba* (1640), also in the National Gallery in London.

Some of the more disturbing travelers are those who have no destination or home to which to return. Such was Ahasuerus, the Wandering Jew, who mocked Christ on the road to Calvary and was condemned to wander over the face of the earth until Judgment Day. Gustave Doré's illustrations of the legend (1857) echo the original curse, as Ahasuerus seeks rest in his wanderings over continents and centuries. When the Jew ascends a mountain road, a wayside cross recalls his sin; when he seeks refuge in an inn, an angel blocks his way; on the Rhine, the waters reflect the face of Christ; and in a graveyard, the Jew's shadow assumes the shape of Christ bearing the cross. Despite his courting every danger, he cannot rest. Finally, at the Last Judgment, he sinks into a pit of demons.

Life is depicted allegorically as a journey. In Thomas Cole's series of four paintings *The Voyage of Life* (1840) at the Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute in Utica, New York, the stages of life from birth to old age are shown as a voyage that begins in childhood and moves toward a heavenly vision in old age.

An allegorical use of the journey can also be seen in Jean-Antoine Watteau's *The Embarkation for Cythera* (1717) in the Louvre in Paris. Another version, *Pilgrimage to Cythera*, painted two years later, is in the Charlottenburg Palace in Berlin. Cythera is the island where Venus (Aphrodite) reputedly was born. Water and snow-peaked mountains are visible in the distance, however, the elegantly dressed courtiers in the foreground, in different stages of falling in love, may be the real subject of the painting, representing a progressive pilgrimage into the experience and commitment of love. This painting of a journey to Venus's symbolic island of love is sometimes regarded as a happy journey, as the dream of love fulfilled, and some-

times as a journey tinged by melancholy and sadness, a symbol of the disillusion and ephemeral nature of love. It has also been suggested that the painting shows not a joyous departure but a return filled with regret (Levey, p. 181). Art historian Donald Posner reminds us that a voyage to Cythera was an established topos and an old literary theme, whereas a return was not (Posner, *Antoine Watteau*, p. 192). Watteau suggests ambiguity of emotion (are these people sad or happy?) and of direction (are they coming or going?). His treatment of the pictorial space underscores the ambiguity inherent in the painting, making possible these multivalent explications, all revolving around the universal theme of the journey.

The return of the traveler is depicted in many paintings. Odysseus returning to his patient wife, Penelope, is perhaps the most common theme from classical sources. The soldier returning from war has evoked many poignant genre paintings. Perhaps the most often painted biblical return is that of the prodigal son.

In Christian teaching, the parable of the prodigal son (Luke 15:11–32) is concerned with the ultimate redemption of humankind. The prodigal, asking for and receiving his share of his father's estate, departs from the paternal home and, after wasting his substance, returns home, begging forgiveness. In medieval thought and depictions, these events were symbolically significant, and often the inclusion of allegorical figures emphasized the point. The story of the prodigal son is equated with the journey of humanity away from God and its ultimate reconciliation with Him. The medieval habit of typological exegesis emphasizes the parallels between the Old and the New Testaments and presents Adam as the precursor of the prodigal (Verdier, p. 25). A tapestry set (circa 1485) in the J. B. Speed Museum in Louisville, Kentucky, and the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore reflects these interpretations.

By the sixteenth century, the moral significance of the parable had become more important than its liturgical and typological implications. The story was portrayed as a dramatic narrative rather than a series of symbolic scenes. Some episodes, such as the prodigal's departure, his repentance among the swine, and his return home, were emphasized over others, as shown in Philips Galle's series of engravings after Maerten van Heemskerck's *Parable of the Prodigal Son* (1562; Haeger, 1988, p. 127). Heemskerck includes a scene that, although without a direct biblical source, had earlier become part of the story: the expulsion of the prodigal from the inn by the courtesans. Thus, the fundamental story of sin, suffering, repentance, and forgiveness is reduced to the essentials that show God's ultimate mercy.

Art historian Barbara Haeger points out that the parable accorded well with the Protestant belief that one is saved by grace alone and that merit plays no part in redemption (Haeger, 1986, p. 134). Thus, Cornelis Anthonisz's set of six woodcuts from the 1540s can be regarded as a sectarian interpretation of the parable. Anthonisz reverts to the medieval practice of including allegorical figures not in the biblical text, such as a figure of Conscientia (Conscience), who holds up to the departing youth the tablets of the law on which he turns his back. Also included in this series is the scene of his expulsion from the inn by the courtesans.

Perhaps the most famous representation of the *Return of the Prodigal Son* is the oil painting (circa 1668–1669) by Rembrandt in the Hermitage. Here we see the son, returning from his journey, kneeling at his father's feet, his clothes patched and torn, his bare feet protruding from the wreck of his shoes. His face is partially hidden in the embrace of his father's welcoming arms. Rembrandt painted this work a short time before his death in 1669. He may have been seeing himself as a prodigal son returning to God at the end of his life. In the hidden face of the voyager and in his position looking into the picture, however, he may also stand in the place of the viewer, implying that we are all prodigal children, returning to the embrace of our Father's love from our earthly voyaging. In the early twentieth century, John Collier switched the gender and produced a painting of the return of *The Prodigal Daughter* (1903), her gaudy clothes revealing the life she has led. The open Bible on the table of the sparsely furnished home and her plainly dressed, austere parents reveal the confining morals of the home she once left and to which she has now chosen to return.

The journey to the underworld includes classical and Christian examples. The voluntary journey to the underworld is rarely taken for pleasure or even curiosity; this journey usually involves the fulfillment of a task or the deliverance of a loved one. In Mesopotamian mythology, Gilgamesh negotiates Enkidu's return from the underworld, and Dumuzi achieves the return of Ishtar (or Inanna). However, Dumuzi, like Persephone in Greek myth, must spend six months of every year in the netherworld. Orpheus, by playing his seductive music, convinces Pluto, the king of the classical underworld, to allow him to bring back his dead wife, Euridyce, from Hades, only to lose her at the entrance because he could not keep from looking at her. The hero Hercules makes two trips to Hades, the first time as one of his labors to bring back the three-headed guardian dog Cerberus from Hades and the other time to restore Alcestis to the land of the living. Aeneas goes to the underworld to consult his dead father, Anchises, about his destiny, and Odysseus makes a similar journey to consult the seer Tiresias, his own mother Anticleia, and other shades for directions to return home to Ithaca.

In Christian art, Christ takes a journey to hell, or Limbo, after his entombment to liberate the Old Testament patriarchs, prophets, martyrs, and forebears. The story appears in the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. Depictions, although rare after the sixteenth century, often include Christ holding the banner of the Resurrection, smiting Satan, and extending a hand to an elderly Adam and Eve, followed by Moses, David, John the Baptist, and others.

Another method of taking a journey is through the medium of the dream, as in the *Vision of Tondal*, originally a twelfth-century story of a knight who in a dream visits hell, purgatory, and heaven. His visions are graphically illustrated in an illuminated manuscript from 1474, perhaps by Simon Marmion, in the J. Paul Getty Museum in Los Angeles, California.

The most famous, and the best illustrated, journey to hell is that by Dante and Virgil in the thirteenth-century *Divine Comedy*. Dante's graphic descriptions of the 24 circles of hell and the sinners that inhabit them have influenced the concep-

tion of the underworld reflected in world literature and art ever since.

The artistic depictions of the underworld range from the merely dark and gloomy to the horrible and monstrous. Greek and Roman depictions of Hades, mainly in vase paintings, concentrate on the actions of the figures rather than the background. The classical Hades seems to be a murky mirror of life above ground, with the pomp and ceremony of the court of Pluto and Persephone, much like that of earthly rulers. Depictions of the Christian hell, on the other hand, usually focus on the horrendous monsters and devils torturing sinners, with the travelers usually cast as observers. The many illustrators of Dante include such diverse artists as Botticelli, Luca Signorelli, William Blake, Gustave Doré, and Robert Rauschenberg. They have used a series of scenes from the narrative, and they give the best sense of the progress of a journey. Only Nardo di Cione's fresco in Sta. Maria Novella in Florence follows Dante's description of hell and manages to depict all the 24 circles in one fresco.

Another category of journeying might be the metaphorical, or imaginary, journey. One such journey is the journey of the soul, illustrated as early as an Egyptian ceiling painting in the tomb of Ramses VI (1137 B.C.) in the Valley of the Kings in Egypt. Here, the departed pharaoh's soul is shown journeying through the skies in a soul boat to reach the other world. In the nineteenth century, the metaphorical journey was symbolized by Odilon Redon's *L'Oeil, comme un ballon bizarre, se dirige vers l'infini* (1882, "The eye, like a bizarre balloon, directs itself toward the infinite"). Edvard Munch described a metaphorical journey of two souls meeting in space in *Encounter in Space* (1899), a color woodcut. In the twentieth century, Adolph Gottlieb, among others, described a metaphorical journey of despair in *Descent into Darkness* (1947), now in the Museum of Modern Art in New York. Although the composition is abstract, the deepening blue of the ground and the figure pointing downward accurately describe a journey of melancholy and sadness.

The theme of journeying has had other significant visual representations in the twentieth century. Max Beckmann's triptych *Departure* (1921–1933) in the Museum of Modern Art in New York commemorates his departure from Nazi Germany, first to Holland, then to the United States. The central panel shows a boat with a mother and child and two oarsmen, and the two side panels detail the Nazi atrocities the voyagers are fleeing. Ljubov Popova's oil painting *The Traveler* (1915) employs a vocabulary of the flattened forms of cubism and the repeated diagonals of futurism to give the dynamism of a traveler moving in space. The African American artist Jacob Lawrence produced a series of tempera paintings on journeying in *The Migration of the Negro* (1940–1944), now in the Phillips Collection in Washington, D.C. He shows the migrants leaving southern towns to come north to work, especially in the war industry.

Probably because of her own frequent relocations, surrealist artist Remedios Varo executed a number of paintings of mythic journeys. Her *Exploration of the Sources of the Onnoco River* depicts a woman in a fanciful boat and combines a real journey in Venezuela with imaginary explorations in a surreal-

ist vocabulary. Journeys in space are celebrated in Robert Rauschenberg's *Stoned Moon* (1969), a series of 33 lithographs commemorating the flight of the spacecraft *Apollo XI*, the first manned flight to the moon.

Literary sources for journeying abound, from the *Odyssey* to the present. For example, the theme of Ulysses' adventures inspired Alfred, Lord Tennyson's poem "Ulysses." Tennyson perhaps best sums up the archetypal compulsion of the journey in this poem:

I cannot rest from travel: I will drink
Life to the lees . . . I am become a name
For always roaming with a hungry heart . . .
I am part of all that I have met;
Yet all experience is an arch where thro'
Gleams that untravell'd world whose margin fades,
for ever and for ever when I move . . .
"To strive, to seek, to find and not to yield."

In twentieth-century poetry, this quest is summed up by T. S. Eliot in *Four Quartets*, in part III of "The Dry Salvages": "Not fare well / But fare forward, voyager." Perhaps the best known twentieth-century literary use of the Ulysses theme is James Joyce's monumental novel *Ulysses*, which places the stream-of-consciousness, interior monologues of the main Dublin characters (Stephen Dedalus, Leopold Bloom, and his wife, Molly Bloom) into the structure of the Homeric poem. Henri Matisse illustrated Joyce's *Ulysses* with six etchings: *Calypso*, *Nausicaä*, *Circe*, *Aeolus*, *Polyphemus*, and *Ithaca* (1935).

Lord Byron's life was a series of journeys in foreign lands, ending in his death in 1824 in Missolonghi, fighting for Greek independence. Many of his heroes, like himself, felt themselves to be exiles embarking on numerous voyages, as in his poems *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, *Manfred*, and *Don Juan*, among others. These in turn were illustrated by a number of nineteenth-century artists, among them J. M. W. Turner, whose *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage* (1832) is in the Tate Gallery in London; Ford Madox Brown in *Manfred on the Jungfrau* in Manchester; John Martin in *Manfred* in Birmingham, England; and Eugène Delacroix in *The Shipwreck of Don Juan* in the Musée d'Orsay in Paris.

The subject of journeys has fascinated writers and artists. Each individual's experience includes the adventure of leaving home, the mysterious appeal of the unknown, and the pleasure of the warm welcome of return. Thus, the events of one's own life can resonate with the many narratives and depictions of the traveler, the pilgrim, and the wanderer.

See also Funeral/Burial; Path/Road/Crossroads;
Visiting/Visitation

Selected Works of Art

Trojan War

Hector and Paris Taking Leave of Andromache, terra-cotta
krater, circa 540 B.C., from Vulci, Etruria, Würzburg,
Germany, University Museum

Kleophrades Painter, Attic Painter, *Patroclus Taking Leave of Achilles*, attic red-figured stamnos, early fifth century B.C., Rome, Villa Giulia

The Departure of a Warrior, lekythos, circa 450 B.C., Berlin, Antikenmuseum

Departure, libation cup, circa 430 B.C., Berlin, Antikenmuseum

Coypel, Charles-Antoine, *Hector Taking Leave of Andromache*, circa 1711, Tours, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Restout, Jean, *Hector Taking Leave of Andromache*, painting, 1728, New York, collection of Mrs. Ruth Blumka

Kauffman, Angelica, *Hector Taking Leave of Andromache*, painting, circa 1769, London, Tate Gallery

Gianni, Felice, *Hector's Farewell to Andromache Before His Battle with Ajax*, drawing, circa 1815, New York, Cooper-Hewitt Museum

Chirico, Giorgio di, *Hector and Andromache*, painting, 1917, Milan, Italy, collection of Gianni Mattioli

Chirico, Giorgio di, *Hector and Andromache*, painting, 1954, Rome, collection of Vittorio de Sica

Jason and the Argonauts

Orchard Painter, *Jason*, red-figured krater, 470–460 B.C., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Antonio, Filarete, *Jason and the Argonauts*, relief, bronze doors, 1433–1445, Vatican, St. Peter

Turner, J. M. W., *Jason*, oil, 1802, London, Clore Gallery

Engel, Josef, *The Amazons and the Argonauts*, marble sculpture, circa 1851, Royal Collection, Osborne House, Isle of Wight

Ernst, Max, *The Argonauts*, painting, 1933, Paris, Jacques Tronche Collection

Beckmann, Max, *The Argonauts*, triptych, 1949–1950, New York, private collection

Theseus

Uccello, Paolo, *Episodes from the Myth of Theseus*, painting, circa 1460, Seattle, Washington, Art Museum

Cambiaso, Luca, *Myth of Theseus*, series of five frescoes, circa 1565, Genoa, Italy, Palazzo della Meridiana

Canova, Antonio, *Theseus and the Minotaur*, marble sculpture, 1781–1783, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Masson, André, *Story of Theseus*, series of paintings, 1938–1939, private collection

Odysseus (Ulysses)

Agesandros of Rhodes, Akonadorus and Polydorus of Rhodes, *Odysseus's Voyages*, marble, 175–150 B.C., Sperlonga Museum

Voyages of Odysseus, fresco, first century B.C., Vatican, Museo Profano

Apollonio di Giovanni di Tomasso, *The Adventures of Ulysses*, painting, mid-fifteenth century, Chicago, Illinois, Art Institute

Pinturicchio, *Scenes from the Odyssey*, oil, circa 1480s, London, National Gallery of Art

Jordaens, Jacob, *Odysseus and Polyphemus*, painting, circa 1530–1635, Moscow, Russia, Pushkin Museum
 Preller, Friedrich the Elder, *Seven Landscapes from the Odyssey*, 1830, Leipzig, Germany, Bildenden Künste
 Matisse, Henri, *Calypso; Nausicaä; Circe; Aeolus; Polyphemus; Ithaca*, etchings for *Ulysses*, by James Joyce, 1935
 Picasso, Pablo, *Ulysses and the Sirens*, painting, 1947, Antibes, France, Musée Grimaldi
 Manship, Paul, *Circe Enchants Ulysses' Sailors*, bronze statuette, 1957, Washington, D.C., National Museum of American Art

Aeneas' Flight from Troy

Aeneas Carrying Anchises from Troy, attic black-figured amphora, circa 500 B.C., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Caricature of Aeneas Rescuing Anchises and Ascanius from Troy, Roman wall painting from Herculaneum, first century A.D., Naples, Italy, National Museum
 Raphael, *The Fire in the Borgo*, fresco, 1514–1517, Vatican, Stanze dell'Incendio
 Alciati, Andrea, *Pietas Filiorum in Parentes*, woodcut from *Viri Clarissimi D. Andrea Alciati, Emblematum Liber*, 1531, Augsburg, Germany
 Barocci, Federico, *The Flight of Aeneas from Troy*, painting, 1598, Rome, Borghese Gallery
 Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, *Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius*, marble sculpture, circa 1619, Rome, Borghese Gallery
 Lepautre, Pierre, *Aeneas and Anchises*, marble sculpture, 1716, Paris, Tuileries Gardens
 Van Loo, Carle, *The Flight from Troy*, painting, 1729, Paris, Louvre
 Guiard, Laurent, *Aeneas and Anchises*, terra-cotta sculpture, circa 1737, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University, The Art Museum
 Turner, J. M. W., *The Departure of the Fleet*, painting, 1850, London, Tate Gallery

Venus and Adonis

Titian, *Venus and Adonis*, painting, 1553, Madrid, Prado
 Mignard, Nicolas, *Venus and Adonis*, painting, circa 1650, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Institute of Art
 Boullongue, Louis, *Venus and Adonis*, painting, 1688, Versailles, France, National des Châteaux des Versailles et de Trianon
 Lemoyne, François, *Venus and Adonis*, painting, 1729, Stockholm, Sweden, Nationalmuseum
 Regnault, Jean-Baptiste, *Venus and Adonis*, painting, 1810, Rouen, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Hero and Leander

Carracci, Annibale, *Hero and Leander*, fresco, 1597–1600, Rome, Palazzo Farnese, Galleria
 Etty, William, *The Parting of Hero and Leander*, painting, circa 1827, London, Tate Gallery
 Turner, J. M. W., *The Parting of Hero and Leander*, painting, 1837, London, National Gallery

La Farge, John, *Swimmer: Leander*, watercolor, 1866, New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Art Gallery
 Manship, Paul, *Leander*, bronze statuette, 1955, St. Paul, Minnesota, Museum of Art

Cupid and Psyche

Sellaio, Jacopo del, *The Story of Cupid and Psyche*, pair of paintings, circa 1490, Cambridge, England, Fitzwilliam Museum
 Romano, Giulio, *The Story of Psyche*, cycle of 23 frescoes, 1528, Mantua, Italy, Palazzo del Tè, Sala di Psiche
 Giambologna, *Psyche*, marble statue, circa 1570–1572, Los Angeles, California, J. Paul Getty Museum
 Jordaens, Jacob, *Jupiter's Eagle Helping Psyche to Fetch Water from the Styx*, painting, circa 1652, Pau, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Klinger, Max, *Cupid and Psyche*, cycle of 46 etchings, 1880
 Rodin, Auguste, *Zephyr and Psyche*, marble statue, before 1906, Paris, Musée Rodin

Journeys to the Underworld

Hades' Kingdom, with Hercules and Cerberus, Apulian krater, Karlsruhe, Germany, Badische Landesmuseum
 Mantegna, Andrea, *Orpheus in the Underworld*, ceiling fresco, 1468–1474, Mantua, Italy, Palazzo Ducale, Camera degli Sponsi
 Dosso Dossi, *Aeneas in the Elysian Fields*, 1525–1530, Ottawa, Ontario, Gallery of Canada
 Giulio Romano, *Orpheus Playing in Hades Before Pluto and Proserpine*, fresco, 1527–1528, Mantua, Italy, Palazzo del Tè, Sala di Ovidio
 Brueghel, Jan the Elder, *Aeneas with the Sibyl in the Underworld*, circa 1600, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Guercino, *Ulysses and Tiresias in Hades*, 1615–1617, Cento, Italy, Pinacoteca Civica
 Coypel, Antoine, *The Descent of Aeneas into Hades*, 1616–1617, Paris, Louvre
 Jordaens, Jacob, *Odysseus Taking Leave of Circe and Descending into Hades*, circa 1630–1635, Ponce, Puerto Rico, Museo de Arte
 Campen, Jacob van, *Hercules Hauling Cerberus Out of the Underworld*, circa 1645, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
 Maulbertsch, Franz Anton, *Orpheus in the Underworld, Playing for Pluto and Proserpina*, circa 1785–1786, Graz, Austria, Graf Collection
 Delacroix, Eugène, *Hercules Bringing Alcestis Back from the Underworld*, 1862, Washington, D.C., Phillips Gallery
 Leighton, Frederic, *Hercules Wrestling with Death for the Body of Alcestis*, 1869–1871, Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum
 Corinth, Lovis, *Ulysses in the Underworld*, etching from *Antique Legends* series, 1919

Deluge

Noah's Ark, miniature from *A French Book of Hours*, fifteenth century, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery (W. 292)

Leaving the Ark, miniature from *Bedford Book of Hours*, circa 1423, London, British Library (Add. Ms. 18850, fol. 166)
 Reni, Guido, *The Building of the Ark*, oil on canvas, 1608, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage
 Brueghel, Jan the Elder, *Collecting the Animals on the Ark*, oil, circa 1613, London, Apsley House
 Castiglione, Giovanni Benedetto, *Noah Loading the Animals into the Ark*, painting, circa 1630, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Poussin, Nicolas, *Winter*, oil, 1664, Paris, Louvre
 Peale, Charles Wilson, *Noah and His Ark*, oil, 1815, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts

Patriarchs

Castiglione, Giovanni Benedetto, *Abraham's Journey to the Land of Canaan*, painting, second quarter of seventeenth century, Cambridge University, Fitzwilliam Museum
 Claude Lorrain, *Landscape with the Voyage of Jacob to Canaan*, painting, 1677, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute
 Giordano, Luca, *Rebecca's Journey to Canaan*, painting, 1685–1687, Madrid, Prado

Exodus

Byzantine School, *Paris Psalter*, manuscript, circa 900, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
 Bos, Cornelis, *Israelites Bearing the Ark Across the River Jordan*, engraving, 1547
 Castiglione, Francesco, *Exodus of the Hebrews*, painting, last quarter of the seventeenth century, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Titian, *Red Sea*, sixteenth century, woodcut
 Turner, J. M. W., *The Fifth Plague of Egypt*, oil on canvas, exhibited 1800, Indianapolis, Indiana, Museum of Art
 Turner, J. M. W., *The Tenth Plague of Egypt*, oil on canvas, exhibited 1802, London, Tate Gallery

Christ's Descent into Hell (Limbo)

Harrowing of Hell, illuminated manuscript *Staatsbibliothek Psalter*, thirteenth century, Munich, Germany, Staatsbibliothek (I, V.13, fol.27)
 Duccio, *Descent into Limbo*, from *Maestà Polyptych*, 1308–1311, Siena, Italy, Duomo
Harrowing of Hell, illuminated manuscript *Holkham Bible*, circa 1320–1330, London, British Museum (Ms.Add. 47682, fol. 34r)
 Bonaiuti, Andrea, *The Descent into Limbo*, fresco, circa 1472, Florence, Italy, Santa Maria Novella, Spanish Chapel
 Bellini, Giovanni, *Descent into Limbo*, 1475–1480, Bristol, England, Museum and Art Gallery
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Christ's Descent into Limbo*, 1510, woodcut

Book of Tobit

Book of Tobit, sculpture on archivolt, 12 episodes, thirteenth century, Chartres, France, Cathedral, north door of transept

Pollaiuolo, Antonio, *Tobias and the Archangel Raphael*, 1464, Turin, Italy, Pinacoteca Real
Tobias and the Angel, circa 1467, London, National Gallery
 Botticini, Francesco, *Tobias and the Three Angels*, circa 1470, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Lippi, Filippino, *Tobias and the Angel*, oil, before 1504, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Hemessen, Jan van, *Tobit's Sight Restored*, 1555, Paris, Louvre
 Matteo, Rosselli, *The Guardian Angel*, first half of the seventeenth century, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
 Parrocel, Pierre, *The Book of Tobit*, 14 paintings, late seventeenth century, Marseilles, France, Musée Borely
 Elsheimer, Adam, *Tobias and the Archangel Raphael Returning with the Fish*, circa 1610, London, National Gallery
 Lastman, Pieter, *Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah*, 1611, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
 Domenichino, *Landscape with Tobias Laying Hold of the Fish*, 1617–1618, London, National Gallery
 Lastman, Pieter, *The Angel, Tobias, and the Fish*, oil, circa 1630, Budapest, Hungary, Museum of Fine Arts
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Tobias Healing His Father's Blindness*, 1636, Stuttgart, Germany, Staatsgalerie
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Angel Raphael Leaving the Family of Tobias*, 1637, Paris, Louvre
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Tobit and Anna Waiting*, 1659, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Museum van der Vorm
 Steen, Jan, *Marriage of Tobias*, 1667–1668, Brunswick, Germany, Staatliches Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum
 Steen, Jan, *The Angel Raphael Casting out the Devil Asmodeus*, before 1679, The Hague, The Netherlands, Museum Bredius
 Turner, J. M. W., *Tivoli: Tobias and the Angel*, circa 1835, London, Tate Gallery

Journey of the Magi

Gentile da Fabriano, *The Adoration of the Magi*, tempera on wood panel, 1423, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Sassetta, *Journey of the Magi*, tempera and gold on panel, circa 1435, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Gozzoli, Benozzo, *Procession of the Magi*, fresco, 1459–1463, Florence, Italy, Palazzo Medici-Riccardi
 Tissot, James, *The Journey of the Magi*, oil on canvas, circa 1894, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Institute of Art

Flight into Egypt

Giotto, *The Flight into Egypt*, fresco, 1305–1306, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
 Broederlam, Melchior, *Flight into Egypt*, painting, 1394–1399, Dijon, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
Flight into Egypt, manuscript illumination for *Les Très Belles Heures* of the Duke of Berry, circa 1400, Brussels, Belgium, Bibliothèque Royale (Ms. 11061–61, fol. 106)
 Guise Master, *Flight into Egypt*, manuscript illumination for *Book of Hours*, circa 1420–1425, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (Ms. 1004, fol. B54)

- Master of the Gold Scrolls, *Flight into Egypt*, manuscript illustration for *Book of Hours*, Brussels, Belgium, Bibliothèque Royale (Ms. 9798, fol. 86r)
- Schongauer, Martin, *Flight into Egypt*, engraving, circa 1470
- Dürer, Albrecht, *Flight into Egypt*, woodcut, 1504–1505
- Patinir, Joachim de, *Flight into Egypt*, painting, before 1515, Antwerp, Belgium, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten
- Tura, Cosimo, *The Flight into Egypt*, oil, fifteenth century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- David, Gerard, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, oil, circa 1510, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Amstel, Jan van, after, *Flight into Egypt*, painting, second quarter of the sixteenth century, Ascona, Switzerland, Collection Bentinck-Thyssen
- Gassel, Lucas, *Flight into Egypt*, painting, 1542, Maastricht, The Netherlands, Bonnefantenmuseum
- Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *Flight into Egypt*, painting, 1563, London, Courtauld Institute Galleries, Princes Gate Collection
- Carracci, Annibale, *The Flight into Egypt*, lunette painting, oil, 1600–1604, Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili
- Poussin, Nicolas, *The Flight into Egypt*, painting, early 1630s, Worcester, Massachusetts, Worcester Art Museum
- Tiepolo, Giandomenico, *Episodes on the Flight into Egypt*, etching series, 1750–1752, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
- Runge, Philipp Otto, *Rest on the Flight into Egypt*, oil, 1805–1806, Hamburg, Germany, Kunsthalle

Prodigal Son

- The Parable of the Prodigal Son*, tapestry, circa 1485, Louisville, Kentucky, J. B. Speed Museum; Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery
- Anthonisz, Cornelis, *The Departure of the Prodigal Son, The Expulsion of the Prodigal Son*, woodcut series, 1540s
- Galle, Philips, *The Departure of the Prodigal Son*, engravings, 1562
- Testa, Pietro, *The Prodigal Son: The Departure*, etching, 1644–1650
- Wael, Jan Baptiste de, *The Prodigal Son Expelled from the Tavern*, etching, 1658
- Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, oil, circa 1668–1669, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage
- Tissot, James, *The Parable of the Prodigal Son, No. 1: The Departure*, etching and drypoint, 1881
- Collier, John, *The Prodigal Daughter*, 1903, Lincoln, England, Usher Museum and Art Gallery

Christ Taking Leave of His Mother

- David, Gerard, *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*, painting, early sixteenth century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Dürer, Albrecht, *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*, woodcut from *Little Passion*, 1509–1511
- Correggio, *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*, oil on canvas, before 1514, London, National Gallery
- Altdorfer, Albrecht, *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*, painting, 1520, London, National Gallery

- Coecke van Aelst, Pieter I, *Christ Taking Leave of His Mother*, painting, second quarter of sixteenth century, Glasgow, Scotland, Glasgow Art Gallery

St. Ursula

- Carpaccio, Vittore, *St. Ursula Taking Leave of Her Father*, painting, 1490–1498, London, National Gallery
- Memling, Hans, *Chasse of St. Ursula*, gilded and painted wood, 1489, Bruges, Belgium, Hospital of St. John
- Lorrain, Claude, *Seaport with the Embarkation of St. Ursula*, painting, 1641, London, National Gallery
- Dumon, Pierre, *The Embarkation of St. Ursula*, tapestry, circa 1654–1656, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Tondal

- Marmion, Simon, *Vision of Tondal*, illuminated manuscript 1474, Los Angeles, California, J. Paul Getty Museum

Other Pilgrimages

- Vivarini, Bartolomeo, *Saint James the Greater*, tempera on panel, central panel from polyptych, 1490, Los Angeles, California, J. Paul Getty Museum
- Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista, *St. Roch as a Pilgrim*, oil on canvas, circa 1730–1735, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum
- Blake, William, *Sir Geoffrey Chaucer and the Nine and Twenty Pilgrims on the Journey to Canterbury*, 1808, Glasgow, Scotland, Pollock House
- Eastlake, Charles Lock, *Italian Scene in the Anno Santo: Pilgrims Arriving in Sight of Rome and Saint Peter's: Evening*, 1827, Woburn Abbey, Duke of Bedford Collection
- Turner, J. M. W., *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage—Italy*, oil on canvas, exhibited 1832, London, Tate Gallery
- Carus, Carl Gustav, *Pilgrim in a Rocky Valley*, oil on canvas, circa 1841, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Nationalgalerie
- Belly, Léon-Adolphe Auguste, *Pilgrims Going to Mecca*, oil on canvas, 1861

Other Christian Journeys

- Giovanni di Paolo, *John the Baptist Leaving His Parents to Go into the Wilderness*, 1450–1460, Chicago, Illinois, Art Institute
- Claude Lorrain, *Port of Ostia with the Embarkation of St. Paula*, painting, 1640s, Madrid, Prado
- Claude Lorrain, *The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba*, painting, 1640, London, National Gallery

War

- Géricault, Théodore, *Return from Russia*, series of lithographs, 1818
- Boissard de Boisdenier, Joseph-Ferdinand, *Episode on the Retreat from Moscow*, painting, 1835, Rouen, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
- Meissonier, Jean-Louis-Ernest, 1814, oil, 1864, Paris, Louvre
- O'Neil, Henry Nelson, *Eastward Ho! August 1857*, oil, 1857, private collection

O'Neil, Henry Nelson, *Home Again*, 1858, 1859, private collection
 Gibb, Robert II, *Retreat from Moscow*, 1879, Art Market
 Orchardson, William, *Napoleon on Board the Bellerephon*, painting, circa 1880, London, Tate Gallery
 Gow, Andrew Carrick, *James II of England Fleeing After the Battle of the Boyne*, painting, 1888, London, Tate Gallery

Allegorical

Watteau, Jean-Antoine, *The Embarkation for Cythera*, oil, 1717, Paris, Louvre
 Watteau, Jean-Antoine, *Pilgrimage to Cythera*, circa 1719, painting, Berlin, Charlottenburg Palace
 Cole, Thomas, *The Voyage of Life*, oil, 1840, Utica, New York, Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute
 Leutze, Emmanuel, *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way*, mural, Washington, D.C., National Capitol
 Beckmann, Max, *Departure*, triptych, oil, 1932–1935, New York, Museum of Modern Art

Dante's Divine Comedy

Nardo di Cione, *The Inferno*, fresco, 1350s, Florence, Italy, Santa Maria Novella
 Botticelli, illustrations to *Inferno*, 32 drawings, circa 1480s, Berlin, Germany, Kupferstichkabinett
 Flaxman, John, illustrations to *Divine Comedy*, 1793, London
 Delacroix, Eugène, *Dante and Virgil in the Underworld*, oil, 1822, Paris, Musée d'Orsay
 Doré, Gustave, *L'Enfer de Dante Alighieri*, Paris, Librairie de L. Hachette et Cie
 Rauschenberg, Robert, *Thirty-four Drawings for Dante's Inferno*, 1959–1960, New York, Museum of Modern Art

Twentieth-Century Journeys

Popova, Ljubov, *The Traveler*, oil, 1915, Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Art Foundation
 Beckmann, Max, *Departure*, triptych, oil on canvas, 1921–1933, New York, Museum of Modern Art
 Lawrence, Jacob, *The Migration of the Negro*, tempera on masonite, series, 1940–1944, Washington, D.C., Phillips Collection
 Gottlieb, Adolph, *Voyager's Return*, oil on canvas, 1946, New York, Museum of Modern Art
 Varo, Remedios, *Exploration of the Sources of the Onnoco River*, oil, 1959, private collection
 Rauschenberg, Robert, *Stoned Moon*, series of 33 lithographs, 1969

Metaphorical Journeys

Journey of the Soul, ceiling painting, 1137 B.C., Thebes, Egypt, Valley of the Kings, tomb of Ramses VI
 Redon, Odilon, *L'Oeil, comme un ballon bizarre, se dirige vers l'infini*, lithograph from *À Edgar Poe*, 1882
 Munch, Edvard, *Encounter in Space*, color woodcut, 1899
 Gottlieb, Adolph, *Descent into Darkness*, oil on masonite, 1947, New York, Museum of Modern Art

Other Departures and Journeys

Pintoricchio, *Departure of Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini for Basel*, fresco, 1503–1508, Siena, Italy, Cathedral, Piccolomini Library
 Velde, Willem van de, the Younger, *The Embarkation of Charles II at Scheveningen*, painting, circa 1660, London, Wallace Gallery
 Isabey, Eugène, *The Departure of Elizabeth of France for Spain*, painting, circa 1848, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery
 Doré, Gustave, illustrations to *The Legend of the Wandering Jew*, by George W. Thornbury, 1857
 Herdman, Robert, *Mary Queen of Scots' Farewell to France*, painting, 1867, private collection
 Manet, Édouard, *The Departure of the Folkestone Boat*, painting, 1869, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Museum of Art
 Corot, Jean-Baptiste-Camille, *The Farewell of Faust and Marguerite*, drawing, 1871–1872, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute

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JUDAISM

Nancy Frazier

The following motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Judaism:

MENORAH

STAR OF DAVID

TORAH

TALLITH

LION

SYNAGOGUE

TYPOLOGY

HOLOCAUST



George Segal, *The Holocaust*, 1982, sculpture, New York, Jewish Museum. (Copyright VAGA, Courtesy of the Jewish Museum/Art Resource, New York)

This essay treats the subject of Judaism from the point of view of the main symbolic objects used in Jewish worship. These objects, often works of art, have also become signs and symbols of the Jewish people. The essay also gives an example of how a story from the Jewish scriptures has been used typologically in Christian and Islamic works of art. In addition, it mentions how a most momentous event in Jewish history, the Holocaust, has been reflected in art. It does not deal with the image of the Jewish people in art, although a few references to this subject appear in the “Further Reading” section.

A bas-relief panel on the Arch of Titus shows triumphant Romans carrying off the menorah from the Temple in Jerusalem after their conquest of Judea in the year A.D. 70. There could hardly be a more boastful record of victory or, to the Jews, a more wrenching symbol of defeat. The menorah (a branched candelabra) is probably the most widely recognized, if not the most important, symbol of Judaism—the religion, philosophy, and way of life of the Jewish people.

According to Judaic tradition, God gave Moses a detailed pattern for the menorah: “And thou shalt make a candlestick of pure gold . . .” (Exodus, 25:31; Tanakh). Its iconographic ancestry undoubtedly derives from the concept of the Tree of Life, a multicultural theme that winds through the millennia, from cylinder seals of the ancient Middle East to the designs of American Shakers. The menorah’s historic existence is confirmed by archaeological finds, namely plaster fragments of the earliest known representation of a temple menorah, dating from the reign of Herod (37 B.C.–4 B.C.), found during excavations of the Old City of Jerusalem in 1969.

Stone menorahs survive from a third-century synagogue near Tiberias, Israel. On the mosaic pavement of sixth-century Beth Shean in Israel, stone and glass tesserae in six varying hues show two large menorahs flanking what is probably a synagogue facade and entrance with a shrine, or Torah ark, beyond it. Such images, linking portal and candelabra, are frequent; the entryway represents the gate of the lord, and the lamp signifies divine light. This popular combination has even been discovered on Oriental rugs of Mamluk and Ottoman origin—beautiful examples of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century artistry, several examples of which can be found in the Textile Museum in Washington, D.C. These rugs closely resemble prayer rugs woven for Islamic worshipers, yet they were used as Torah curtains, or *parokhets*, in a synagogue.

In the complex and controversial symbolism of Marc Chagall’s *White Crucifixion* (1938) in the Art Institute of Chicago, the Jewishness of Jesus Christ on the cross is depicted by the Jewish prayer shawl he wears for a loincloth and by the menorah that burns beneath his feet. In 1965, American artist Ben Shahn calligraphed a Jewish prayer book called a Haggadah. The frontispiece for this is a buoyant, stylized

menorah in shades of blue, purple, and gold. A menorah is the emblem of the state of Israel, and a great bronze menorah, sculpted by Benno Elkan, stands before the entrance to the Israeli Knesset. A gift from the British Parliament, the menorah is decorated with scenes from Jewish history.

Also synonymous with Judaism today is the six-pointed star, popularly known as the Star of David. In Hebrew, it is actually called Magen David, which is translated as “shield of David.” This symbol, entirely unrelated to Jewish religious belief or ritual, is found as early as the Bronze Age. It may have had magical significance then, and it certainly has had since. For example, in the seventeenth century, it was an alchemical sign for the harmonious unification of the antagonistic elements fire and water. Also in the seventeenth century, the six-pointed star appears as Islamic ornamentation, where it is set in grillwork, with light filtering through, as on a window of the Alhambra, the Moorish palace in Granada, Spain. Some 500 years earlier, it was used to decorate the episcopal throne in the Cathedral of Anagni in Italy—an elaborate and elegant hexagram in marble surmounting a throne guarded by two lions.

The history and meaning of the star as a Jewish insignia is vague, although it is seen in cabalistic writings. During the nineteenth century, the star was consciously and insistently adopted as a Jewish symbol. This effort to devise a recognizable insignia was taken up by the Zionist movement. Then, during the twentieth century, the Nazi regime in Germany endeavored to turn the Jewish Star of David into a badge of shame, using it to mark Jews to separate them from the rest of the population. Millions of Jews were sent to their deaths with the star patched onto their prison uniforms. (Identifying Jews as pariahs in Nazi Germany echoed a similar practice in Christian countries during the Middle Ages, when a dress code forced Jews to wear cone-shaped hats and emblematic yellow patches.) Art Spiegelman, who redefined cartoon art with his 1973 comic book *Maus, A Survivor’s Tale*, about his parents’ experiences under the Nazi regime, drew Jews as mice and Nazis as cats. In panels inked in black and white, white stars stand out in chilling contrast against black jackets worn by victim mice.

Despite the Nazi outrage, and to commemorate their survival of the Holocaust, Jews tenaciously and defiantly celebrated the symbolism of the six-pointed star after World War II. Outlined in blue against a white background, it flies boldly on the national flag, heralding the independence of the state of Israel.

Although less quickly identifiable to non-Jews, numerous other religious and ceremonial objects—Judaica—have deep significance in Jewish life and make their way into its symbolism. The so-called Law of Moses, the Torah (or “teaching”), is the core of Judaic thought. In its written form, the Torah scroll is kept in the place of honor in the house of worship. Inscribed

according to specific instructions, the Torah's parchment is never touched by hands but is read with the help of a *yad* (Hebrew "hand"), a silver pointer the end of which is shaped like a miniature hand with a pointing index finger. The *yad* is moved along the Torah text as the lines are read.

The Torah is lavishly clothed and ornamented and is usually housed in a protective enclosure called the ark. (Definitions and practices vary slightly, depending on traditions developed in the Diaspora.) Iconography of the ark and of the Torah and its accoutrements (including cover, shield, and "crown") are distinct. These are all fashioned as beautifully as possible according to the concept of heightening the sanctity of a *mitzvah*—a religious duty or commandment of God—by embellishing the object used to perform it. As mentioned, the ark is often in the form of a portal and usually has columns on either side and a pediment or arch above. Not only is this idea of a doorway to the sublime an ageless and multicultural theme, but in every era it has been interpreted according to contemporary architectural style and taste.

The shawl, or tallith, that Chagall used in *White Crucifixion* to designate Christ's Jewishness is, in reality, worn around the shoulders and sometimes covers the head during prayer. Images of Jews wearing this blue- or black-striped mantle while praying at the wall of Jerusalem are familiar. Worshipers also wear small leather boxes (tefillin) strapped against the upper arm and forehead. These contain scriptural passages. *The Praying Jew* (*Rabbi of Vitebsk*), also by Chagall, wears both tallith and tefillin. Earlier than *White Crucifixion*, this painting is equally disturbing, but in a very different way. *The Praying Jew* shows influences of the expressionist and cubist movements current in Paris, where Chagall lived when he painted it in 1914. The subject expresses an ominous tension and calls to mind the pogroms in the artist's native Russia.

From its earliest days to the present, lions have guarded the Torah, at least symbolically. Certainly, the lion is an outstanding symbol of Judaism—there are seven words for lion in Hebrew, and the lion is mentioned 150 times in the Hebrew scriptures. King David was said to have the "heart of a lion" (II Samuel 17:10). It was written of the Israelites that they would "rise up as a great lion, and lift up himself as a young lion" (Numbers 23:24). In fact, lions in Jewish imagery are often called the Lion of Judah, and of the 12 tribes of Israel, the tribe of Judah has a lion for its symbol. (In fact, the only biblical personage specifically named the Lion of Judah is Jesus Christ.) A pair of fifth-century B.C. marble lions found in the synagogue of Sardis, Turkey, are believed to have been brought from a temple to the Asian nature goddess Cybele, who was also guarded by a pair of lions. Even in periods when the prohibition against representational imagery, explicit in the Second Commandment and in Deuteronomy, has been taken most literally, the only figure sculpted in the round that was allowed in a synagogue was that of a lion.

The frequency of the lion's evocation in Jewish rabbinic writings, folklore, and folk art, as well as in the scriptures, is matched by the diversity of roles the lion plays, switching from ally to enemy, from a symbol of strength and goodness to wrecker of havoc and evil. No single image ornaments a greater number or variety of Judaica than does the lion, from wedding certificates to sarcophagi and from wine cups to illuminated

manuscripts. Moreover, the lion of Judaic tradition has antecedents in both Mesopotamian and Egyptian legend and art and is succeeded by lions in Christian and Islamic iconography and by holy and secular imagery throughout world history.

Themes explored so far are connected to Jewish religious practices. Complexities alluded to by Chagall's *Crucifixion* series become manifest beginning in the Christian era. Even the name of the scriptural text is controversial: "Old Testament" is a Christian term. It implies that the testament, or covenant, between God and the Children of Israel is outdated and has been supplanted by a new order (Goldberg and Rayner, p. 195). "The Old Testament is nothing but the New covered with a veil, and the New Testament is nothing but the Old revealed," St. Augustine wrote in *The City of God* (XVI, 26). This idea made its way into the visual arts in the form of two women—first and second brides of the Lord—Synagogue and Church. Characteristically, Synagogue is shown holding the tablets of Mosaic law. A veil covering her eyes denotes that she is blind to the new, Christian order, and the broken lance in her hand expresses the idea that the integrity of Judaism has been shattered (Snyder, p. 224).

Despite the Christian belief that the New Testament eclipsed the "Old," history as told in the Jewish Bible was handed down through Christianity and then Islam. Pictorial tradition is also shared by the three religions. Recognizable, representational imagery is theoretically prohibited in Jewish and Islamic traditions, but both have energetically overcome that proscription. The earliest examples extant of Jewish narrative imagery date from the mid-third-century Dura-Europas synagogue, now in Syria, where frescoes illustrate important biblical episodes. Scholars believe that long-lost illustrated manuscripts preceded the frescoes of Dura, providing a source for Christian as well as for Jewish paintings.

The non-Jew's ability to lay claim to stories from the Jewish tradition relies on a widespread practice of appropriation called *typology*. Typology is a system that allows later ecclesiastics to see events described in Jewish scriptures as prefiguring what was to come; thus, Christianity can be argued as a self-fulfilling prophesy. For example, from a Christian typological perspective, the near immolation of Isaac is equated to God's sacrifice of Christ. The wood that Isaac carried for the sacrificial fire represents the cross, the ram is Christ crucified, and the thorns in the thicket are the crown of thorns.

The sacrifice of Isaac is among the most popular subjects in all three monotheistic traditions. It was found illustrated on the floor mosaic of the sixth-century Beth Alpha synagogue. Figures here are drawn in childlike outline. Abraham faces forward, flanked by the ram caught in the thicket on his right and the burning bush at his left; he holds Isaac in one hand and his sword in the other. In Christianity, the theme of the sacrifice of Isaac was most famously chosen, in the beginning of the fifteenth century, to be illustrated in the competition for the design of the doors of the Baptistry in Florence, Italy. Lorenzo Ghiberti won the commission. His design, while centuries advanced in both time and technique, nevertheless shares with the sixth-century rendering a similar sense of awe at the event depicted. Ghiberti's image combines the violence of the scene—Abraham's sharp knife is exceedingly close to Isaac's throat—

with fluid movement of drapery and the ripple of muscle in Isaac's young body. In stunning contrast to the Jewish and the Christian images is an Islamic miniature from Turkey by Luquman-i-Ashuri in the *Zubadad al-Tawarikh* (*Sacrifice of Isaac*) (1583). Capturing the same moment of arrested action, this representation is, however, as sophisticated in execution as the synagogue mosaic is naive and as still in mood as Ghiberti's scene is turbulent.

In one of the most curious and interesting Jewish illuminated books, the German *Birds' Head Haggadah* (circa 1300) in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem, the illustrator has avoided any risk of overstepping the Second Commandment by providing the main characters with birds' heads. Some 350 years later, Rembrandt van Rijn treated the subject with full-blown drama, capturing the moment in which the angel swoops down with wings outspread and grasps Abraham's hand. In Leonard Baskin's 1977 interpretation of the cataclysmic story *The Altar* in the Jewish Museum in New York, the angel's wings are fused with the figure of Isaac, and the ram stands astride the youth's outstretched legs.

As the centuries progressed, personalities and stories from the Old Testament seemed to become more self-contained, interesting as much for their psychology and plots as for typological significance. This is apparent in pictures such as Peter Paul Rubens's masterpiece *Daniel in the Lion's Den* in the National Gallery in Washington, D.C.; Artemisia Gentileschi's *Judith and Maidservant with the Head of Holofernes* in the Detroit Institute of Arts in Michigan; Elizabeth Jane Gardner Bouguereau's *The Shepherd David Triumphant* in the National Museum of Women in the Arts in Washington, D.C.; or the many renderings of *The Finding of Moses* from the Renaissance onward. Nicolas Poussin was especially preoccupied with the character of Moses and painted most of the significant events in the prophet's life.

Moses is an awesome Jewish figure in all the arts and the most frequently mentioned Old Testament figure in the New Testament. He also occupies an important place in the Koran. According to Islamic belief, Moses prophesied the coming of Muhammad (*Encyclopedia Judaica*, vol. 12, p. 402). Moses is quickly identifiable when he is holding the tablets of the law, often with Mount Sinai and a bolt of lightning in the background. During the Renaissance, he was frequently given horns due to a mistranslation of a phrase describing beams of light emanating from Moses' head. Examples include the statue of Moses by Claus Sluter in *Well of the Prophets* (1395–1403) in Dijon, France, and Michelangelo's *Moses* (1515–1516) in San Pietro in Vincoli in Rome.

In the twentieth century, ideas and images of Jewish spiritual life, such as the menorah and the Magen David, retain their significance. However, the Nazi Holocaust has brought the presence and fate of Jews and Judaism into a new historical context. A legacy of images in art and literature related to catastrophe continues to grow. Art Spiegelman's *Maus, A Survivor's Tale* has been mentioned. Note also Pablo Picasso's confusing, chaotic mound of bodies in *The Charnel House* (1944–1945) in the Museum of Modern Art in New York. George Segal's *The Holocaust* (1982) in the Jewish Museum in New York is among the most chilling of Holocaust memorials. A plaster-white lone survivor stands behind barbed wire and in

front of a pile of chalky white casts of human bodies. These corpses are laid down so that they form a starlike shape. Alluding to Eve, one woman holds a half-eaten apple; suggesting Abraham and Isaac, a boy and old man are paired; a figure with arms outstretched evokes the suffering of Jesus; and one configuration of legs might even be construed to resemble a menorah. Thus, although describing an event of contemporary history, Segal's work recalls several themes that have been woven through the Jewish religion from its inception.

See also Light I; Light II; Logos/Word; Offering; Protestantism; Sacrifice

Selected Works of Art

Menorah

- Arch of Titus*, sculpture, first century A.D., Rome
- Joseph, Scribe of Pontarlier, *Pentateuch*, *Megillot*, *Haftarot*, and *Job*, manuscript, circa 1300, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. Heb. 36, fol. 283v)
- Pile Carpet with Hebrew Inscription*, Washington, D.C., The Textile Museum
- Chagall, Marc, *White Crucifixion*, 1938, Chicago, Illinois, Art Institute
- Boller, Johann Adam, *Hanukkah Menorah*, New York, Jewish Museum
- Shahn, Ben, *Haggadah for Passover*, Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Rare Book and Special Collections Division, Rosenwald Collection

Star of David

- Episcopal Throne*, Anagni, Italy, Cathedral
- Chagall, Marc, *Praying Jew*, before 1985, Jerusalem, Israel Museum
- Hanukkah Lamp*, cast brass, Austrian Empire, nineteenth century, Prague, Czech Republic, State Jewish Museum
- Portable Ark and Altar*, Washington, D.C., Jewish War Veterans' National Memorial Museum, Collection Martin Weitz
- Spiegelman, Art, *Maus, A Survivor's Tale*, New York, Random House, 1973

Torah

- Hart, Solomon Alexander, *The Feast of the Rejoicing of the Law at the Synagogue of Leghorn*, before 1881, New York, Jewish Museum

Tallith

- Kaufmann, Isador, *Portrait of a Boy*, late nineteenth century–early twentieth century, Prague, Czech Republic, State Jewish Museum
- Chagall, Marc, *The Praying Jew (Rabbi of Vitebsk)*, 1914, Chicago, Illinois, Art Institute
- Brandon, Édouard, *Silent Prayer, Synagogue of Amsterdam, "The Amids,"* before 1903, New York, Jewish Museum

Lion

- Sarcophagus*, catacombs, Beth She'arim, Israel

Lion Mosaic, synagogue, sixth century, Beth Alpha, Israel
Manuscript, illuminated German *mahzor* depicting the Gates of Mercy on the backs of two lions, fourteenth century, New York, The Jewish Division of the New York Public Library

Paper-cut, ring, Baruch Zvi Memorial Plaque and Omer Calendar of a Society for the Study of Mishnah, New York, Jewish Museum

Synagogue

Burial of Synagoga, *Worship of the Brothers Limbourg*, manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Codex Fr. 166 fol. 40v)

Ecclesia and Synagoga, manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Codex Th. 26)

Typology

Sacrifice of Isaac, mosaic, sixth century, Beth Alpha, Israel
 Ghiberti, Lorenzo, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, gilt bronze, 1401–1402, Florence, Italy, National Museum

Luquman-i-Ashuri, *Zubadad al-Tawarikh (Sacrifice of Isaac)*, illuminated manuscript, 1583, Dublin, Ireland, Chester Beatty Library (Gen.R. 30:19, Ms 414, fol. 68v)

Birds' Head Haggadah, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, German manuscript, circa 1300, Jerusalem, Israel Museum (Ms. 180157, fol. 30)

Baskin, Leonard, *The Altar*, print, 1977, New York, Jewish Museum

Sluter, Claus, *Well of the Prophets*, 1395–1403, Dijon, France
 Michelangelo, *Horned Statue of Moses*, 1515–1516, Rome, San Pietro in Vincoli

Holocaust

Picasso, Pablo, *The Charnel House*, 1944–1945, New York, Museum of Modern Art

Segal, George, *The Holocaust*, sculpture, 1982, New York, Jewish Museum

Further Reading

Bohm-Duchen, Monica, *After Auschwitz: Responses to the Holocaust in Contemporary Art*, London: Lund Humphries, 1995

Brenner, Michael, *The Renaissance of Jewish Culture in Weimar Germany*, New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1996

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JUDGMENT

Andrew Stephen Arbury

The following iconographic narratives are covered in the discussion of the theme Judgment:

JUDGMENT SPIRIT OF DAN
CULTURE: GA WREE-WRE

JUDGMENT: ALLEGORY

JUDGMENT OF AMETO

JUSTICE OF BRUTUS

JUDGMENT OF CAMBYSES

JUDGMENT OF CAMILLUS
(CAMILLUS AND THE
SCHOOLMASTER OF THE
FALERII)

JUDGMENT OF EMPEROR
OTTO

JUDGMENT OF MANLIUS
TORQUATUS

JUDGMENT OF MIDAS

JUDGMENT OF OSIRIS

JUDGMENT OF PARIS

JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON

VIRGINIA

ARCHANGEL MICHAEL
WEIGHING SOULS

CHRIST AS JUDGE

ETIMASIA (*HETOIMASIA*), OR
PREPARED THRONE

JUDGMENT OF ZALEUCUS
(SELEUCUS)

LAST JUDGMENT

LITERARY/MUSICAL
JUDGMENTS

FOLKTALES/FAIRY TALES



Peter Paul Rubens, *Judgment of Paris*, circa 1636, painting, London, National Gallery.
(Courtesy of the National Gallery, London)

Judgment has been a crucial concept in the development of human civilization. It pervades secular and sacred law and morality and in many cultures is seen as the final determining event before passing into the afterlife. As such, stories and visual representations of various judgments are prevalent in literature and art. Several historical judgments have survived the centuries and are depicted in painting. These stories give us a moral sense of both justice and injustice and are all the more compelling because they are believed to have actually occurred.

The judgment of Cambyses was a well-known event from ancient times whose story was related by the Greek historian Herodotus. Cambyses was the king of the Medes and Persians in the sixth century B.C. who sentenced the corrupt judge Sisamnes to be flayed alive. The flayed skin was used to upholster the seat of the throne of judgment. Cambyses then appointed the executed judge's son to serve in his father's place and told him never to forget in what way his seat was cushioned. *The Judgment of Cambyses* (1498) by Gerard David in the Groeningemuseum in Bruges, Belgium, shows the gruesome flaying of the judge in the foreground and the son seated on the skin-covered throne in the background. In an interesting political twist, however, the judge has the features of Peter Lanchals, who had betrayed the city of Bruges to the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I.

The judgment of Zaleucus (Seleucus) relates the story of the lawgiver of the Greek colony Locris in southern Italy in the seventh century B.C. Zaleucus was the first to codify the Greek law that incorporated the *lex talionis*, or the concept of an eye for an eye. According to tradition, he had to pronounce judgment on his own son who was accused of adultery, the punishment for which was the blinding of both eyes. A man of great morality, he had no choice but to pronounce the verdict of guilty. The citizens of the town would have rescinded the sentence out of respect for Zaleucus, but he refused to be a hypocrite to the laws he had promulgated. Instead, he had one of his son's and one of his own eyes gouged out. The story was portrayed in the early sixteenth century by Perino del Vaga in a fresco in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy.

The judgment of Otto III deals with an unjust judgment in the tenth century. The wife of Emperor Otto III made sexual advances to a married German count, but when he rejected her, she falsely accused him in revenge, and Otto III had him beheaded. The count's widow sought to prove her husband's innocence and underwent ordeal by red-hot iron, a medieval practice to establish the truth. The widow held the red-hot iron bar and remained unharmed, thus revealing the empress's treachery. To atone for his wrongful judgment, Otto sentenced his wife to be burned at the stake. Both incidents are shown in Dirck Bouts's *Justice of Emperor Otto III* in the Musées Royaux in Brussels, Belgium.

Another unjust judgment was that against Phocion, an Athenian general in the fourth century B.C. who was judged a traitor simply because he sought reconciliation between the Athenians and Alexander the Great. He was charged with treason and forced to drink hemlock, but shortly after his death a statue was raised in his honor.

The most famous historical judgment comes from the Bible: the judgment of Solomon (I Kings 3:16–28). Two prostitutes each gave birth to a child at the same time. One child died, and both women claimed the living child as her own. King Solomon had to judge which of the two prostitutes was the real mother. He did so by threatening to have the living child cut in two so that each mother could have half a child. On hearing this pronouncement, the true mother renounced her claim on the child in order to spare it. Realizing that only the real mother would make such a sacrifice, he restored the child to her. This incident was thought to prefigure the Last Judgment, and it has been widely depicted in Western art. One of the better known versions is by Nicolas Poussin (1649) in the Louvre in Paris.

The judgment of Brutus may be myth rather than history. Lucius Junius Brutus was the nephew of Tarquin, the last king of Rome. Brutus was present when Lucretia disclosed her rape by Tarquin's son, Sextus, and killed herself. Brutus avenged Lucretia's honor by expelling the Tarquins and establishing a Roman republic, becoming one of the first two consuls of the new republic. Shortly thereafter, a royalist conspiracy was uncovered that implicated both of Brutus's sons: Titus and Tiberius. As consul, Brutus judged his sons guilty at their trial and condemned them to death. He watched as his sons were tied to stakes, flogged, and beheaded. Paintings of this example of stern Roman justice were commissioned for courts of justice in the Baroque era. Rembrandt van Rijn painted the judgment scene (1626), now in the Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal in Leiden, The Netherlands, but the subject is disputed by some. Jacques-Louis David portrayed a scene following the executions when the dead bodies are brought to Brutus's house (1789, at the Louvre in Paris). In the eighteenth century, the story appeared in James Thomson's poem *Winter* (1726) and was the subject of Vittorio Alfieri's tragedy *Bruto Primo* (1783).

Other examples of Roman judgment involve Camillus, Manlius Torquatus, and Virginia. Camillus was the Roman dictator who besieged the Etruscan town of Falerii in the fourth century B.C. A traitorous Falerian schoolmaster offered his pupils as hostages to Camillus, but Camillus was so outraged by the schoolmaster's treachery that he ordered him stripped naked and his hands bound behind his back. He then let the children drive the schoolmaster back to town with sticks. The Falerians were so moved by this example of Roman integrity that they surrendered. Poussin's rendering of the story depicts Camillus on a seat of justice with the schoolmaster being dri-

ven away by his pupils (circa 1637, in the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena, California).

Manlius Torquatus was a fourth-century B.C. Roman consul who judged his own son guilty of military disobedience. His son, a rash soldier, had killed a Latin enemy in single combat even though Manlius had forbidden that type of warfare. The son defended his action by claiming he had been challenged, but Manlius ordered his execution. Manlius is usually depicted enthroned on a seat of judgment with his son in the executioners' hands or with an executioner holding up the son's decapitated head (Ferdinand Bol, seventeenth century, in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, The Netherlands).

In Roman legend, Virginia, daughter of the centurion Virginius, was coveted by Appius Claudius, a Roman decemvir in the fifth century B.C. Appius schemed to acquire the young virgin by having one of his favorites claim her as a former slave and then bring the matter before him. Because Appius was a magistrate, he had the authority to judge in his own favor, which he did. But before the girl could be led away, her father rushed forth and stabbed her to save her from Appius's lust and unjust sentence. This event triggered the fall of the decemvirs.

The most famous judgment in classical mythology was one that had the most severe consequences. Paris, the son of King Priam of Troy, was asked to judge which of the three goddesses—Aphrodite (the goddess of love), Hera (the wife of Zeus), or Athena (the goddess of wisdom)—was the most beautiful. All three goddesses attempted to bribe Paris. Athena promised him victory in battle, Hera offered him land and material riches, and Aphrodite promised him the love of the most beautiful woman in the world, Helen, queen of Sparta. Paris chose Aphrodite and awarded her the golden apple, inscribed "To the fairest." Paris then abducted Helen and carried her back to Troy. This act provoked the Trojan War. The judgment of Paris is perhaps the most often depicted judgment scene in Western art, after the Last Judgment. The story communicates the idea that although physical beauty is enticing, it can be destructive. It was a favorite theme of the German painter Lucas Cranach. Other notable versions are by the Flemish painters Peter Paul Rubens and Jacob Jordaens.

Another mythological judgment was that of King Midas. A flute-playing contest between Apollo (the god of music) and Pan (the god of shepherds and flocks) was judged by the mountain god Tmolus in the presence of Midas. Tmolus declared Apollo the winner, but Midas disagreed and proclaimed Tmolus's decision unjust. Apollo "rewarded" Midas for his judgment by giving him the ears of an ass. In another version of the myth, Midas judges the contest. This version is the one most often depicted in art, such as Domenichino's fresco (1616–1618) in the National Gallery in London.

Celtic mythology also contains tales of judgment. Amaisgen, a Druid warrior and poet, was said to have pronounced the first judgment in Ireland by deciding that Eremon would be king, thus beginning the legendary Milesian dynasty of Ireland. Sometimes the judgment involved dire consequences, as it often did in Greek mythology. Bricriu Nemthenga (of the Poisoned Tongue), the champion of Ulster, was asked to judge a contest between the brown bull of Cuailgne and the white horned bull of Connacht on the Plain of Aei. Before he could pronounce his judgment, fighting bulls trampled him to death.

The eschatology of most religions deals with a divine final judgment of one's behavior on Earth. This concept emerges as early as the third millennium B.C. in Egypt, where the god Osiris was the principal judge of the dead. Each deceased person had to be judged for his deeds during his life. This event is depicted in numerous papyrus scrolls of the Book of the Dead. Horus (the god of light) leads the soul of the deceased into the Hall of Judgment, where Osiris sits on his throne. The soul must confess any sins committed in life in the form of 400 statements of the things it did not do. Then the soul's heart is weighed against the feather of Truth on a balance by the jackal-headed god Anubis (*psychostasis*). If the heart is judged truthful and Osiris declares the soul "true of voice," it can rejoin its ancestors in the Land of Reeds. If the heart is judged false, then a waiting monster that was part crocodile, part leopard, and part hippopotamus devours the soul. This event is never depicted in the Book of the Dead, however, because its many spells protected the soul.

Ancient Greek mythology held no clear concept of life after death—the dead became impotent shades wandering around Hades. Thus, there was no final judgment, although there were judges. Rhadamanthys, who was renowned for his wisdom and justice on Crete, became, along with his brother Minos, a judge in Hades after his death. According to Homer, however, they did not judge the deeds of humans but settled disputes among the shades. In Norse mythology, not even the gods were immortal. At Ragnarok, or the doom of the gods, the world was destroyed and consequently no final judgment of souls took place again. A Norse god, Forseti, dispensed justice, however.

The Zoroastrian religion has two judgments: that of one's soul and that of one's entire being (a universal judgment). Rashnu, Mithras, and Sraosha, who decide the fate of souls at the Chinvat Bridge (the Bridge of the Separator), carry out the first judgment. The bridge widens to allow the good souls to cross easily to paradise, where the Ameshas (the immortal holy ones) welcome them. The bridge narrows for the bad souls, forcing them to fall off into the gulf of Dusahk, where Devs (evil spirits) torment them. In Islam, at the Day of Judgment, Allah will judge all individuals and reward them with paradise for good behavior and with punishment in hell for bad behavior.

Judaism does not elaborate on life after death, but it does embody the concept of a Messiah who will judge human actions and reward the good and punish the bad. The concept of judgment applies to another aspect of Judaism, however. Rosh Hashanah, the Jewish New Year, is revered as the Day of Judgment. It begins a 10-day period known as the Days of Awe and concludes with Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. This period is a time for an ethical and religious reassessment of one's life—a kind of self-judgment. According to Jewish tradition, all the people pass before God during the Days of Awe, and He judges who shall live and who shall die during the coming year.

Because of Islamic and Jewish strictures against figural imagery, judgment scenes do not appear in the art of these two religions. This is not the case with Christianity. The belief in an apocalyptic end of the world and subsequent judgment of all souls by God or Jesus Christ inspired many representations of the Last Judgment in Christian art. At first, the scene was shown symbolically. In Byzantine art, the *Etimasia* (*Hetoimasia*), or

prepared throne, indicated the concept of the Second Coming of Christ and the Final Judgment. This empty throne presented one or more of Christ's attributes (book or scroll, dove, crown, purple cloth, instruments of the Passion, or apocalyptic lamb) before a golden cross. In early medieval art in the West, the Last Judgment was also usually shown symbolically in the guise of the parable of the wise and foolish virgins or the separating of the sheep from the goats, as in a mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, Italy. Later, Christ was shown on the throne, typically in the center. The saved are on his right and gain access to heaven; the damned are on his left and are cast into hell. Often the side of the damned is emphasized, and their gruesome tortures tend to dominate the scene. This was especially true during the Middle Ages, when the didactic nature of visual imagery was important to a largely illiterate congregation.

Horrible scenes of hell and damnation were probably quite effective in convincing people of the wisdom of avoiding evil deeds here on Earth. One Renaissance version by Luca Signorelli dispenses with the saved souls altogether and concentrates only on the damned being cast into hell by demons (1499–1504, Cathedral of Orvieto, Italy). Perhaps the most famous Last Judgment in art is Michelangelo's fresco (1534–1541) in the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican. In it, Michelangelo infused his personal feelings: He portrayed himself as the flayed skin of St. Bartholomew and, according to Giorgio Vasari, portrayed Biaggio da Cesena, Pope Paul III's master of ceremonies, as Minos because he had criticized the nudes in the painting. The torment of the damned is continued in the next century with Peter Paul Rubens (*Last Judgment*, circa 1616, Alte Pinakothek in Munich, Germany) and Jacob Jordaens (*Last Judgment*, 1653, Louvre). Twentieth-century artists often treat the theme differently. Stanley Spencer set it in a contemporary local scene (*Resurrection Cookham*, 1923–1926, Tate Gallery in London), and Frederick Kiesler tried to capture its threatening mood with environmental sculpture (*The Last Judgment*, 1958–1959, collection of Mrs. Kiesler).

In addition to a final judgment, the Christian Bible also contains many references to other types of divine judgment and to human judgment. The causes of divine judgment are human frailties such as disobedience (II Chronicles 7:19–22), rejecting God's warnings (II Chronicles 36:15–17), or idolatry (Jeremiah 7). The manifestations of divine judgment include physical destruction, such as the Great Flood (Genesis 7:6–24) and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah (Genesis 19:24–29); material ruin, such as the loss of crops (Malachi 3:11); spiritual blindness (Isaiah 6:9–10); and eternal damnation for sins, such as acquiring wealth as an end in itself (Luke 12:16–21, 16:19–31). In dealing with human judgment, people are called on to imitate God by judging others righteously (Luke 12:57) and to judge oneself before judging others (Matthew 7:1–5). People should abound in love so that they are better able to judge what is best in the Christian sense (Philippians 1:9). The Bible contains examples of good and bad judgment. A false judgment results when Joseph is unfairly judged based on the circumstantial and sham evidence provided by Potiphar's wife (Genesis 39:10–20). This illustrates the inherent weakness in many human judgments. Warnings against hasty and revengeful judgment appear in the story of David and the contemptuous Nabal, whom David had pro-

tected. David had the good sense to listen to the wisdom of Nabal's wife, Abigail, and did not kill Nabal for refusing him food (I Samuel 25:20–35).

Finally, judgment is endemic to fairy tales and folktales, whose purpose often is to teach the concepts of justice and morality. In "Twelve Brothers" (Grimm's Fairy Tales), the queen's wicked mother-in-law is sentenced to be put into a barrel filled with boiling oil and poisonous snakes for maliciously slandering the innocent queen. In "Brother and Sister" (Grimm) the stepmother/witch and her daughter are sentenced, respectively, to be burned to death and to be torn to pieces by wild beasts for killing the queen and putting the witch's daughter in her place. In many tales, the evil person suffers the judgment that he or she pronounced on the hero or heroine, such as being rolled down a hill inside a nail-studded barrel. This is what happened to the malicious chambermaid who forced the princess to exchange places with her in "The Goose Girl" (Grimm).

Another type of folktale involving judgment is the so-called dilemma tale (i.e., judgment tale) of Africa. Dilemma tales are a form of short story whose ending either is open to speculation or is morally ambiguous. This kind of conclusion allows the listener to ponder the most just solution to the dilemma posed in the story. Often the problem is to judge who is at fault when everyone seems equally guilty. One dilemma tale tells of a boy who must choose between loyalty to his kind foster father, who raised him, and loyalty to his biological father, who is cruel and unjust.

Judgment spirits also have an important role in African culture. Such a spirit from the Dan culture of western Africa is Ga Wree-Wre. He is personified with a mask, such as the one in the Virginia Museum in Richmond. When this mask makes one of its rare appearances in the village, the dancer's slow and dignified movements intensify its authority as a judge of disputes. In fact, the wearer of the mask does not dance, but walks and sits. The judgments of Ga Wree-Wre are delivered by a human speaker who stands next to the mask as it hears the disputes.

Judgment is a key human concept. Its portrayal in art reflects a similar belief common to many of the world's religions: the reward of life after death for those who do good on Earth. Fair judgment has been a cornerstone of humanity since ancient times, and the survival of famous historical and mythological judgments in literature and art attest to its significance. Folktales that embody the idea of the judgment of good and evil are especially important because they have the unique ability to entertain and to instruct at a basic level. Perhaps such folk and fairy tales have done more to establish social norms than have the great works of art portraying scenes of judgment.

See also Abduction/Rape; Choice/Choosing; Justice

Selected Works of Art

Judgment Spirit of Dan Culture: Ga Wree-Wre

Ga Wree-Wre, mask, Dan culture, Liberia/Ivory Coast, late nineteenth–early twentieth century, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts

Judgment: Allegory

Judgment, twentieth card of the Major Arcana of the tarot, late fourteenth century

Judgment of Ameto

Embriachi Workshop, Venice, Italy, *Ameto Judges the Life of Industry Superior to the Life of Leisure*, carved bone and horn relief on hexagonal wooden box, circa 1400, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts

Justice of Brutus

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Justice of Brutus*, 1626, Leiden, The Netherlands, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal
David, Jacques-Louis, *Brutus and His Dead Sons*, 1789, Paris, Louvre; Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum
Brutus Condemns His Two Sons, Titus and Tiberius, engraving from Rollin's *Historia Romana*, 1816

Judgment of Cambyzes

David, Gerard, *The Judgment of Cambyzes*, 1498, Bruges, Belgium, Groeningemuseum
Rubens, Peter Paul, *Judgment of Cambyzes*, before 1640, Potsdam, Germany, Bildergalerie

Judgment of Camillus (Camillus and the Schoolmaster of the Falerii)

Poussin, Nicolas, *Camillus and the Schoolmaster of the Falerii*, circa 1637, Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Museum; Paris, Louvre
Schönfeldt, Johann Heinrich, *Camillus and the Schoolmaster of the Falerii*, before 1682, Kromh Haz, Archiepiscopal Museum

Judgment of Emperor Otto

Bouts, Dirck, *Justice of Emperor Otto III*, 1470–1475, Brussels, Belgium, Musées Royaux

Judgment of Manlius Torquatus

Bol, Ferdinand, *Judgment of Manlius Torquatus*, seventeenth century, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
Cortona, Pietro da, *Triumph of the Barberini*, 1633–1639, Rome, Barberini Palace

Judgment of Midas

Schiavone, Andrea, *Judgment of Midas*, circa 1548–1550, Greater London, Hampton Court Palace, Royal Collection
Bourdon, Sébastien, *Judgment of Midas*, seventeenth century, Kingston Lacy, Dorset, England, National Trust
Spranger, Bartholomaeus, *Judgment of Midas*, before 1611, Nürnberg, Germany, Germanisches Nationalmuseum
Domenichino, *Judgment of Midas*, fresco, 1616–1618, London, National Gallery
Jordaens, Jacob, *Judgment of Midas*, circa 1636–1638, Madrid, Spain, Prado
Ricci, Sebastiano, *Judgment of Midas*, circa 1700–1705, Oxford University, Christ Church
Pannini, Giovanni Paolo, *Judgment of Midas*, circa 1750, private collection

Girodet-Trioson, Anne-Louise, *Judgment of Midas*, drawing, circa 1805, Paris, Louvre
Cotman, John Sell, *Judgment of Midas*, early nineteenth century, Norwich, Norfolk, Castle Museum

Judgment of Osiris

Last Judgment Before Osiris, painted papyrus scroll, *The Book of the Dead*, circa 1310 B.C., London, British Museum

Judgment of Paris

Judgment of Paris, hydria, fifth century B.C., Karlsruhe, Germany, Badisches Landesmuseum
Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *Judgment of Paris*, 1530, Karlsruhe, Germany, Staatlich Kunsthalle
Tintoretto, *Judgment of Paris*, 1543–1544, Padua, Italy, Museo Civico
Courteys, Pierre, *Judgment of Paris*, enamel on copper, before 1581, Vaduz, Liechtenstein, collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein
Aachen, Hans von, *Judgment of Paris*, 1590, Birmingham, England, Museum of Art
Jordaens, Jacob, *Judgment of Paris*, circa 1620, Coral Gables, Florida, Lowe Art Gallery
Rubens, Peter Paul, *Judgment of Paris*, circa 1636, London, National Gallery
Stella, Jacques, *Judgment of Paris*, 1650, Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum
Giordano, Luca, *Judgment of Paris*, circa 1670, Vienna, Austria, Akademie der Bildenden Künste
Watteau, Jean-Antoine, *Judgment of Paris*, circa 1718–1720, Paris, Louvre
Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista, *Judgment of Paris*, before 1770, Innsbruck, Austria, Ferdinandeum
Donner, Georg, *Judgment of Paris*, bronze relief, circa 1732, Vienna, Austria, Österreichisches Barockmuseum
Boucher, François, *Judgment of Paris*, 1754, London, Wallace Collection
Fantin-Latour, Henri, *Judgment of Paris*, 1863–1865, London, Tate Gallery
Corinth, Lovis, *Judgment of Paris*, 1907, Dresden, Germany, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie
Sargent, John Singer, *Judgment of Paris*, 1916–1921, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
Stuck, Franz von, *Judgment of Paris*, 1919, private collection
Chirico, Giorgio de, *Judgment of Paris*, 1946, Milan, Italy, private collection
Wright, John Buckland, *Judgment of Paris*, engraving, 1950, Christchurch, New Zealand, Canterbury Art Gallery
Seitz, Gustav, *The Judgment of Paris*, panel of Porta d'Amore doors, bronze relief, 1963–1969, Hamburg, Germany, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe

Judgment of Solomon

Giorgione, *The Judgment of Solomon*, circa 1495–1496, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
Floris, Frans, *The Judgment of Solomon*, sixteenth century, Antwerp, Belgium, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

Aertsen, Pieter, *Judgment of Solomon*, before 1575, Sierra de Guadarrama, Spain, El Escorial
 Vos, Maarten de, *Judgment of Solomon*, late sixteenth–early seventeenth century, Bremen, Germany, Kunsthalle
 Francken, Frans the Younger, *Judgment of Solomon*, early seventeenth century, Linköping, Sweden, Stadsmuseum
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Judgment of Solomon*, early seventeenth century, Copenhagen, Denmark, Statens Museum for Kunst
 Poussin, Nicolas, *Judgment of Solomon*, 1649, Paris, Louvre
 Giordano, Luca, *Judgment of Solomon*, mid-seventeenth–early eighteenth century, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Blake, William, *Judgment of Solomon*, circa 1799–1800, Cambridge University, Fitzwilliam Museum
 Leighton, Frederic, *Judgment of Solomon*, nineteenth century, London, South London Art Gallery
 Doré, Gustave, *Judgment of Solomon*, engraving, circa 1866

Virginia

Botticelli, *The Story of Virginia*, before 1510, Bergamo, Italy, Accademia Carrara
 Romanino, *Virginus Kills His Daughter*, before 1562, Trento, Italy, Castello del Buon Consiglio

Archangel Michael Weighing Souls

Gislebertus of Autun, *Saint Michael Weighing Souls*, detail of *Last Judgment*, circa 1130, Autun, France, St. Lazare, west tympanum
Archangel Michael Weighing the Souls of the Dead, German woodcut, fifteenth century
 Master of the Arguis, *Legend of Saint Michael Altarpiece*, panel, mid-fifteenth century
 Zenale, Bernardo, *The Archangel Michael*, late fifteenth century, Florence, Italy, Pitti Palace
 Roberti, Ercole de', *Saint Michael*, before 1496, Paris, Louvre
 Ximenez, Miguel, *Archangel Michael*, before 1505, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Kulmbach, Hans Suess von, *Rosary Triptych*, central panel, before 1521, Madrid, Spain, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection
 Andrea del Sarto, *Saint Michael Weighing Souls*, before 1530, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Christ as Judge

Christ as Magistrate Presiding over a Council of Apostles (The Last Judgment), terra-cotta, from *The Barberini Plaque*, early Christian, Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks
Christ as Judge Between Peter and Paul, circa 359, central panel of Upper Register of the *Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus*, relief sculpture, Rome, Vatican Grottoes
Scenes of Judgment, with Christ as Judge, from a Southern German Psalter, circa 1260–1270, Zurich, Switzerland, Zentralbibliothek
 Pisano, Nicola, *Apocalyptic Christ*, detail of pulpit, 1265–1268, Siena, Italy, Cathedral
 Vasari, Giorgio, *Christ as Judge*, before 1574, Arezzo, Italy, Casa Vasari

Etimasia (Hetoimasia), or Prepared Throne Mosaic, from central portion of triumphal arch, 432–440, Rome, Sta. Maria Maggiore
Mosaic, from dome mosaic, circa 450–460, Ravenna, Italy, Baptistry of the Orthodox
Mosaic, central portion of triumphal arch, circa 526–530, Rome, S.S. Cosmas and Damianus

Judgment of Zaleucus (Seleucus)

Vaga, Perino del, *Justice of Seleucus*, fresco, early sixteenth century, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Last Judgment

Gislebertus of Autun, *Last Judgment*, west tympanum, circa 1130, Autun, France, St. Lazare
 Giotto, *Last Judgment*, circa 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
 Eyck, Jan Van, *Last Judgment*, circa 1420–1425, New York, Metropolitan Museum
 Angelico, Fra, *Last Judgment*, 1438–1445, Florence, Italy, San Marco
 Weyden, Rogier van der, *Last Judgment Altarpiece*, 1445–1448, Beaune, France, Hospice
 Signorelli, Luca, *The Damned Cast into Hell*, fresco, 1499–1504, Orvieto, Italy, Cathedral, San Brizio Chapel
 Bosch, Hieronymus, *Last Judgment Altarpiece*, late fifteenth–early sixteenth century, Vienna, Austria, Akademie der Bildenden Künste
 Orley, Bernaert van, *Last Judgment*, early sixteenth century, Antwerp, Belgium, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten
 Tintoretto, Jacopo, *Last Judgment*, sixteenth century, Venice, Italy, Madonna dell' Orto
 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, 1534–1541, Vatican, Sistine Chapel
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Last Judgment*, circa 1616, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
 Francken, Frans the Younger, *Last Judgment*, early seventeenth century, Stuttgart, Germany, Staatsgalerie
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 Martin, John, *Last Judgment*, circa 1851–1853, London, Tate Gallery
 Martin, John, *The Last Judgment*, 1853, United Kingdom, Frank Collection
 Spencer, Stanley, *Resurrection Cookham*, 1923–1926, London, Tate Gallery
 Scipione, Gino Bonichi, *The Apocalypse*, 1930, Turin, Italy, Museo Civico
 Kiesler, Frederick, *Last Judgment*, bronze, aluminum, pewter, Lucite, gold leaf, and stainless steel, 1958–1959, New York, collection of Mrs. Frederick Kiesler

Literary/Musical Judgments

Boccaccio, *Comedia delle Ninfe Fiorentine*, Ameto judges the life of industry superior to the life of leisure, 1342
 Lyly, John, *Midas*, Midas' judgment, 1589

- Shakespeare, William, *The Merchant of Venice*, Portia, disguised as a lawyer, awards Shylock a pound of Antonio's flesh but no blood, 1598
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- Cervantes, Miguel de, *Don Quixote*, Sancho Panza, "governor" of the Isle of Barataria, acts as judge, 1615
- Thomson, James, *Winter*, Brutus's judgment, 1726
- Smart, Christopher, *Poems on Several Occasions*, judgment of Midas, 1752
- Grétry, André, *Le Jugement de Midas*, comic opera, 1778
- Alfieri, Vittorio, *Bruto Primo*, tragedy, 1783
- Strauss, Johann, *The Laughing Song*, from operetta *Die Fledermaus* (The Bat), 1873
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- Ashton, Frederick, and Lennox Berkeley, *The Judgment of Paris*, ballet 1938
- Folktales/Fairy Tales*
- "The Judgment of the Fox"
- "The Judgment of the Jackal" (India)
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JUSTICE

Gina Strumwasser

The following motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Justice:

DIKE AND ASTREA (JUSTICE)

JUSTICE AS CARDINAL

VIRTUE OR ALLEGORICAL
FIGURE

JUSTICE THEMES

CXX.

IUSTITIA.

120.

*Rex Zaleucus tulerat legem eandemque severissimam.
Cujus filius cum eam violasset ut sibi filioque alter
ex duobus oculis erueretur, praecepit. Id amoris ejus
Iustitiae merito potestribuere.*



Die Berechtigtheit.

*Zaleucus sein Gesetz nicht bricht,
man ihm und Sohn ein Aug aufsucht.*

Cesare Ripa, *Justice*, from *Iconologia*, Hertel edition, 1758–1760, reprinted, New York, Dover Publications, Inc., 1976. (Courtesy of Dover Publications)

From ancient Babylonian law to modern-day film, images of justice persist. Perhaps the oldest written account of justice dates from Hammurabi, who developed a series of laws and advanced the idea of justice. In the Code of Hammurabi, “if a man destroy the eye of another man, they shall destroy his eye.” The code is engraved on an elongated stela (circa 1760 B.C.) on which Hammurabi offers his laws to an enthroned sun god. Inspired by the “king of justice,” the Covenant Code of Moses mirrors Hammurabi’s punitive interpretation: “. . . thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, hand for hand, foot for foot, burning for burning, wound for wound, stripe for stripe” (Exodus 21:23–25).

The iconographic term justice is associated with reason, fairness, righteousness, and wisdom. Justice is served in the process of decision making and the act of judgment. In most modern societies, it is conveyed through law. From biblical times, the terms justice and judgment were used interchangeably. Accordingly, the person who imparts justice is the magistrate or judge. Although vindictiveness and revenge are related to judgment, justice has a positive connotation because a correct decision determines the “just” punishment or reward.

Zeus (or Jupiter), the king of the gods, was the custodian of justice for the Greeks and Romans. As the patron deity of fairness and the image of moral authority, he oversaw oaths, contracts, and all things legal or binding. He supervised terrestrial relationships and directed all interactions in the heavens. Zeus was a source with whom to be reckoned, and in the encounters between gods and humans, ethical lessons were learned. Because of the superiority of the gods, only they served justice, but it was Zeus who determined the limits, and those who transgressed the divine boundaries were appropriately punished.

Justice was humorously served by Vulcan, the god of fire, who caught his wife, Venus, the goddess of love, entwined with Mars, the god of war, in a fishnet he had constructed. The behavior of these divine characters, all immortals of the same rank, established patterns for earthly behavior.

Justice was a pervasive symbol for the ancients. According to Plato (*Republic*, books 1 and 4), justice was a significant “quality” or virtue that, along with wisdom, courage, and self-discipline, contributed to the welfare of the state. For Cicero, Roman law was the foundation of society. Both Plato and Cicero believed that the administration of justice was the responsibility of those who govern. This was true in the Renaissance as well. In the *Courtier*, Baldassare Castiglione defended justice as the most important obligation that “falls to the prince.”

Parallel to Plato’s “qualities,” justice is considered the most significant of the four cardinal virtues, which also include prudence, fortitude, and temperance. The virtue of justice, prescribed by moral or lawful acts that govern relationships, provides an inalienable and natural right to life. In regard to the state, justice protects against oppression and warfare and

ensures harmony, tranquillity, and prosperity. Hope, faith, and charity, the three theological virtues, often appear together with the cardinal virtues in iconographic programs.

The pursuit of justice in the afterlife with a system of reward and punishment was a consideration of Plato. Similarly, Cicero believed that “there was a place reserved in heaven” for those who ensure justice (*On the Republic*). For St. Augustine, justice ruled in the true City of God. In the *Book of the City of Ladies*, Christine de Pizan proposed that three women, Reason, Rectitude, and Justice, build a holy city. Dante recognized the importance of justice in his *Divine Comedy*, wherein God executes justice according to deed. In *Inferno*, the magnitude of the earthly sin determines punishment. Because the extent of sin is not as great in *Purgatorio*, retribution is equitably presented. Justice’s reward of peace and happiness in *Paradiso* is decided for the select, whose will echoes that of the divine. Even later, Baldassare Castiglione’s sense of justice expressed in his *Courtier* also derived from a faith in God.

As supreme judge as well as ruler of heaven and Earth, Jesus Christ is treated as a symbol of justice. At the Last Judgment, justice is served when the righteous are separated from the sinners. The weighing of the souls of the dead, or *psychostasis*, is governed by Archangel Michael, whose sword and scales resemble those of justice.

In the Bible, God instituted justice for Adam and Eve’s transgression. The serpent who had instigated the fall was condemned to go upon the ground, Eve to bear the pain of childbirth, and Adam to toil the earth. The justice of King Solomon is especially well known in his wise judgment against the woman whose baby died and who claimed the right to another.

Old Testament heroines Susanna and Judith are also images of justice. For Susanna, the victim of the lustful advances of the elders, Daniel served as the vehicle of justice. For bearing false witness against Susanna, Daniel separated the two elders to obtain the truth. Susanna was saved, and the elders were justly punished.

Judith’s heroic deed is told in the Book of Judith, part of the Roman Catholic canon since the Counter-Reformation. According to the story, the Assyrians, led by the general Holofernes, laid siege to the city of Bethulia. To save her people, Judith went to the Assyrian encampment, posing as a spy. Smitten by the beautiful Jewish widow, Holofernes invited her to a banquet in his tent. When he had drunk too much and was “dead” asleep on the bed, Judith took his sword and decapitated him.

In the medieval *Speculum humanae salvationis*, the Virgin Mary is depicted in connection with Judith as well as two other heroines: the biblical Jael and the historical Tomyris. As a model of justice, the Virgin Mary tramples her adversary, the devil, with the instruments of the Passion as Judith conquers Holofernes with her upraised sword. By slaying her nation’s enemy, Judith is regarded as an image of justice and was so

interpreted in the Middle Ages. Like David, with whom she is often associated, Judith played an active role to save her people. Her judicious action, risking her life to slay her nation's enemy, was considered a wise and prudent act. She was judged by the elders of the city of Bethulia, from whom permission for her actions was required for a woman and a widow. Judith was determined to save her country; and she resolved in her mind, through contemplation, intelligence, common sense, and prayer, the manner in which she would proceed. Her successful effort and celebrated determination seem to prefigure the allegorical figure of Justice.

The allegorical figure of Justice, popularly regarded throughout history for her wisdom, compassion, and sense of reason, is identified in ancient literature as a female and is personified in art as a beautiful woman. By the Baroque period, the attributes of a sword and scales, common to Justice, are codified by Cesare Ripa.

Although it is difficult to find concrete examples in antiquity, one can picture Justice by means of surviving literary passages. In Hesiod's *Theogony*, Justice, or Dike, is the daughter of Zeus, or moral authority, and Themis, or law. Dike sits to the side of Zeus as he determines judgment, and justice prevails under the influence of law. Pausanias describes a sanctuary (*Periegesis of Greece*, book 3, chap. 2:1–22:3) dedicated to Aphrodite Migonitis, near which Menelaus placed two statues, one of the goddess Thetis and the other the goddess Praxidicae, the Exacters of Justice. Later, he documents another statue group of “a beautiful woman [who] is punishing an ugly one, choking her with one hand and with the other striking her with a staff. It is Justice who thus treats Injustice” (chap. 18.1–18.3). Hesiod, in *Works and Days*, gives the most poetic expression, which describes Justice as “wrapped in a mist,” following men who do not “deal straightly with her.” But those who do deal straightly “prosper,” and “their city flourishes” (ll. 221–225). Ovid records a temple dedicated to Iustitia, the Roman equivalent of Dike (*Epistulae ex Ponto*, 3.6.25), and at times in inscriptions, Justice has the title Augusta, the same designation as empress.

In the early fourteenth century, Giotto included the virtue of justice in the decoration for the Scrovegni (Arena) Chapel in Padua, Italy. Justice has an important place with the other cardinal and theological virtues and the cardinal sins. Justice is perceived as a crowned image of the “New Law” (Bongiorno, p. 19) and is seated within a structure, reminiscent of the throne of the *Ognissanti Madonna*, which resembles an abridged Gothic church. She supports a scale with each hand. Placed on the balances are two angels. One reaches toward a seated image to the right of Justice, as if to crown a just person, and to the left the other angel raises a sword to behead an apparent wrongdoer. Justice is depicted in conjunction with Injustice, and although Giotto depicts Injustice as a male, 300 years later, Cesare Ripa will define the allegorical figure as a female. A frieze beneath each personification illustrates the virtue or vice above. Interpretations of the meaning of these scenes vary according to the author. Below Justice, the rendering of men hunting on horseback and women dancing, later to inspire Ambrogio Lorenzetti, illustrates the joyful pride in a well-run city and the peace of mind that justice brings to any state. The riders may also refer to commutative justice, symbolizing the importance of commerce within each town (Bongiorno, p. 20). Accompanied by the rewarding and the

avenging angels, Justice has been linked to distributive justice, which monitors the following of statutes and regulations of behavior and their respective punishment and praise (Lohuizen-Mulder, p. 62). Because the building of the chapel was begun to expiate the sin of usury of Enrico Scrovegni's father, the virtue of justice, interpreted here as penance, has a personal significance for the family (Tuve, 1966, p. 71).

By the trecento, justice had become more associated with the idea of civic pride. Although Giotto's decoration for the great hall of the Florentine Palazzo del Podesta in Florence, Italy, no longer exists, Giorgio Vasari described it. Represented in the fresco was a figure of the Commune “attended by four virtues,” one of whom was Justice pictured with “arms.” Inspired by Giotto, Ambrogio Lorenzetti's Palazzo Pubblico personification had a parallel meaning.

Ambrogio painted Justice twice in *The Allegory of Good Government* (1338–1340) in the Sala della Pace at the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, Italy. Distributive Justice is represented second in size only to the ruler of the Commune and is portrayed on the left as an enthroned judge securing balances in her hands. Similar to the Scrovegni *Justice*, her determination will result in positive or negative retribution. Indeed, the meaning of the iconographic program depends on the collaboration of the three figures—Justice, the Common Good, and Tyranny—and reflects fourteenth-century political ideology (Rubinstein, p. 189). The virtue of Justice is depicted again on the far right of the composition with the remaining “civic” virtues. She appears as an instrument of the Commune as a crowned young woman holding another crown, an upright sword, and the severed head of a man. Additionally, the sword and the head are symbols of the Old Testament heroine Judith.

Justice also served as a decoration intended for the Doges Palace in Venice, Italy. The virtue of Justice, flanked by St. Michael and St. Gabriel, was painted in the fifteenth century by Jacobello del Fiore. Justice is seated in the center of a horizontal panel, with lions by her side, a scale in her left hand, and an upright sword in her right hand. Echoing images of the Virgin Mary, Justice wears a crown and is sumptuously attired. On her left, the Annunciate Archangel Gabriel with lily in hand looks toward her. On the right of Justice, Archangel Michael glances downward at a dragon, which he tramples at his feet. No longer abbreviated, these two angels, the rewarding Gabriel and the avenging Michael, reflect the frescoes by Giotto and Ambrogio. The lily and the sword are also attributes of Jesus Christ, the celestial judge, at the Last Judgment. St. Michael weighs the souls of the dead with scales, a familiar symbol of justice.

Northern Europe also required the representation of justice through illustration of particular historical events. According to Erwin Panofsky (pp. 216–217), the group of four men represented on the far left panel of Jan van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece* (1426–1432) are the “Just Judges” and prefigure “justice paintings” of later artists. While occupying a special place on a sacred altarpiece dedicated to God, they serve as foundation for later histories of the institution of secular justice.

Rogier van der Weyden, Dirck Bouts, and Gerard David translated the personification of Justice into themes dependent on historical precedent. Although now lost but known from copies in tapestries, four scenes of justice painted by Rogier van der Weyden for the courtroom of the city hall in Brussels, Belgium, represented the justice of Trajan and the justice of Herkinbald.

Also, Dirck Bouts's *Justice of Emperor Otto III* (1470–1475, sometimes entitled *Wrongful Execution of the Count, or Ordeal of the Countess*) and Gerard David's *The Judgment of Cambyses* (1498) treat a similar theme. These events were employed to encourage devotion to justice and to foster civic pride as the foundation of a well-run government. Perhaps the stories were also recognized as earthly symbols of divine justice.

In a more intimate setting meant for personal consumption, the personification of Justice was included in decorations for the Studiolo of Isabella d'Este in Mantua, Italy. In *Pallas Expelling the Vices from the Garden of Virtue*, the ancient goddess of wisdom is depicted in a plush landscape and is accompanied by three cardinal virtues, who appear in the sky inside a cloud. Justice (identified by her upright sword and scales), Temperance, and Fortitude assist Pallas (Athena/Minerva) in liberating the imprisoned Mother of Virtue by expelling Venus and the vices from the garden. The idea of reason is pictorially described as it triumphs over sensuality.

In Correggio's *Allegory of Virtue* (1532–1533), commissioned to complement Andrea Mantegna's paintings, a young woman is surrounded by the attributes of Fortitude, Prudence, Justice, and Temperance, which are visualized by a lion's skin, a sword, snakes, and a bridle, respectively. Seen in association with Minerva, these figures represent all that is good in the actions of humanity. Unlike earlier trecento examples, the Christian virtue of justice is portrayed in conjunction with a pagan goddess.

By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, justice was also employed as a popular culture image and a model of "royal virtue" associated with terrestrial rulers. For example, Astrea, the Roman goddess of justice, was seated among the seven planets for the presentation of Girolamo Bargagli's play *La Pellegrina*. It is possible to re-create the performance of 1589 from surviving drawings by Bernardo Buontalenti. According to Virgil in the *Fourth Eclogue*, Astrea, depicted with upright sword and scales, introduces the Age of Gold. In addition, decorations for the triumphal entry of Louis XIII at Avignon, France, in 1622 included a "Fountain of Justice" as a part of the "progression [of] virtues" through which the king was transported (Strong, p. 245).

In Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, the *Allegory of Justice* is rendered as a blindfolded woman adorned with a crown and dressed in white. The white of her clothing is a necessary requirement of the judge whose decision must be without flaw, and the royal garments denote "the most splendid of concepts." Because justice depends on "reason" rather than emotion, she is depicted with her eyes covered. She holds a pair of scales in her left hand and an upright sword in her right. Both symbols are common to the other personifications of Justice presented. Although the scales represent the equality of the law that is due each individual, the sword and fasces depict punishment. Similar in meaning, they portray the power of justice to avenge crime and wrongdoing. In addition, the dog, long interpreted as an image of friendship, and the snake, a symbol of hatred, are considered negative influences on true justice. Other attributes are placed on a table nearby. The scepter is a sign of authority, the books convey the importance of written law, and the skull serves as a reminder of earthly mortality, "which justice does not suffer, for [she] is eternal" (Ripa, emblem 120).

Although the image of justice is understood as a woman, the act of justice and the enactment of justice, or punishment, are

depicted as a man. According to Ripa, there is an explicit distinction in the representation. In earlier medieval examples, tripartite justice is portrayed as allegory, judge, and prosecutor. By the seventeenth century, the allegorical figure of Justice no longer appears involved with the determination or punitive process. Although symbols abound, Ripa renders Justice empowered less and represents Judgment and Punishment as her authoritative masculine counterparts. Similar to the English Suffragette posters of the early twentieth century, Justice, imaged as a blindfolded woman with sword pointed downward and with incapacitated scales, is excluded from participating in the debate on the Reform Bill (Tickner, pl. V).

The story employed in the Hertel edition to elucidate Ripa's *Allegory of Justice* relates to the ancient ruler of Locris, King Zaleucus, whose austere laws provided the foundation for the Greeks. According to the code, adultery was punished by the loss of eyes, and when Zaleucus's son committed this crime, he asked that one of his own eyes be taken to save that of his son. The eyes seem indicative of justice, "an eye for an eye," as documented originally in the Code of Hammurabi and the Covenant Code of Moses.

In the United States, justice has always been an important ally of the people. Court magistrates, justices of the law, and judges have the power to enforce the law, to punish the criminal, and to perform marriage ceremonies. The Department of Justice was established in 1870 as an independent agency to protect federal law and ensure the rights of each citizen. The conclusion of the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag, "With liberty and justice for all," has become a paradigm for all democratic countries.

The theme of justice is represented in art through stories with worthy precedent from the Bible, mythology, and ancient history. The Greco-Roman world understood justice as a personal symbol as well as a more pervasive one relating to the state. In early Christianity, justice was associated with faith and personified as a cardinal virtue. In the later Middle Ages, it was popularly portrayed as an image of civic pride. In the Renaissance, the figure of Justice was accompanied by pagan deities; by the Baroque period, it was codified as an allegory. Admired for her notable wisdom and flawless judgment, Justice is rendered almost visually synonymous with the Virgin Mary. Never lacking in proper decorum, she is depicted as a dignified woman dressed in regal attire. Unlike so many virtuous women transformed into objects of sexuality, Justice remains esteemed.

See also Calumny; Fortune; Judgment; Misfortune

Selected Works of Art

Dike and Astrea (Justice)

Dike (Justice) Defeating Adikia (Injustice), vase painting, late sixth century B.C., Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Buontalenti, Bernardo, *Astrea (Justice)*, drawing, before 1608, Florence, Italy, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale

Justice as Cardinal Virtue or Allegorical Figure

Jesse Tree, illuminated manuscript, *Lambeth Bible*, twelfth century, London, Lambeth Palace Library (MS. 3, fol. 198r)

- Iustitia*, illuminated manuscript, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum (Ambraser Codex, fol. 11r)
- Justice*, manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms franc. 9186, fol. 304r)
- Christ on the Cross with Four Virtues and Mary and John*, stained glass, Lüneburg, Germany, Monastery of Wienhausen
- Giotto, *Justice*, circa 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena (Scrovegni) Chapel
- Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, *The Allegory of Good Government*, 1338–1340, Siena, Italy, Palazzo Pubblico, Sala della Pace
- Justice*, capital, late fourteenth–early fifteenth century, Venice, Italy, Doges Palace
- Master of the Lazzaroni Madonna, *Justice*, San Francisco, California, Fine Arts Museum, Roscoe and Margaret Oakes Collection
- Fiore, Jacobello del, *Justice with Saints Michael and Gabriel*, early fifteenth century, Venice, Italy, Accademia
- Piero della Francesca, *Triumph of Federigo da Montefeltro with Justice and Other Cardinal Virtues*, 1465–1470, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
- Pollaiuolo, Piero del, *Justice*, 1469–1470, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
- Mantegna, Andrea, *Expulsion of the Vices from the Garden of Virtue*, 1504, Paris, Louvre
- Gambello, Vettor di Antonio, *Justice*, medal, Ravenna, Italy, Museo Nazionale
- Raphael, *Dream of Scipio*, 1500, London, National Gallery
- Raphael, *Justice*, 1509–1511, Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura
- Andrea del Sarto, *Justice*, 1513–1514, Florence, Italy, S.S. Annunziata
- Beccafumi, Domenico, *Justice*, 1533–1535, Siena, Italy, Palazzo Pubblico, Sala del Concistoro
- Correggio, Antonio, *Allegory of Virtue*, 1532–1533, Paris, Louvre
- Beccafumi, Domenico, *Justice*, before 1551, Lille, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
- Salviati, Francesco, *Justice*, before 1563, Florence, Italy, Museo Nazionale
- Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *Justice*, before 1569, Brussels, Belgium, Royal Library
- Ripa, Cesare, *Allegory of Justice*, from *Iconologia*, 1758–1760
- Prud'hon, Pierre-Paul, *Justice and Divine Vengeance Pursuing Crime*, 1808, Paris, Louvre
- Prell, Hermann, *Justice*, before 1922, Hildesheim, Germany, Town Hall

Justice Themes

- Babylonian stela inscribed with the *Law Code of Hammurabi*, circa 1760 B.C., Paris, Louvre
- Eyck, Jan van, *Just Judges*, from *Ghent Altarpiece*, 1426–1432, Ghent, Belgium, St. Bavo
- Weyden, Rogier van der, *Justice of Trajan and Herkinbald*, tapestry, Bern, Switzerland, Historisches Museum
- Bouts, Dirck, *Justice of Emperor Otto III (Wrongful Execution of the Count, or Ordeal of the Countess)*, 1470–1475, Brussels, Belgium, Musées Royaux
- Cossa, Francesco del, *March (Borso Administering Justice)*, before 1477, Ferrara, Italy, Palazzo Schifanoia, Sala dei Mesi
- David, Gerard, *The Judgment of Cambyzes*, two panels, 1498, Bruges, Belgium, Groeningemuseum

- Rouault, Georges, *Men of Justice (Three Judges)*, 1928, Paris, Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville

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KISS/KISSING

Alicia Craig Faxon

The following motifs, periods, and cultures are covered in the discussion of the theme Kiss/Kissing:

ANCIENT THEMES

ASIAN THEMES

BIBLICAL: LEAVE-TAKING

BIBLICAL: MEETING,
GREETING

BIBLICAL: BETRAYAL

BIBLICAL: ADORATION

SECULAR: CONJUNCTION
AND SYMPATHY

SECULAR: LOVE, DESIRE

THE KISS OF DEATH

THE KISS OF PEACE

The Early Italian Poets
from Guido to Dante
translated by D. G. Rossetti
in the metres of the originals



LONDON: Smith & Elder, 1864

Dante Gabriel Rossetti, *Study for the Rose Garden*, preliminary sketch for title page of *Early Italian Poets* (1828–1882), Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Print Department Special Fund. (Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Although the twentieth-century perception of kissing tends to be in terms of love or passion, historically it has had a number of other meanings, such as a sign of adoration or a token of friendship. There is the kiss of peace, the kiss of betrayal, the kiss of death, and the kiss of reconciliation. The kiss is a way of worshiping idols, even a means of healing. In the tradition of childhood, to kiss a cut or bruise will “make it all better.” And, of course, there is the kiss of transformation in fairy tales, which turns a frog into a prince or a beast into a man, as in “Beauty and the Beast,” and the kiss that wakes the princess in “The Sleeping Beauty.”

In ancient times the most common public form of kissing was idol worship: adoring the statue or icon of a deity. This practice was specifically prohibited in the Old Testament, not only in the Second Commandment to make no graven images (Exodus 20:4–5) but also in specific condemnation of the worship of Baal (I Kings 19:13–18) and the making of images to kiss (Hosea 13:2).

Classical art contains very few representations of kissing; although kissing is mentioned in classical literature in appropriate contexts, such as Penelope’s kissing Odysseus on his return to Ithaca (*Odyssey*, book XXIII) and in Ovid’s *Ars amorata*. Helen of Troy is associated with kissing but mainly in poetry after the classical era, as in Christopher Marlowe’s *Dr. Faustus*:

Was this the face that launched a thousand ships,
And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?
Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss!

The Roman belief that the last breath of a dying person contained the essence of the soul, which could be trapped by another person, led to poignant descriptions of deathbed kisses. Virgil describes Dido’s sister, after Dido’s suicide, capturing her soul with a last kiss (*Aeneid*, IV, 684–485). Venus is also described by the Greek bucolic poet Bion as desiring a last kiss from the dying Adonis so she may incorporate the essence of her lover.

Adonis, wake and give
Me one last kiss
Long as a kiss may live,
Until in this
Kissing, thy spirit do
From body part,
And breathed be unto
My lips and heart.
(Bion, *Lament for Adonis*, I, 45)

Kissing is used allegorically to connote conjunction or sympathy, as in “Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other” (Psalm 85:10). The painting *Italia and Germania* (1829) by Johann Friedrich Overbeck

shows two women personifying the two nations about to kiss each another.

The Bible and Christian literature, on the other hand, have many references to a great variety of kissing. One of the most important in the early church ritual was the *osculum pacis* (kiss of peace), exchanged between Christians as a part of the church service. Deriving from Paul’s belief that the body of a true Christian is the temple of God (I Corinthians 3:16–17; 6:19), the kiss of peace gave expression to the unity and shared spirit of the congregation. Now the ritual is usually relegated to exchanging the peace by handshaking but also with embraces between spouses and friends. A mosaic in the Palatine Chapel in Palermo, Italy, shows Saints Peter and Paul exchanging the kiss of peace. One of the most beautiful representations of this exchange is the photograph *The Kiss of Peace* (1869) by Julia Margaret Cameron, which interprets the spirit of the gesture with consummate skill.

Another example in biblical times was that of kissing the hand or foot in humility. Although there is no direct reference to the three kings (or Magi) kissing the Christ Child when they came to present their gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh, artists have interpreted the phrase in Matthew 2:11, they “fell down, and worshiped him” by showing a king kneeling and kissing the Christ Child’s foot, as in Gentile da Fabriano’s *The Adoration of the Kings* (1423) in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy, or Paolo Veronese’s version (1578) in the National Gallery in London. Dante Gabriel Rossetti used kissing in his altarpiece *The Seed of David*, in the Llandaff Cathedral in Wales, as a differentiation between the great and the humble, with the shepherd kissing the babe’s hand, the king his foot. Rossetti wrote to his aunt, Charlotte Polidori, on June 25, 1864, “She holds his hand for the shepherd, and his foot for the king to kiss—so showing the superiority of poverty over riches in the eyes of Christ.”

Kissing was also part of the ritual of leave-taking in the Bible, as in the parting of David and Jonathan (I Samuel 20:41–42), shown in *David’s Leave-Taking of Jonathan* (1642) by Rembrandt van Rijn, in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, Russia. Kissing was also associated with meeting as well as embracing, as in the representations of Mary’s parents *The Meeting of Anna and Joachim at the Golden Gate* (1305–1306) by Giotto in the Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy, and in Albrecht Dürer’s *Life of the Virgin* print cycle (1511–1515).

The most dramatic kiss in the Bible is, of course, Judas’s kiss of betrayal to single out Jesus Christ for soldiers to arrest. This is consummately represented by Giotto in the Arena Chapel fresco (1305–1306), in which Judas wears a cloak of gold in which he enfolds Jesus as he kisses him—an obvious symbol of his betrayal of Christ for money. Because the kiss was so holy in Christian ritual, the act was seen as an ignominious betrayal, not only of Christ but of the sanctity of the kiss.

The literary life of kissing is long and studded with illustrious examples of various types of kisses. A small sampling would include the kiss of exuberant youth from Shakespeare's "Sweet-and-Twenty" with its last couplet:

Then come kiss me, sweet-and-twenty!
Youth's a stuff will not endure.

and Ben Jonson's "To Celia":

Drink to me only with thine eyes
And I will pledge with mine.
Or leave a kiss but in the cup
And I'll not look for wine.

Alfred, Lord Tennyson's view of kisses is one of remembrance of the past in "Tears, Idle Tears" from *The Princess*, part IV:

Deep as remember'd kisses after death
And sweet as those by hopeless fancy feign'd
On lips that are for others: deep as love,
Deep as first love, and wild with all regret;
O Death in Life, the days that are no more!

Romantic and passionate kisses between two lovers, and kissing as a sign of love with a merging of the two participants, is conveyed by Dante Gabriel Rossetti in both art and verse. His drawing *Study for the Rose Garden* (1861) in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, meant as a study for a frontispiece for his book of translations of poems by Dante Alighieri and his circle, shows a young man and woman passionately kissing. The model for the man was Rossetti's friend poet Algernon Swinburne, who wrote about the experience to his friend R. Monckton Milnes:

Rossetti has just done a drawing of a female model and myself embracing—I need not say in the most fervent and abandoned style. . . . Everyone who knows me already salutes the likeness with a yell of recognition. When the book comes out I shall have no refuge but the grave.

Actually, the representation is rather chaste, but Swinburne loved to exaggerate.

Rossetti's poem "The Song of the Bower," written around the same time, although not published until 1870, is a good deal more passionate:

What were my prize, could I enter thy bower,
This day, to-morrow, at eve or at morn?
Large lovely arms and a neck like a tower,
Bosom then heaving that now lies forlorn.
Kindled with love-breath (the sun's kiss is colder!)
Thy sweetness all near me, so distant to-day;
My hand round thy neck and thy hand on my shoulder
My mouth to thy mouth as the world melts away.

Other examples of romantic kissing in art are Jean-Honoré Fragonard's charming *The Stolen Kiss* (before 1788), in the Hermitage, in typical eighteenth-century rococo style; Gustav Klimt's highly stylized *The Kiss* (1907–1908), in the Österreichische Museum in Vienna, Austria; and Edvard Munch's merged forms in the woodcut *The Kiss* (1896–1897), reputedly inspired by Rossetti's kissing figures in *Paolo and Francesca*.

The medieval imagination engendered no more famous kiss than that of Paolo and Francesca. In canto V of the *Inferno*,

Dante describes how Francesca da Rimini, a young woman betrothed to the deformed Giovanni Malatesta, fell in love with his brother Paolo. One day, as Francesca and Paolo were reading together, they were overcome with passion and kissed. Giovanni discovered them and stabbed them both. They not only shared a kiss but also their deaths, and thanks to Dante's genius, a famous eternity together in the second circle of hell. Their kiss was depicted not only by Rossetti but also by John Flaxman, J. A. D. Ingres, and William Blake, among other artists.

From ancient times, kissing was a sign of homage, as in a knight kissing his liege's hand or an aristocrat kissing a lady's hand. The kiss sealed the vow of vassalage between vassal and lord in feudal times. Only the lord would confer a kiss on the mouth; the vassal would bestow his kiss on the foot or the hand. This usage still takes place in the modern ecclesiastical ritual of kissing the pope's ring. The vow of vassalage formed the basis of the medieval love-service vow between a lady and her knight and perhaps the basis of the wedding kiss. A more secular version can be seen in the formal European custom of kissing a lady's hand in greeting, celebrated in the immortal words of Anita Loos from the song "Gentlemen Prefer Blondes":

A kiss on the hand may be quite continental,
But diamonds are a girl's best friend.

Another usage of kissing is connected with relinquishing something or "kissing it good-bye." Blake's poem *Eternity* alludes to this concept:

He who bends to himself if a Joy
Doth the winged life destroy;
But he who kisses the Joy as it flies
Lives in Eternity's sunrise.

A more somber view of kissing is that of the kiss of death, which has two meanings, one literal and one metaphoric. The literal meaning was given by William Rossetti to his brother's illustration in a book of Tennyson's poems (1857) of *St. Cecilia*, who is being kissed by a masculine angel as she plays an organ. When questioned about its meaning, William said he thought Dante Gabriel was representing the kiss of death by the angel as a foreshadowing of the saint's martyrdom. Rossetti also used the kiss as a harbinger of death in his large oil painting *Dante's Dream of the Death of Beatrice* (1871), where the figure of Love, clad in scarlet, leans over to kiss the recumbent Beatrice on her funeral bier. The more metaphysical use of the phrase "the kiss of death" is to suggest that an action will totally kill the success of a project, even if it is a well-meaning endorsement or speech.

An exactly opposite view of kissing stresses its reviving power, either from a deep sleep or even death. This is the fairy-tale kiss that awakens the sleeping princess, which can be seen in psychological terms as an arousal of latent sexuality. The kiss of the beloved is even credited with waking a lover from the dead, as in Mary Ashley Townsend's poem *Creed*, stanza 1:

I believe if I should die
And you should kiss my eyelids when I lie
Cold, dead and dumb to all the world contains,
The folded orbs would open at thy breath,

And, from its exile in the isles of death,
Life would come gladly back along my veins.

The most famous twentieth-century example of kissing in art is Constantin Brancusi's *The Kiss* (1907), a stone sculpture in Montparnasse Cemetery in Paris, which commemorates the tomb of the Russian girl Tatiana Rachevskaja. The two embracing and kissing figures are represented in a primitivistic way, both part of the same block of stone, possibly indicating love as the finding of one's other half as part of a whole relationship or the unity of a pair of lovers. In *Sculpture Inside and Out*, Malvina Hoffman describes a visit to Brancusi's studio in which she offers her interpretation of his *Kiss*:

I see the forms of two cells that meet and create life . . . like the revelation I once saw through a microscope when I studied embryology. The beginning of life . . . through love. Am I right? "Yes you are," he answered, ". . . first came this group of two interlaced, seated figures in stone . . . then the symbol of the egg, then the thought grew into this gateway to a beyond." (p. 53)

Brancusi also used the design in *Gate of the Kiss*, a memorial to Romanian soldiers killed in World War I for the park of Tirgu-Jiu in his homeland, Romania. The columns of the gate employ the motif of touching half-circles, representing the kiss, incorporated into a larger circular form. The frieze across the top of the gate is made up of the repeated kiss motifs.

Brancusi's work contrasts greatly with Auguste Rodin's *The Kiss* (circa 1890), which inspired Brancusi. Rodin's *Kiss*, based on Dante, grew out of a study for Paolo and Francesca to be included in the artist's massive *Gates of Hell*. It presents a more romantic nineteenth-century view, with two naturalistic figures of a man and woman embracing, outlined in space, with none of the organic melding of Brancusi's pair.

Klimt's famous oil painting *The Kiss* is life-size and shows the merging of a man and woman in a passionate embrace. Geometric verticals decorate the man's robe, and circles and spirals adorn the woman's robe, obvious symbols of masculinity and femininity. The painting was aptly described by art historian Alessandra Comini as "ornate intercourse of circular and vertical forms" (p. 24).

This idea of the melding or uniting of two people through a kiss, although a pervasive idea in most cultures, is depicted most vividly in Indian sculpture. Enlaced and ardent couples in the sculptures of the temples at Eluru, Khajuraho, and Konarak symbolize the fusion of the male and female principles and the sharing of sacred breath through the kiss.

See also Betrayal; Love and Death; Reading

Selected Works of Art

Ancient Themes

The Kiss, Greek marble relief, first century B.C., Venice, Italy, Museo Archeologico

The Kiss, Iberian stone relief, fourth–second century B.C., from Osuna, Spain, now in Madrid, National Archaeological Museum

Etruscan Sarcophagus, fourth century B.C., from Vulci, now in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
Canova, Antonio, *Psyche Re-animated by the Kiss of Amor*, 1792, Paris, Louvre

Asian

Kissing Couple, hewn rock, A.D. 600–850, Elura, India, Kailasa Temple

The Adi-Buddha Vajradhara in Union with his Sakti, Nepalese bronze, seventeenth century, London, British Museum

Biblical: Leave-Taking

Rembrandt van Rijn, *David's Leave-taking of Jonathan*, oil, 1642, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage

Biblical: Meeting, Greeting

Giotto, *The Meeting of Anna and Joachim at the Golden Gate*, fresco, 1305–1306, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
Dürer, Albrecht, *Life of the Virgin*, woodcut, 1511–1515

Biblical: Betrayal

Giotto, *The Kiss of Judas*, fresco, 1305–1306, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Biblical: Adoration

Gentile da Fabriano, *The Adoration of the Kings*, oil, 1423, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
Veronese, Paolo, *The Adoration of the Kings*, 1578, London, National Gallery
Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *The Adoration of the Magi*, panel from *The Seed of David* altarpiece, Llandaff, Wales, Cathedral

Secular: Conjunction and Sympathy

Justice and Peace Have Kissed, detail of miniature from manuscript *Golden Legend*, fifteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. franc. 244, fol. 187)
Overbeck, Johann Friedrich, *Italia and Germania*, 1829, Munich, Germany, Bayerische Staatsgemälde Sammlungen

Sluyters, Jan, *Embracing Women*, 1906, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Van Gogh Museum

Secular: Love, Desire

The First Kiss of Lancelot and Guinevere, illuminated manuscript, *Lancelot du Lac*, circa 1310, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (M. 805)
Utamaro, Kitagawa, *Lovers*, woodblock print, 1788, London, Victoria and Albert Museum
Fragonard, Jean-Honoré, *The Stolen Kiss*, oil, before 1788, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage
Flaxman, John, *Paolo and Francesca*, line engraving, 1793, London, British Museum
Blake, William, *Paolo and Francesca, with the Whirlwind of Lovers*, engraving, 1826
West, Benjamin, *The Stolen Kiss*, oil on canvas, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Study for the Rose Garden*, pen and ink drawing, 1861, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Hayez, Francisco, *The Kiss*, before 1882, Milan, Italy, Brera
Klimt, Gustav, *The Kiss*, oil, 1907–1908, Vienna, Austria,
Österreichische Galerie

Rodin, Auguste, *The Kiss*, marble, circa 1890, Paris, Musée
Rodin

Munch, Edvard, *The Kiss*, oil on cardboard, 1892, Oslo,
Norway, Munch-Museet

Behrens, Peter, *The Kiss*, colored woodcut, 1896–1897

Munch, Edvard, *The Kiss*, woodcut, 1897–1898

Brancusi, Constantin, *The Kiss*, stone, 1907, Paris,
Montparnasse Cemetery

Schmidt-Rottluff, Karl, *The Kiss*, woodcut, 1918

Warhol, Andy, *The Kiss (Bela Lugosi)*, silk screen, ink on
paper, 1963

Warhol, Andy, *The Kiss*, film strips, silk screen print of
Plexiglas, 1965, Darmstadt, Germany, Collection Ströher

The Kiss of Death

Baldung Grien, Hans, *Death and the Young Woman*, 1517,
Basel, Switzerland, Kunstmuseum

Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *St. Cecilia*, woodblock print,
illustration for *Moxon Tennyson*, 1857, New York,
Metropolitan Museum of Art

Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Dante's Dream of the Death of
Beatrice*, oil, 1871, Liverpool, England, Walker Art
Gallery

Munch, Edvard, *Death and the Maiden*, 1894, Oslo, Norway,
Munch-Museet

The Kiss of Peace

The Kiss of Peace Exchanged Between Saints Peter and Paul,
mosaic, Palermo, Italy, Palatine Chapel

Cameron, Julia Margaret, *The Kiss of Peace*, albumen print,
1869, Bath, England, Royal Photographic Society

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LABOR/TRADES/ OCCUPATIONS

Stephen Lamia

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Labor/Trades/Occupations:

ANCIENT EGYPTIAN
GREEK AND ROMAN
ROMANESQUE

GOTHIC
RENAISSANCE
BAROQUE

NINETEENTH CENTURY
TWENTIETH CENTURY



Jacopo della Quercia, *The Labors of Adam and Eve*, circa 1428, marble relief, Bologna, Italy, San Petronio. (Courtesy of Alinari/Art Resource, New York)

This article broadly surveys the immense subject of labor, trades, and occupations and, by necessity, classifies them into four genres: tasks that are depicted in a mundane milieu, the metaphoric aspects of labor, biblical references to toiling, and mythological themes of work.

Tasks Depicted in a Mundane Milieu

The study of realist iconography begins in ancient Egypt. Numerous tombs have walls adorned with images of people and animals occupied with one of mankind's oldest forms of work—farming the land. We marvel at the bustle of activity set in the typical “spaceless” environment that characterizes Egyptian art. Whether it be scenes of plowing the land, as in the Chapel of Atet in Medum; unloading grain, as in the Chapel of Djehutyhetep in Bersheh; or harvesting crops, as in the Chapel of Khnum-hotep in Beni Hasan and the Tomb of Menena in Thebes, artists have immortalized the liveliness and industrious spirit of the field laborers. That same vitality has been captured by a late Romanesque manuscript illuminator in a harvest scene from a *Speculum virginum* wherein we observe, in three horizontal registers, men and women cutting and bundling wheat, raking the ground, and sowing seeds. Artists who flourished in the wake of the Industrial Revolution continued the tradition of representing agricultural tasks in an effort to visually preserve this method of livelihood, or to give it a heroic aura, as they perceived it to be supplanted by the Machine Age. George Robert Lewis meticulously recorded farmhands performing their chores in his early nineteenth-century canvas *Hereford, Dynedor, and the Malver Hills from the Haywood Lodge, Harvest Scene, Afternoon*. In keeping with this aspect of visual reportage, mid-nineteenth-century realists such as William Sidney Mount, Rosa Bonheur, Eastman Johnson, and Winslow Homer objectively rendered familiar activities such as making cider, plowing, husking corn, and picking cotton, cranberries, and other fruits of the Earth. Jean-François Millet and Vincent van Gogh endowed their farm laborers with a more exalted aura, as can be seen in their treatment of the same subject, *The Sower*. However, both artists also evoke stirring compassion for the backbreaking efforts of the peasants in such works as Millet's *The Gleaners* or van Gogh's *Peasant Women Digging Potatoes*. Although he, too, often represented the theme of agricultural labor, Émile Bernard seemed centered more on the formalist issue of the cloisonist style.

Domestic occupations, likewise, form a nucleus of images under the broader category of realism. As with agriculture, we discover a range of activities centered on hearth and home. These include works such as an ancient Egyptian fragment depicting a baker tending his oven and the same chore performed by a peasant woman in a striking chalk drawing by

Honoré Daumier. This subcategory of domestic chores also includes “active” scenes by Millet, Edgar Degas, and Pablo Picasso that represent laundering and ironing clothes as well as “passive” figures of cooks, servants, governesses, and seamstresses by Pieter Aertsen, Jan Vermeer, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin, and Édouard Vuillard. Images of spinning, weaving, and sewing sometimes depict solitary efforts, as in Millet's *The Spinner*; coordinated group activity that actually extends beyond the boundaries of the domestic environment, as in the Amasis Painter's *Women Working Wool*, Diego Velázquez's *Las Hilanderas*, and Max Liebermann's *Dutch Sewing School*; or exhaustion through ennui, as in Gustave Courbet's *The Sleeping Spinner*.

A rich and fascinating trove of imagery dealing with labor, trades, and occupations originated from artists' needs and desires to depict their own creative efforts. The chronology harkens back to antiquity, but a great many examples date from the medieval era. A southern Italian red-figured vase shows an artist polychroming a statue of a god or perhaps Hercules, while in two important Gothic manuscripts, the *Cantigas de Alfonso el Sabio* and the *Lambeth Apocalypse*, the statue in the process of being painted is that of the Virgin and Child. Other Gothic manuscripts represent artists grinding pigments, as in Jacobus de Voragine's *Omne bonum*, and decorating walls with frescoes, as in a French historiated Bible. The *Art of Painting*—one of several reliefs depicting various arts adorning the exterior of the Campanile of Florence Cathedral in Italy—has been attributed variously to both Giotto and Andrea Pisano. In a late fifteenth-century colored pen drawing, the Housebook Master also unites several of the arts—painting, sculpture, and even musical instrument making—under the aegis of the planet Mercury. Auguste Renoir carries the theme forward in a portrait of Claude Monet standing at his easel and painting in his garden. In the twentieth century, Diego Rivera, the Mexican muralist, celebrates his preferred medium in a work entitled *The Making of a Fresco*.

Images of scribes hunched over their desks or pausing from their transcriptions also appear in medieval manuscripts. The looming figure of Eadwine the Scribe in the Psalter that bears his name and the humorous depiction of the scribe Hildebert, hurling an object at a mouse who nibbles at his lunch in an edition of St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, are two vivid examples from the Romanesque period. The metalsmith, too, has been represented at his trade in another relief on the Campanile in Florence. This craft has also been bestowed a place of honor among royalty and clergy in a miniature found in Jacobus de Cessolis's *Le Jeu des échecs moralisée*, a French Gothic manuscript of the fourteenth century.

The stonecutter—sculptor as well as mason—has likewise received the attention of his contemporaries in late medieval

art. Stained-glass windows of the thirteenth century in the French towns Chartres, Bourges, and Beauvais, to cite just a few examples, represent masons cutting stones and hauling them up ramps, dropping plumb lines, and laying bricks to form walls. Matthew Paris's *Life of St. Alban* contains a pair of tinted line drawings showing King Offa of Mercia visiting the building site of St. Alban's church. The miniatures are alive with action. Standing beside the king at left is the architect holding his square and compass. Both men observe laborers transporting bricks in wheelbarrows or lifting them by ropes, drilling into walls, or laying bricks. Francisco Goya's *Injured Mason*, a late eighteenth-century tapestry cartoon, indicates the hazards of this occupation, while Fernand Leger's *The Builders* shows figures interwoven with scaffolds and ladders to form a compositional design that reinforces the strength of this specialized trade.

A small, late Archaic, terra-cotta statue from the Greek republic of Boeotia representing a barber with his customer is particularly charming for its whimsical nature. A fantastic interpretation of the same trade appears in the work of the early twentieth-century Russian painter David Burliuk, whose *Headless Barber* exhibits a stylistic amalgamation of cubism, futurism, and rayonism. Quentin Matsys's *The Money Changer and His Wife* presents the sixteenth-century Netherlandish variety of realism in connection with those who trade in coins. The couple intently weighs and counts money in the cozy confines of their shop.

The image of the doctor appears frequently in the visual arts, and in the course of its history one is able to trace the development of this profession from its folkloristic roots to its scientific orientation. One medieval example, an Italian manuscript of the late twelfth century, represents King William II of Sicily being treated by an Arab physician and an astrologer. By the time of the Baroque period, the less scientific aspects of this practice have been purged from the canvas. Rembrandt van Rijn's *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp* is decidedly more factually based. This trend continues in Goya's image of a doctor in a tapestry cartoon and even more so in two riveting canvases by Thomas Eakins, *The Gross Clinic* and *The Agnew Clinic*. Diego Rivera's frescoes *The History of Cardiology* and *The History of Medicine in Mexico* are mid-twentieth-century comprehensive treatments of this respected profession.

Woodsmen and knife-grinders are just two of the many genres of unskilled workers represented in the visual arts. Cistercian monks felling trees and splitting logs in historiated letters of an early twelfth-century manuscript, St. Gregory's *Moralia in Job*, seem to embody the *opera manum* prescribed by the Rule of St. Benedict. Woodcutters at their task woven into the bucolic landscape of a Flemish tapestry dated to the early sixteenth century connote a harmonic relationship between man and nature. In his early twentieth-century painting *The Woodcutter*, Ferdinand Hodler displays the image of a solitary man wielding an ax with enormous gestural power. From a century earlier, Goya's *Knife Grinder* visually affirms the concentrated effort involved in this tedious task. Kazimir Malevich's identical subject, executed nearly a century later, seems a pictorial exercise in motion that exemplifies the cubo-futurist aesthetic of his early career.

The exaltation of labor reaches its dramatic height in images of miners and smiths. As early as the mid-sixteenth century

Herri met de Bles's painting *The Copper Mine* exploits the inherently robust nature of the theme, which is continued in such nineteenth-century works as Claude Monet's *Unloading Coal*, *Argenteuil* and Vincent van Gogh's *Miners*, *Borinage*. The image of a sinewy smith striking the red-hot iron that sends sparks aglow in an otherwise dusky interior infuses blacksmiths' shops and forges with a quasi-romantic atmosphere. This is seen in works such as Joseph Wright of Derby's *The Iron Forge*, Théodore Géricault's *The Blacksmith's Signboard*, Bass Otis's *Interior of a Smithy*, Goya's *The Forge*, and J. F. Weir's *Forging the Shaft*.

The dignity of work was nowhere as elevated as in the nineteenth century. The apostle of realism, Gustave Courbet, through his outspoken efforts and political inclinations, firmly established this pictorial tradition in France. His *Stonebreakers* became a veritable icon of the suffering, downtrodden, common laborer. Similarly, Gustave Caillebotte's *The Floorscrapers*, completed almost 30 years later, may be seen as the urban equivalent of Courbet's rural image. In the former painting, the faceless old man and his youthful apprentice pulverize stones into gravel for the country roadways; in the latter, three kneeling, bare-chested laborers plane the surface of the wooden floor of a new city building.

The pictorial response to the Industrial Revolution is extremely significant, for it documents novel work environments and machinery. J. C. Ibbetson's *The Parys Mine on Anglesea* is one early manifestation of the impact. Other images set workers in monotonous rows in factories or show them taking a break from their routine. William Bell Scott's *Iron and Coal* contains a group of workers lifting their mallets in unison in a crowded shop, while Thomas Anshutz's *Iron Workers: Noontime* depicts men washing themselves before their lunch against the backdrop of a factory. Charles Ginner's *The Shell Filling Factory*, painted for the Canadian War Commission after World War I, sets a number of uniformed women performing identical tasks in a cavernous but rigidly linear space that visually underscores their robotic jobs.

The twentieth-century movement known as social realism invigorates the themes of labor, trades, and occupations with its sheer quantity of examples and, often, its visual polemics. Thomas Hart Benton's *America Today*, originally designed for the New School in New York, is made up of 10 separate panels that represent a variety of subjects, including drilling, construction, shipping, finance, aviation, engineering, and cattle-raising. Works Progress Administration artists such as Edgar Britton, George Biddle, Ben Shahn, Philip Guston, and Seymour Fogel executed a number of murals in Washington, D.C., during the 1930s and 1940s celebrating manual labor as well as professional occupations. Diego Rivera gained renown in his own country and in the United States for his numerous images dealing with the theme. His murals, such as the comprehensive set of frescoes in the Court of Labor in Mexico City, idealize the worker, whom he sees as the single most vital force of modern life. The British artist Stanley Spencer methodically documented in eight panels the process of building ships in the Clyde shipyard in Scotland. Jack Beal's murals *The History of Labor in the United States* chart a chronological course of the theme from colonization and settlement through the modern period of industry and technology.

Metaphoric Aspects of Labor

Images of labor used metaphorically make up an extensive subcategory, in particular, tasks associated with the months of the year. The earliest extant work that contains these representations, dating to the Hellenistic period, is a partially destroyed frieze now embedded in the facade of the church of Hagios Eleutherios in Athens, Greece. It displays personifications of the months holding sheaves of wheat, stomping grapes, and plowing. A relief in the central vault of a Roman triumphal arch at Reims, France, likewise shows a cyclical series of labors. The full flowering of this specialized iconography occurs in the Middle Ages, and the earliest surviving examples appear in two Carolingian manuscripts from the School of Salzburg in Austria. Both contain astronomical texts and St. Bede's *De rerum natura*. The scenes are exactly the same in both works and were probably copied from a common model. All 12 illustrations are arranged in four registers on one folio, and each miniature contains an isolated figure and a motif, such as a blossoming tree or a plow, to indicate the agricultural task associated with that particular month. In another ninth-century example, *The Martyrology of Wandalbert*, the corresponding symbols of the zodiac are also included.

The major change from the early medieval period to the Romanesque is the manner in which the figures are depicted: the inert standing entities of the earlier eras are replaced by figures actively engaged in a distinct chore. In addition, regional variations abound. For instance, in a circular mosaic on the floor of Aosta Cathedral in Italy, the month of March shows a peasant pruning a tree. For the same month, the relief on the porch of Cremona Cathedral, also in Italy, has a man blowing a horn. France and Italy especially show a predilection for imagery of the labors of the month, while England, Germany, and Spain do so less frequently.

The iconography, now programmatic and orderly, continues into the Gothic period. Archivolts on the west facade of Chartres Cathedral once again pair the labor of the month with the appropriate sign of the zodiac. *Bas-de-page* images from Jean Pucelle's *Hours of Queen Jeanne d'Evreux* show in grisaille peasants performing tasks for the various months. Certainly the most celebrated example closes the medieval tradition with great panache—the calendar illustrations by the Limbourg Brothers found in the early fifteenth-century *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* wherein, it must be added, not all the months exhibit scenes of toiling. Some months show aristocrats involved in leisurely pastimes. Pieter Bruegel the Elder carries the iconography into the sixteenth century in full-scale painting, but he conflates the commissioned series into six scenes (one of them, the April-May picture, is presumably lost).

Medieval manuscript illuminators also capitalized on the literalness of biblical texts wherein the idea of labor is mentioned. The tradition reaches back to that seminal, ingenious ninth-century manuscript the *Utrecht Psalter*, which so often singles out a word or phrase for vivid representation. A Gothic example is the historiated initial to Psalm 19 of the *Cuerden Psalter*, in which a serf who cuts down overgrown vegetation illustrates the passage: "The heavens declare the glory of God; and the firmament sheweth his handywork" (Psalm 19:1). A *bas-de-page* image to Psalm 92 in the *Luttrell Psalter* showing a plowman, driver, and team of oxen symbolizes mankind's guide to salva-

tion, as corroborated in other biblical citations (Isaiah 28:24–29 and I Corinthians 9:10). The illuminated letter "N" that opens Psalm 127 in the sumptuous early fifteenth-century *Visconti Hours* depicts workmen of the building trade in the process of construction and illustrates the text: "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it" (Psalm 127:1).

In a particularly inventive carved capital on the south side of the nave of La Madeleine at Vézelay, France, two millers, representing Moses and St. Paul, dump and collect grain as a symbol of the old law blending into the new. A capital from the apse hemicycle of the now destroyed abbey church of Cluny III ostensibly depicts the labor of beekeeping; however, the relief may also be interpreted as an allusion to the miraculous virgin birth of Christ. A commonly held medieval belief ascribed the reproduction of bees to parthenogenesis, hence the parallel with the Immaculate Conception. Beekeeping is treated differently by Bruegel in a pen and ink drawing of 1567. Here it is employed to illustrate the proverb inscribed at the lower left of the sheet: "He who knows the nest, knows it; he who robs the nest, has it."

Other symbolic uses of labor, trades, and occupations occur in images of good and bad government, under whose auspices rural and urban occupations either flourish or degenerate. Ambrogio Lorenzetti's grand fresco in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, Italy, is the prime example of this iconography. A more recent work, from in the Victorian era, epitomizes the goodness, wholesomeness, and robustness of the work ethic. This is Ford Madox Brown's heroic canvas simply entitled *Work*. A study by Gerard Curtis convincingly demonstrated that this painting, despite its contemporary setting and wealth of detail, transcends nineteenth-century realism with its many references to both biblical and literary sources. The French academic/symbolic artist Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, on the other hand, places his laborers in idealized pastoral landscapes in two murals, *Work* and *Ave Picardia Nutrix*. Both representations make a visual argument for a utopian, harmonious world with, astonishingly, no reference to the Industrial Revolution that, incidentally, was occurring all around Puvis de Chavannes. Later in the century, Jules Dalou and Auguste Rodin embarked on projects dedicated to the theme of labor, but neither was completed. The plaster maquettes of these symbolic acknowledgments to the worker, however, still exist.

Biblical References to Toiling

In the sphere of religious narrative, the theme of labor is common to both Old and New Testament imagery. Adam and Eve are forced into it as a consequence of disobeying God: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread" (Genesis 3:19). The conventional representation shows Adam working the land with a hoe and Eve either spinning wool or suckling one of her offspring. The right jamb of the west portal at the Church of St. Zeno in Verona, Italy, carved by Niccolò, displays this version. A variation sets both parents at work tilling the field. Wiligelmo's Genesis cycle on the west facade of Modena Cathedral in Italy offers this variation. Both types prevail into the Renaissance. Jacopo della Quercia's marble relief at San Petronio in Bologna, Italy, may be cited as an example of the

first type and folio 64r of the *Visconti Hours* as an example of the second. Images of labor born of punishment include Cain and his descendants shown performing a variety of agricultural and domestic tasks. The *Holkham Bible Picture Book* displays in two registers their chaotic and fruitless attempts as described in the text of Genesis 4:11–12: “And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother’s blood from thy hand; When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength.”

Building the Tower of Babel, another Old Testament episode, is also favored in medieval and Renaissance iconography. A nave vault fresco from the Romanesque period at St.-Savin-sur-Gartempe in France shows the scene with sparse setting and figures, while Pieter Bruegel the Elder’s version is decidedly more panoramic and populous in treatment. The Old Testament image of Samson at the mill is rare. In the illumination for *Prime* in the Hours of the Cross from the *Visconti Hours*, Samson appears in the mill cranking the gigantic stone, a task forced upon him by the Philistines.

For New Testament material dealing with labor and trades we look first to the figure of Joseph the carpenter. In the right wing of the *Merode Altar* by Robert Campin he sits at his workbench fabricating mousetraps to snare Satan. In the Pre-Raphaelite canvas by John Everett Millais, Joseph stands at his worktable in a cluttered and unkempt room in the company of Mary and the injured Christ Child. Spice merchants weighing their products and filling ointment jars behind a shop counter while the three holy women await their purchase is an anecdotal subject that emerges from the liturgical drama *Visitatio sepulchri*. It appears in some twelfth-century sculptural reliefs from the Provence region of France and northern Italy.

One of the most frequently represented saints at work—indeed he is the patron saint of artists—is St. Luke. When not depicted in conventional evangelist portraiture, that is, seated at his desk composing his Gospel, he is often shown in the process of painting the Virgin and Child from life. Rogier van der Weyden and Maerten van Heemskerck are only two of the many artists whose oeuvre includes this subject. The theme was especially popular in northern Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. St. Eligius the goldsmith is less often depicted, although Petrus Christus’s version was later transferred by Matsys into the composition for *The Money Changer and His Wife*.

Mythological Themes of Work

In the category of mythology, the most celebrated visual motif is certainly the 12 labors of Hercules. These energetic undertakings often appear on Attic black-figure vases from ancient Greece. The Temple of Zeus at Olympia, Greece, gathers all 12 in a series of metope reliefs. Usually, however, they appear as isolated events, some more frequently than others. In addition, there are variations in the iconography of many of the individual tasks: sometimes subsidiary figures are omitted or a fabulous beast is captured, not slain. Vulcan at his forge is less popular than the drama of Hercules’ labors, although of all the gods, he is the one who is most readily identified with a specific chore—forging the thunderbolts for his brother Zeus. Diego Velázquez freely mixes mythological and realistic figures in his seventeenth-century version.

See also Artists/Art; Automata; Harvesting; Months; Peasantry; Zodiac

Selected Works of Art

Ancient Egyptian

Servants Plowing, Dynasty IV, Medum, Egypt, Chapel of Atet

Fig Picking, Dynasty XII, Beni Hasan, Egypt, Chapel of Khnum-hotep

Baker Tending an Oven, Ostrakon, Dynasty XIX, Leipzig, Germany, Leipzig University, Egyptian Museum

Greek and Roman

Amasis Painter, *Women Working Wool*, black-figured lekythos, circa 540 B.C., New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

Psiax, *Herakles Wrestling the Nemean Lion*, black-figured amphora, circa 520 B.C., Brescia, Italy, Museo Civico

Euphronius, *Herakles and the Cattle of Geryon*, red-figured vase, late sixth century B.C., Munich, Germany

The Twelve Labors of Hercules, metope reliefs, 475 B.C., Olympia, Greece, Temple of Zeus

Labors of Herakles, mosaic floor, circa A.D. 310–330, Piazza Armerina, Italy

Romanesque

Wiligelmo of Modena, *Toiling of Adam and Eve*, reliefs, 1106–1110, Modena, Italy, Cathedral

Labors of the Month, tympanum archivolt, 1125–1135, Vézelay, France, La Madeleine

Niccolò, *Toiling of Adam and Eve*, portal jambs, circa 1138, Verona, Sicily, St. Zeno

Spice Merchants and the Holy Women, south portal lintel, west facade, circa 1150–1155, St. Gilles-du-Gard, France, Church

Labors of the Month, cloister capitals, late twelfth century, Monreale, Sicily, Cathedral

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Gothic

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LABYRINTH/MAZE

Priscilla Baumann

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Labyrinth/Maze:

PREHISTORIC AND ANCIENT

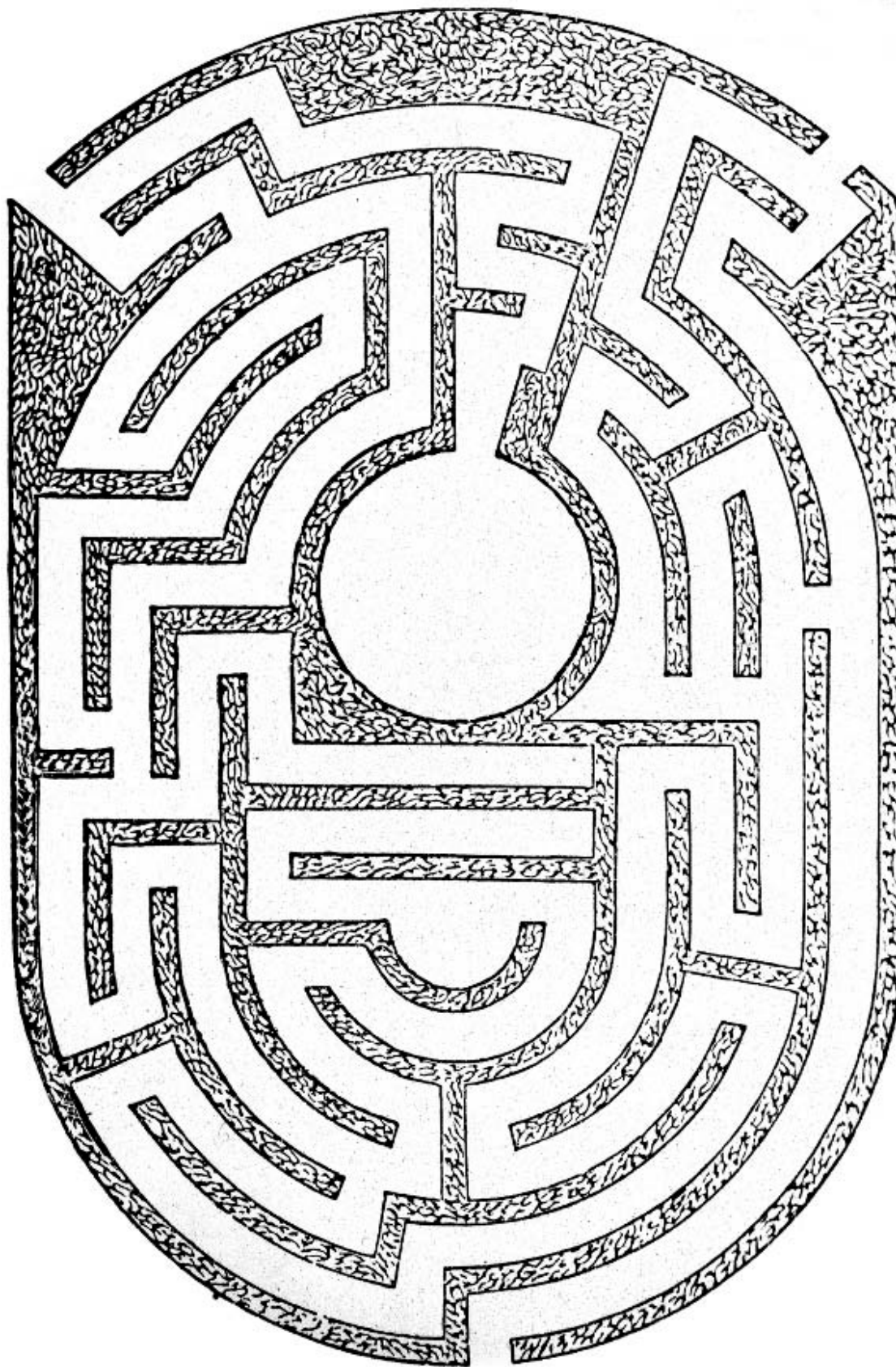
EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

MEDIEVAL

NINETEENTH CENTURY

RENAISSANCE

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Labyrinth in the Horticulture Society's Garden, England, from the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, eleventh edition, 1910–1911, vol. XVI, p. 35. (Courtesy of the Editor)

The terms *labyrinth* and *maze* are used interchangeably and refer to the same general concept; namely, an intricately composed structure or path intended to confuse, frustrate, disorient, or challenge. Labyrinths, noted for their baffling complexity, may exist in the visual, physical sense as architectural puzzles, as two-dimensional graphic designs, or as horticultural delights; and on the metaphoric level, they may be found in certain narrative literary structures or in any ambiguous or convoluted discourse. Some philosophers and writers, like Plato and Dante, have considered the journey through life itself the ultimate labyrinth. Labyrinths and mazes present a circuitous and often exhausting path, an arduous voyage into the unknown. At their most carefree, they offer entertainment; at their most threatening, they may conceal fatal danger. From ancient times to the present, labyrinths have fascinated artists, writers, architects, and gardeners.

One of the oldest known labyrinths was built at Fayum, in Egypt, in about 1800 B.C. Herodotus described it as a vast three-dimensional edifice with many rooms and doors and a series of interconnected subterranean spaces. Destroyed in Roman times, it was rediscovered and its existence verified by nineteenth-century archaeologists, although its purpose remains a mystery.

The most famous labyrinth in ancient times, however, and the one that most influenced the Western European imagination, was that described by Plutarch in his version of the myth of Theseus, a legendary king of Athens, and the Minotaur. The legend recounts the efforts of King Minos of Crete to hide his wife's offspring, a monster with the body of a man and the head of a bull, in a labyrinth designed for this purpose by the master builder Daedalus. Theseus, with the help of Minos's daughter Ariadne, eventually kills the Minotaur and safely escapes from the labyrinthine prison. Echoes of this labyrinth, drawn as concentric circles, are found on ancient Egyptian and Greek coins and gems and in occasional stone engravings, with one such example at Rocky Valley, near Tintagel, in Cornwall, England (circa 1800–1400 B.C.). According to some archaeologists, the Cretan labyrinth was in fact the Palace of Knossos (circa 1600 B.C.), a three-dimensional puzzle with multiple stories and signs of the double-ax (from which the Greek word *labyrinth* may be derived) and the cult of the bull.

From the second century B.C. until the fifth century A.D., labyrinthine designs provided a popular decoration for Roman mosaic floors. Most of these are square-shaped, with elaborate diagrammatic pathways, and sometimes, as on the mosaic at the Via Cadolini in Cremona, Italy, the battle of Theseus and the Minotaur is shown at the center of the design. Occasionally part of the labyrinth is formed by a grid of letters, such as the fourth-century pavement in San Repartus in Orléansville,

Algeria, where the words *sancta ecclesia* can be read from the center in any direction. At least 50 mosaic pavements have been unearthed throughout areas of former Roman occupation, including examples at Cormerod, Switzerland; Aix, France; Salzburg, Austria; and Caerlon-on-Usk, Wales.

Throughout the period of antiquity, the labyrinth, always admired for its artistic complexity, served as a popular secular decorative device. During the Middle Ages, the labyrinth continued to exert a profound influence on the imagination and was incorporated in many ecclesiastical monuments. From the tenth to the twelfth centuries, mazes appeared on the walls and floors of churches in Italy, with examples at Lucca, Pavia, Piacenza, and Ravenna. Labyrinthine designs, circular or octagonal in shape, were incised on the stone pavements of many churches of northern France during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, including those in Auxerre, Sens, Reims, and Amiens, with the largest, 40 feet in diameter, in the nave of the cathedral at Chartres. Maze designs were also carved on roof bosses of several fourteenth-century churches in England. It is generally agreed that these labyrinths bear witness to the skill of the architect and builder; but they also reflect the medieval conviction in the artistry of God, symbolizing the complexity and subtlety of His cosmic design. Moreover, the circular unicursal maze, such as the example at Chartres, reinforces the medieval Christian belief in a single path to salvation.

Illustrations of labyrinths accompany medieval texts as well, with more than 70 extant examples in about 60 different manuscripts. Occasionally these were intended as literal representations of the mythic Cretan maze; but often they were meant to illustrate the complexity of a text, to emphasize its labyrinthine quality. Still other examples have religious significance, with Christ as a guide through the dark maze of life. For the medieval mind, even the text itself could be understood as a labyrinth, and the unraveling of its interwoven narrative a circuitous and difficult process much like the progress through a maze. The very idea of the labyrinth—with its complexity, its possibility of leading one into error, and its consummate artistry—permeated medieval literature and philosophy.

Even the peasantry had its own experience of the labyrinth: the turf maze. These circuitous designs in fields with shallow gullies cut between the grassy paths are primarily an English phenomenon, although some examples also exist in Germany and Scandinavia. Linked to springtime festivals and often named after the ancient city of Troy, only eight survive in England, including examples at Hilton in Cambridgeshire, Wing in Leicestershire, and Saffron Walden in Essex. Although almost 60 sites bear vestigial traces of turf mazes, most have been lost owing to overgrowth or destruction from farmers' plows. William Shakespeare refers to their gradual disappear-

ance “for lack of tread” (*Midsummer Night’s Dream*, 2.1.99–100). Throughout the Scandinavian coast, hundreds of circular Cretan mazes made of small stones decorate the landscape. These were used by fishermen and their families in a similar fashion. One example of these stone mazes can be seen at Visby, on the island of Gotland, off the southeastern coast of Sweden.

Although the labyrinth traditionally embodied religious or ritual symbolism, it gradually assumed a distinctly secular role. Hedge mazes became popular during the twelfth century, as evidenced by the legendary bower at Woodstock in England, designed for Henry II to court the fair Rosamund away from the eyes of his queen, Eleanor. At Hampton Court near London the famous trapezoidal yew maze, constructed in 1690, provides another well-known example. From the sixteenth century, ornamental mazes, intended to delight the eye and entertain the stroller, grew more popular and were designed for gardens of the palatial homes of the aristocracy in France, Belgium, Holland, and England. During the Victorian era in England, mazes were designed not only for the gardens of wealthy patrons but for public parks as well, where they provided a delightful recreational challenge for the masses. One example, recently restored, is the Hedge maze in Saltwell Park in Gateshead. Garden mazes were also favored in other countries, with a rare example in New England, derived from the Hampton Court model and designed by Cornelia Warren for her Cedar Hill property in Waltham, Massachusetts. Begun in 1895, 1,000 trees of arborvitae, maintained at a height of 5 feet 4 inches, framed a path one-third of a mile long. Her plan serves as the logo for the New England Garden History Society of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society.

Throughout the centuries, from the Renaissance to the present, artists, poets, mathematicians, and musicians have continued to find inspiration in the ambiguous turnings of the labyrinth. Johann Sebastian Bach entitled one composition the *Kleines Harmonisches Labyrinth*. Writers—from fifteenth-century Spanish poet Juan de Mena, whose allegorical poem *El Laberinto* (1444) was inspired by Dante, to the twentieth-century Argentine author Jorge Luis Borges, who published a collection of essays and stories entitled *Labyrinths* (1962)—continue to be fascinated by the multiple layers of potential meaning in the labyrinth’s meandering structure. Painters and sculptors have created their visual representations of the myth and its symbol as well. One example from the mid-sixteenth century, formerly attributed to Tintoretto and now at Hampton Court, illustrates the lively entertainment of wandering through a hedge maze with friends. A more symbolic interpretation of the labyrinthine motif is found in a portrait believed painted by Dosso Dossi of an elegantly attired gentleman who points to the intricacies of a maze, carefully painted on a table in the foreground of the canvas (circa 1520). Giambattista Piranesi’s engravings *Prisons* project a prisoner’s fears in a hallucinatory maze of vaults and mysterious shadowy passages. Masonic societies, especially in pre-Revolutionary France, were notorious for the labyrinthine “route of initiation” incorporated in their induction ceremonies. Architectural books of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries often included complex labyrinth diagrams, sometimes simply to provide details for a

garden plan, but frequently to symbolize moral or religious dilemmas, such as Hieronymus Sperling’s engraving *Tenet error amantem* (late eighteenth century). Antonio Canova’s marble sculpture of *Theseus and the Minotaur* (1783) depicts the moment of victory when Theseus has vanquished the Cretan monster at the center of the labyrinth.

In the twentieth century, the theme reappears as sculptural design and as popular entertainment. The Hall of Mirrors was originally constructed for the Swiss National Exhibition of 1896 in Geneva and is now in the Glacier Garden at Lucerne. Arranged in a connected series of equilateral triangles and decorated with elaborate Moorish furnishings, this maze completely disorients any visitor. Without the help of a map, only astute mathematicians can unravel the complexity of its plan. Numerous amusement park mazes were designed in the late twentieth century, such as the Beatles’ Maze built for the International Garden Festival in Liverpool, England (1984). A colorful yellow submarine, after one of the Beatles’ most popular songs, decorates the center of an aquatic maze. Labyrinths have been designed for the gardens of Elizabethan manor houses, such as the Tudor Rose Maze at Kentwell Hall in Long Melford, Suffolk (1985). Constructed of 27,000 pounds of red and white paving bricks, this unicursal maze, reminiscent of Cretan and medieval designs, also includes a three-dimensional puzzle and, in the center, a giant chessboard. Another favorite tourist attraction is the Bicton Maze in Bicton Park in East Budleigh, Devon. Opened in 1986, this maze is in the shape of a giant footprint, and the paths are framed with upright wooden posts.

From the mythical story of the Cretan labyrinth to the care-free delights of the amusement park maze, the labyrinth, a puzzle that reflects the complexities of life itself, continues to fascinate the human imagination.

See also Path/Road/Crossroads

Selected Works of Art

Prehistoric and Ancient

Stone engraving, Rocky Valley, near Tintagel, Cornwall, circa 1800–1400 B.C.

Mosaic, floor labyrinth, Roman period, Cremona, Italy, the Via Cadolini

Medieval

Manuscript, ninth–eleventh century, from Auxerre, France, now in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. Lat. 1745, fol. 30v)

Pavement Engraving, circa 1200, Chartres, France, Cathedral Roof Boss, fourteenth century, Bristol, England, St. Mary Redcliffe

Renaissance

Finiguerra, Maso, *Copperplate Engraving*, circa 1460, London, British Library Department of Prints and Drawings

Toeput, Lodewijk, *Painting of a Garden Maze*, circa 1550, London, Hampton Court

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Eighteenth Century

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LAUGHTER

Andrew Stephen Arbury

The following periods, iconographic narratives, and genres are covered in the discussion of the theme Laughter:

ANCIENT AND NON-WESTERN

MEDIEVAL

RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY

DEMOCRITUS (THE
LAUGHING PHILOSOPHER)

APHRODITE AND ARES

TRAPPED BY HEPHAESTUS
(RIDICULE)

ILLUSTRATIONS OF
LAUGHTER IN FOLKTALES
AND FAIRY TALES



William Hogarth, *The Laughing Audience*, 1733, engraving, from *Engravings by Hogarth*, edited by Sean Shesgreen, New York: Dover, 1973. (Courtesy of Dover Publications, Inc.)

Laughter is such a familiar human response to certain stimuli that we rarely think about it, yet clearly laughter is something we value; possessing a sense of humor is a desirable asset. Despite its universality, however, there is no single explanation of laughter's causes. In general terms, laughter is the physical response to something ludicrous or incongruous or to bodily stimuli such as tickling. Psychological and physiological studies indicate that laughter is rooted in our genetic makeup and is thus a fundamental aspect of human behavior. It is hardly surprising, then, that the theme of laughter can be found in literature and the arts from ancient times to the present.

There are several basic theories of laughter: the superiority theory, the relief theory, and the incongruity theory. A fourth theory, the psychological shift theory, has recently been proposed. The superiority theory, that laughter is an expression of one's feelings of superiority over others, arose in ancient Greece with Plato and Aristotle and was more formally developed by Thomas Hobbes. The relief and the incongruity theories were also proposed by Aristotle. The incongruity theory, that laughter is caused by unexpected situations or experiences, was advanced in the writings of Emmanuel Kant and Arthur Schopenhauer. The relief theory, that laughter relieves nervous tension, evolved with Herbert Spencer and was further developed by Sigmund Freud. Since none of these theories is fully adequate, a psychological shift theory, proposing that laughter results from a pleasant psychological shift, has been developed by John Morreall in an attempt to explain all types and causes of laughter. Other noted authors on laughter include Cicero, Francis Bacon, René Descartes, Søren Kierkegaard, and Henri Bergson.

Laughter is a more common element in literature than in the visual arts. This is perhaps due partly to the difficulty of portraying the facial distortions of laughter and partly to the fact that laughter has carried a certain stigma despite its divine associations. In the pagan world of Homer's epics, laughter is an expression of the gods as well as humans. Aphrodite, the goddess of love, was even called the "lover of laughter." In the *Iliad*, the gods laugh heartily upon seeing Hephaestus (Vulcan), the god of fire and metalworking, limping around the palace to pour them wine; in the *Odyssey*, they laugh when Aphrodite (Venus) and Ares (Mars), the god of war, are caught in the trap set for them by Hephaestus. According to Plutarch, Lyscurgus, the King of Sparta, dedicated a statue to laughter to acknowledge the relevance of mirth. Yet even with these divine precedents, Plato thought laughter was suspect and discouraged sanction of it in the ideal society. Aristotle and Cicero followed suit, believing that laughter was related to ugliness, debasement, and ridicule. Consequently, the more serious, heroic scenes from ancient literature are commonly found in art; occurrences of laughter tend to remain in words and anecdotes.

The comic poet Philemon died of an uncontrollable fit of laughter upon seeing an ass eat figs. The painter Zeuxis died laughing at the comic image of an old woman he had painted. Finding amusement in the folly of human affairs, Democritus earned the title "the laughing philosopher." Zeuxis and Democritus are often represented in art, especially of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. One of Rembrandt van Rijn's self-portraits shows him as Zeuxis in his final moments. Painted during the last year of Rembrandt's life, it has a certain beauty, as the artist seems to acknowledge acceptance of himself as a flawed human being. Democritus is often depicted with Heraclitus (the weeping philosopher) to support the view that a cheerful demeanor was proper to a philosopher. As a result of the Counter-Reformation, Democritus came to be considered a pagan precursor who embodied the Christian virtue of laughing at human folly. This idea of humor was expressed by the preacher Pierre de Besse in his *Démocratie chrétien* (1615) and can be seen in Jusepe de Ribera's paintings of Democritus.

In the Judeo-Christian Bible there are several kinds of laughter. Abraham laughs in disbelief when the Lord tells him that he will have a son by Sarah. Because she is so advanced in years, Sarah likewise laughs when she overhears the three angels foretell the birth of Isaac (Genesis 17:15–17; 18:1–19). This laughter illustrates the type that results from apparently absurd discrepancies—in this case between human capability and divine promise. It also illustrates the negative aspect of laughter, in that it potentially mocks another. For this reason, Sarah became afraid, denied she had laughed, and was reprimanded by God. After Isaac's birth, Sarah said that God had brought laughter for her (Genesis 21:6), and in fact, the name Isaac derives from the Hebrew *yishaq*, meaning "he laughed." The visit of the three angels, with the laughing Sarah peering out from the tent behind Abraham, is a recurring scene in medieval art; one example is an illuminated page from the *Psalter of St. Louis*.

Divine laughter is illustrated in the Psalms when David voices his trust in God: "But thou, O Lord, shalt laugh at them; thou shalt have all the heathen in derision" (Psalm 59:8). Natural laughter is seen in Bildad's speech to Job when he says, "He will fill thy mouth with laughing, and thy lips with rejoicing" (Job 8:21). Scornful, mocking laughter is the reaction to the couriers sent by Hezekiah to invite all Israel and Judah to keep the Passover at Jerusalem (II Chronicles 30:10). Mocking laughter is an expression of God as well as people. Wisdom's statement that she will laugh at your calamity is essentially saying that those who laugh at and mock God will find that He will laugh at and mock them for their insolence (Proverbs 1:26). Fake laughter is part of the description of wicked people: "Even in laughter the heart is sorrowful; and the end of that mirth is heaviness" (Proverbs 14:13). Laughter can also result

from seeing through a deception, as in the Apocrypha when Daniel laughs at King Astyages for thinking that Bel is a living god (Bel and the Dragon 1:7), but laughter from one that instigates a deception for the purposes of a joke is condemned (Proverbs 26:19). Confident laughter is a benefit of one's faith in God, as Eliphaz tells Job: "At destruction and famine thou shalt laugh . . ." (Job 5:22). Joyful laughter occurs when thanking the Lord for deliverance: "Then our mouth filled with laughter . . ." (Psalm 126:2). Finally, laughter can express one's character: "A person's attire and hearty laughter, and the way he walks, show what he is" (Sirach 19:30).

Christian writers treat laughter suspiciously, beginning with St. Augustine, who wrote that laughter is a human faculty belonging to the lowest part of man. St. Basil thought that laughter was never appropriate for a Christian, and Desiderius Erasmus banned all excessive laughing. The fact that laughter's infrequent occurrences in the Bible are often associated with irreverence undoubtedly contributes to this negative Christian attitude toward laughter. Many felt that wise people laugh less than others, perhaps because they are seldom surprised. "A fool raises his voice when he laughs, but the wise smile quietly" (Sirach 21:20). Catholic theologians debate whether Christ laughed. Although the author of Ecclesiastes states that there is a time to laugh, he soon after pronounces laughter foolish and vain (Ecclesiastes 3:4; 7:6). There is also a Christian association of laughter with Satan. In the New Testament laughter is scarce and usually nonhumorous. Even in the Old Testament, when God laughs he laughs to scorn; in the New Testament he does not laugh at all, nor does Christ. To the contrary, Christ refers to the impermanence of material satisfactions near the end of his Sermon on the Mount when he says, "Woe unto you that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep" (Luke 6:25).

Ancient writings on laughter gave rise in the Renaissance and Baroque periods to the tradition of the joke book (e.g., Poggio Bracciolini's *Facetiae*, 1438–1452) and to full treatises on laughter. The most famous was Laurent Joubert's *Traité du Ris* (1579). It is surprising that the authors writing about laughter, both ancient and modern, totally neglect the humorous literature of their times. Aristotle does not discuss Aristophanes, and Joubert does not mention Rabelais. Almost all justify laughter as a worthy topic because it is a property exclusive to humans (or so it was thought).

Laughter begins to form part of complex iconographies in the Renaissance. The joke and its attendant laughter took on new meaning with the idea that a work of art can be amusing and meaningful at the same time. In Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, laughter is personified by a laughing young man in a fanciful, multicolored costume who holds a black mask away from him in disdain. He wears a flower garland across his chest and a plumed hat on his head. The gay colors, flowers, and fancy dress are all associated with hilarity and amusement; the black mask stands for the ugly, indecent things that are without decorum and that honest laughter avoids. Another example is Giuseppe Arcimboldo's humorous paintings of the seasons and elements in which plants, animals, objects, bits of landscape, etc., are arranged to form fantastic human heads. The art historian Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann has shown that these allegorical works were influenced by the tract on laughter *De Risu*, by G. B. Fonteo (1570), which contains a lengthy discussion of

the serious joke. A sense of humor was also important for the court ethos of a Renaissance prince. The ideal prince should possess the quality of urbanity, and that entailed the ruler's ability to take, as well as tell, a joke. In essence, an appreciation of humor had royal sanction.

A good deal of literature and art is meant to elicit laughter, even if it doesn't necessarily contain laughter per se. Since the Renaissance, caricatures have induced many a laugh. Many of the ancient comedies, such as Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* (411 B.C.), still evoke a hearty laugh today. A Roman collection of jokes, *Philogelos*, is perhaps the first joke book. Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (circa 1387; first published 1478) have many laughable moments, as do numerous situations in Miguel de Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1605–1615) and Richard Sheridan's plays. One can find comic scenes from literature portrayed in art, and like their literary counterparts, they may not actually depict laughter even though they inspire it. Aubrey Beardsley's ribald illustrations to *Lysistrata* are a case in point.

Many cultures' mythologies feature figures closely associated with laughter. In Greek mythology, Thalia was the muse of comedy, and Momus was the god of satire, mockery, and ridicule. Iambe, the daughter of the nature god Pan and the nymph Echo, cheered the grief-stricken goddess of agriculture and fertility, Demeter, with her jokes. Baubo also made Demeter laugh by lifting her clothes and exposing her buttocks. In Roman mythology, Anna Perenna, an old crone in a bridal dress, revealed her face and laughed at Mars, the god of war, who thought she was Minerva, the goddess of wisdom. Comus was the god of mirth and revelry.

In ancient Egypt, the deformed Bes, who warded off evil spirits and protected childbirth, was fond of laughing. Xolotl was the Aztec guide of the dead who often appeared as a jester. Droll was an ancient northern European jester. In Shinto tradition, Ame-no-Uzume lured Amaterasu, the sun goddess, from the cave of darkness by means of the Kagura, an obscene dance that caused much laughter. Hotei is the fat Japanese god of laughter and contentment and is one of the Shichi Fukujin, the seven divinities of luck. His Chinese counterpart is the Laughing Buddha, Pu-tai Ho-shang (hemp bag master).

Tricksters are typically associated with laughter-producing situations and occur in most cultures. Their tales mediate the meaningful and the absurd; they are meant to edify as well as amuse. Reynard the Fox, of medieval European lore, used his wit to defeat all enemies. In Norse mythology, Loki, the creator of discord and mischief, made the grieving giantess Skadi laugh by acting out the story of how he tethered a goat to his testicles. Maui (Mowee), the Polynesian trickster-hero, tried to achieve immortality by entering the sleeping body of Hina-nui-te-po (goddess of the night who ruled the dead), but when the birds saw his feet protruding from her vagina one of them laughed. This woke the goddess and she crushed Maui inside herself. There are numerous humorous tales of the Mulla Nasruddin, a mythical trickster in Islamic culture. In Africa, Spider (Anansi in West Africa) and Rabbit are perhaps the best known pranksters. The Uncle Remus stories of Brer Rabbit, which derive from the African trickster, are riddled with laughter that belies their depiction of racism.

The trickster and the laughter he causes are also popular in the lore of Native American cultures. The most widely known

is Raven, but Coyote, Rabbit, Mink, Blue Jay, and others also exist. Bodily functions and genitalia frequently figure in Native American trickster humor. The Winnebago trickster Wakdjunkaga scattered all creation across the Earth through his flatulence. A central motif in many of the most hilarious stories is the trickster's penis, which is usually huge. Coyote's penis is so large that he needs a pack in which to carry it. In Crow tribal lore, Coyote's penis is eaten by a woman who mistakes it for a strawberry. The Kawaiisu Coyote disguised himself as a mother holding her baby, which was actually his penis. Tuvwots, the Ute rabbit trickster, throws his penis at the sun and shatters it. The animated cartoon characters Bugs Bunny and Daffy Duck could be considered modern-day American tricksters.

Laughter is particularly valued by Native Americans, and jokes are common in Native American lore and ceremony. A child's first laugh may be ritually celebrated. In the Apache creation stories, laughter scares away illness. The female creator Iatiku (or Iyatiku, and also known as Uretsete and Utshtsiti) created the clown Koshare to make her laugh and help the people forget their troubles. In fact, clowning societies are common among the native peoples of the southwest. Clowning usually consists of teasing onlookers, joking, satirizing, gluttonizing, mimicking sexual practices, and the like. Native American clowns not only make people laugh, but they also invoke the power of creation and demonstrate the value of their social mores and conduct by illustrating the ludicrousness of alternate behavior.

Fairy tales and folktales are another source of laughter, and the illustrations that accompany them are common examples of laughter in the visual arts. In many cases the laughter has a moral meaning or attempts to explain a natural occurrence. In the tale of the bubble, straw, and shoe that go on a journey, the straw breaks and the shoe falls into the river. This causes the bubble to laugh so hard that it bursts. In another tale, a bean laughs so hard that it splits, thus causing its black stripe. The German stories of Tyll Eulenspiegel tell the actions of a medieval clown who causes much laughter. *The Laughing Fit*, a mid-eleventh-century tale from Japan, tells of a magician who made a group of ladies laugh so hard they almost died, thus illustrating that too much of a good thing is bad.

In art, the first known depictions of laughter come from the ancient Minoan culture. The *Harvester Vase* (circa 1500 B.C.) is a small vase with a carved relief that shows men returning from the harvest. They are boisterous and singing, and hilarity is evident in some of the facial expressions. Masks and small figures, such as a Phoenician terra-cotta mask from Carthage or a *Smiling Head* (late nineteenth–early twentieth century) from Papua New Guinea, have laughing expressions, but they are probably intended as talismans to ward off evil. In Greek and Roman art, comic scenes, but not actual laughter, are depicted. In medieval art, scenes of laughter are generally biblical, such as Sarah laughing at the news she will bear a child. One of the earliest portraits of a person laughing is Dosso Dossi's *Laughing Youth* (before 1541).

Images of laughing figures do not become commonplace until the Baroque period. Some of these have a moral or literary value, such as portraits of Democritus or paintings of Aphrodite and Ares trapped by Hephaestus; some show the

artist poking fun at himself, such as the self-portraits by Rembrandt and Jan Steen. Most, however, are peasant scenes involving drinking. In other words, laughing people are usually depicted in scenes in which the decorum is deliberately low. Laughter still had the stigma attached to it from ancient times, which is summed up by Seneca's statement, "A poor man laughs more often and more heartily." Laughter was still considered improper in aristocratic circles. Erasmus advised covering the mouth when laughing, and Lord Chesterfield warned his son that a gentleman never laughs because it makes a disagreeable noise and distorts the face. William Pitt, in a letter to his nephew, said it was rare to see anyone laugh gracefully. Since children can be excepted from adult conduct, the image of a laughing child was perhaps more acceptable; such images, for example, Bartoloméo Esteban Murillo's *Laughing Child Leaning out a Window* (circa 1675), are not infrequent in art. Murillo's painting, however, raises the question of laughing versus smiling. Many paintings with the word *laughing* in their titles portray characters who are not laughing, but smiling. Some do not even do that. Frans Hals's famous *The Laughing Cavalier* (1624) shows a man who neither laughs nor smiles—it is said that he laughs with his eyes. Typical Baroque representations of laughter include Frans Hals's *Malle Babbe* (circa 1650), Adriaen van Ostade's *Head of a Laughing Peasant* (1646), Abraham Diepraem's *Interior of a Tavern: Boors Smoking and Drinking* (1665), Jusepe de Ribera's *The Drinker* (1637), and Hendrick Terbrugghen's *Democritus* (1628).

The works of Ribera and Terbrugghen illustrate that some images of laughing go far beyond their peasant context. Ribera's *Drinker* is also an allegory on the sense of taste, and although Terbrugghen's *Democritus* is clearly a peasant type, he is resting on a celestial globe (as opposed to the terrestrial globe in the companion painting of Heraclitus). This effectively puts Democritus in a Christian context. It places laughter at human folly in the realm of heaven and thus on a higher plane than weeping at human misery. This positive Christian attitude toward laughing is exactly opposite what one would expect, as the art historian Edgar Wind has pointed out. The Christian allusion is made explicit in Cornelis van Haarlem's *Democritus and Heraclitus* (before 1638), in which Democritus paradoxically appears Christlike as he holds an orb surmounted by a cross.

It is not until the eighteenth century that one sees the regular middle class depicted in uproarious laughter, as in William Hogarth's *The Laughing Audience* (1733) or Francisco Goya's *Until Death* (1799), which shows an ugly old woman primping herself before a mirror while her young attendants laugh at her behind her back. Both of these works are strongly satirical. In the twentieth century many laughing figures take on a more purely humorous and innocent role with little or no emphasis on social class or satire, such as Robert Henri's *Laughing Child* (1907) or Rufino Tamayo's *Laughing Woman* (1950).

Laughter has been written about since at least the fifth century B.C., but until the nineteenth century the literature on laughter avoided discussing laughter in literature. Although references to laughter have been common in literature since the time of Homer, they have been less frequently portrayed in the visual arts. This is probably because of the indecorum that has been attached to laughter, which has, since ancient times, been

coupled with the difficulty of depicting the distortions of the human face caused by laughing. Images of laughing can rise above the stigma, however, when they allude to higher ideas or illustrate a classic story.

See also Caricature/Cartoon; Comic; Fools/Folly; Peasantry

Selected Works of Art

Ancient and Non-Western

Harvester Vase, steatite, Minoan, circa 1500 B.C.

Phoenician Mask, terra-cotta, 700–500 B.C., from Carthage, now in Cagliari, Italy, Museo Archeologico

Balladeer, ceramic, Han Dynasty period, Xindu, Szechwan, China, Administrative Office for Cultural Relics

Smiling Figure, ceramic, Late Classical period, from Veracruz, Mexico, now in New York, Nelson Rockefeller Collection

Tiger-Taming Lohan, carved bamboo, Ch'ing Dynasty, Taipei, Taiwan

Smiling Head, ceramic, late nineteenth–early twentieth century, from Kwoma people, Papua New Guinea, now in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Medieval

Abraham and the Three Angels, illuminated manuscript, *Psalter of St. Louis*, thirteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

Renaissance

Dossi, Dosso, *Laughing Youth*, before 1541, Florence, Italy, Longhi Collection

Seventeenth Century

Hals, Frans, *Merrymakers at Shrovetide*, circa 1615, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Hals, Frans, “*Jonker Ramp*,” 1623, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Hals, Frans, *The Laughing Cavalier*, 1624, London, Wallace Collection

Bonzi, Pietro, *Laughing Young Man with Melon and Snail*, circa 1625, Los Angeles, California, Los Angeles County Museum

Vouet, Simon, *Time Vanquished by Home, Love, and Beauty*, 1627, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Terbrugghen, Hendrick, *Laughing Boy with a Glass*, before 1629, London, Hampton Court Palace, Royal Collection

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-Portrait with Saskia*, circa 1635–1636, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Ribera, Jusepe de, *The Drinker*, 1637, private collection

Brouwer, Adriaen, *Laughing Peasant*, before 1638, Vaduz, Liechtenstein, Prince of Liechtenstein Collection

Ostade, Adriaen van, *Head of a Laughing Peasant*, panel, 1646, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Hals, Frans, *Malle Babbe*, circa 1650, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie

Honthorst, Gerrit van, *Merry Violist*, before 1656, Madrid, Spain, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection

Vermeer, Jan, *Officer and Laughing Girl*, circa 1658, New York, Frick Collection

Leyster, Judith, *Laughing Figure and a Wine Glass*, before 1660, Karlsruhe, Germany, Staatliche Kunsthalle

Steen, Jan, *Self-Portrait Playing the Lute*, circa 1661–1663, Madrid, Spain, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection

Diepraem, Abraham, *Interior of a Tavern: Boors Smoking and Drinking*, 1665, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Hals, Frans, *Laughing Boys with a Beer Jug*, before 1666, Leerdam, The Netherlands, Hofje van Aarden Collection

Hals, Frans, *Laughing Boy with a Flute*, before 1666, Berlin, Germany, Staatlich Museen

Hals, Frans, *Laughing Child with a Flute*, before 1666, Schwerin, Germany, Museum

Molenaer, Jan, *A Laughing Man*, before 1668, Antwerp, Belgium, Mayer van den Bergh Museum

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Laughing Self-Portrait*, circa 1669, Cologne, Germany, Wallraf-Richartz Museum

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Man Laughing*, before 1669, The Hague, The Netherlands, Mauritshuis

Murillo, Bartolomé, *Laughing Child Leaning out a Window*, circa 1675, London, National Gallery

Steen, Jan, *The Rhetoricians*, before 1679, Brussels, Belgium, Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts

Gelder, Arent de, *The Artist as Zeuxis*, 1685, Frankfurt, Germany, Städelches Kunstinstitut

Teniers, David the Younger, *A Laughing Peasant*, before 1690, Warsaw, Poland, National Museum

Eighteenth Century

Hogarth, William, *The Laughing Audience*, etching, 1733

Goya, Francisco, *Until Death*, aquatint, 1799

Goya, Francisco, *The Straw Manikin*, circa 1791–1792, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Nineteenth Century

Goya, Francisco, *Old Man on a Swing*, etching, 1825

Goya, Francisco, *Old Woman on a Swing*, etching, 1826

Meissonier, Jean-Louis-Ernest, *The Laughing Figure*, oil on panel, 1865, Compiègne, France, Château

Twentieth Century

Stella, Joseph, *Laughing Man*, 1900, collection of the estate of Joseph Stella

Henri, Robert, *Laughing Child*, 1907, New York, Whitney Museum of American Art

Bellows, George, *Laughing Boy*, oil on canvas, 1907, New York, Hirschel and Adler Galleries

Duveneck, Frank, *Laughing Boy*, before 1919, Lincoln, University of Nebraska

Boccioni, Umberto, *The Laugh*, oil on canvas, 1919, New York, Museum of Modern Art

Peplow, Samuel John, *Man Laughing (Portrait of Tom Morris)*, before 1935, Edinburgh, Scotland, National Gallery of Modern Art

Evergood, Philip, *Laughing Worker*, before 1948

Tamayo, Rufino, *Laughing Woman*, 1950, Sacramento, California, E. B. Crocker Art Gallery

Sutherland, Graham, *Laughing Woman*, before 1980, Leicester, England, Museum and Art Gallery

- Bertucci, Jacopo, *Laughing Man*
 Bohrod, Ashrod, *The Laugh*
 Chagall, Marc, *The Laughing Man and the Fishes*, before 1985
- Democritus (The Laughing Philosopher)*
 Bramante, Donato, *Democritus and Heraclitus*, before 1514, Milan, Italy, Brera
 Terbrugghen, Hendrick, *Democritus*, oil on canvas, 1628, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
 Velázquez, Diego, *Democritus*, circa 1628, Rouen, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Ribera, Jusepe de, *Democritus*, 1630, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Ribera, Jusepe de, *Democritus*, circa 1635–1637, Salisbury, Wiltshire, collection of the Earl of Pembroke at Wilton House
 Cornelis van Haarlem, *Democritus and Heraclitus*, before 1638, Brunswick, Germany, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Democritus*, before 1640, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Rosa, Salvator, *Democritus and Heraclitus*, circa 1645, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Jordaens, Jacob, *Democritus and Heraclitus*, before 1678, Brunswick, Germany, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum
 Coypel, Antoine, *Democritus*, circa 1692, Paris, Louvre
 Giordano, Luca, *Democritus*, before 1705, Venice, Italy, Pinacoteca Querini Stampalia
 Lücke, Johann Christoph Ludwig, *Democritus, the Laughing Philosopher*, terra-cotta on gray marble plinth, circa 1750–1757, Los Angeles, California, Los Angeles Museum of Art
 Corot, Jean-Baptiste-Camille, *Democritus*, before 1875, Nantes, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
- Aphrodite and Ares Trapped by Hephaestus (Ridicule)*
 Sodoma, *Mars and Venus in the Net of Vulcan*, circa 1511, New York, Greitzer Collection
 Heemskerck, Maerten van, *Vulcan Showing the Gods Mars and Venus in the Net*, 1536, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Goltzius, Hendrick, *Phoebus Exposing Mars and Venus to the Ridicule of the Olympians*, engraving, circa 1615
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Mars and Venus Caught in Vulcan's Net*, drawing, circa 1643, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksprentenkabinet
 Chéron, Louis, *Vulcan Catching Mars and Venus in His Net*, circa 1695, London, Tate Gallery
 Daumier, Honoré, *Vulcan's Net*, lithograph, 1842
 Corinth, Lovis, *Homeric Laughter*, 1909, Munich, Germany, Neue Pinakothek
- Illustrations of Laughter in Folktales and Fairy Tales*
 Ford, H. J., *The King Laughs at the Billygoat*, illustrations to *The Billygoat and the King*, circa 1906, India
 Ford, H. J., *The Witches Laughing*, illustrations to *The Frog*, circa 1900, Italy

Further Reading

- Folk Tales*
Brer Rabbit Tales (Uncle Remus) (nineteenth-century African American)
The Laugh Maker (Sioux)
The Laughing Bean
The Laughing Fit (mid–eleventh century Japanese)
The Laughing Dumpling (Japanese)
Poppies: The Girl Who Made Fate Laugh (Greek)
Tale of the Bubble, the Straw, and the Shoe (Yiddish)
Tales of Tyll Eulenspiegel (medieval German clown)
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LIGHT I: THE LAMP IN THE NICHE

Erica Cruikshank-Dodd

The following cultures are included in the discussion of the theme Light I: The Lamp in the Niche:

CLASSICAL

CHRISTIAN

JEWISH

ISLAMIC



The Feyal (Faisal) Mosque, completed 1988, interior of the prayer hall, showing the *mihrab*, the *minbar*, the *dikka*, and the great chandelier, Islamabad, Pakistan. (Courtesy of the author)

God is the Light of the heavens and the earth;
 the likeness of His Light is as a niche
 wherein is a lamp
 (the lamp in a glass, the glass as it were a glittering star)
 kindled from a Blessed Tree,
 an olive that is neither of the East nor of the West
 whose oil welling would shine, even if no fire touched it;
 Light upon Light;
 (God guides to His Light whom He will.)
 (And God strikes similitudes for men,
 and God has knowledge of everything.)
 in temples God has allowed to be raised up,
 and His Name to be commemorated therein;
 therein glorifying Him, in the mornings and the evenings,
 are men whom neither commerce nor trafficking
 diverts from the remembrance of God
 and to perform the prayer, and to pay the alms . . .
 (The Holy Koran 24:36–37)

These verses from the *Surat an-Nur*, the Surah of Light, in the Holy Koran, are carved into the doorway of the Mosque of Sultan Hassan, in Cairo, Egypt (1356–1362). They are also frequently written on the graceful glass enameled lamps that hang in the prayer hall of the mosque. Said to be among the last revelations received by the Prophet Muhammad, these verses refer to God's likeness as a light, to the light in the lamp, and to the lamp in the niche. God sent this revelation to the Prophet in terms understood by Jews, pagans, and Christians, as well as by early Muslims, and this image of the light hanging in a niche is still resonant today.

In the ancient world, the symbolic connotations of light were depicted through the use of several different images: the candle, the lamp, the sun, the mandorla, the halo, and fire. These different aspects of light developed powerful connotations throughout the medieval period and even more so during the Renaissance, spreading to include a variety of art forms and styles from the early experiments in chiaroscuro to impressionism. The iconographic history of these developments has been extensively documented in separate studies devoted to specific cultures or periods of time. A comprehensive article by Oskar Holl in the *Lexicon der christlichen Ikonographie* collected a rich bibliography.

Here we will consider parallel developments in the iconographic representation of light through Jewish, Christian, and Islamic sources. At the heart of the different representations of light is a mystical symbol born in the late classical Mediterranean and still relevant today: a lamp hanging in a niche. From its early beginnings, the niche represented the temple, the synagogue, the church, or the mosque. It is the light shining in the niche that is said to point the way to a meaningful and credible truth.

God as Light

The identification of light with pleasure, goodness, and eternal life is as old as the sun of the Egyptian pharaoh Akhenaton. This signification of light was opposed to that of darkness, which signified death and destruction and clung to the dim, gray, lightless underworld of the Babylonian hero Gilgamesh. The opposing images occur in the first verses of Genesis (1:3–4), where God creates light and divides the light from the darkness and thus establishes the rule of divine law, order over chaos. The symbolism is frequently repeated throughout the Old Testament, especially by Isaiah: "The sun shall be no more thy light by day; neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee: but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory" (Isaiah 60:19).

The world of Homer inherited the images of Gilgamesh, and for the early Greeks light versus darkness described a life of victory and glory above ground as opposed to the dark underworld of death. Odysseus was told to enjoy his life in this world, because it was ". . . better to be a slave in this world, than a king in the next." To this relatively primitive concept of light, the pre-Socratic philosophers added connotations of knowledge and reason. Apollo was not only god of the sun but also god of music, poetry, and science. For Plato, in the fifth century B.C., to "see the light" meant to understand truth. The man in Plato's Allegory of the Cave saw truth only in reflected light. When he emerged from the cave and saw actual truth, he was blinded. Sophocles' Oedipus was mentally "blind" so long as he had eyes but did not see the truth; when the "light" of truth struck him, he became physically blinded. Alexander made the similar mistake of stepping into the "light" of Diogenes.

By the first century A.D., this vision of light had filtered into the cave of Aeneas, hero of Virgil's *Aeneid*, where, among the shades, Aeneas found Orpheus with his lyre, bathed in light. The possibility of a bright life after death was latent in the story of Orpheus, who not only descended into the underworld and emerged from it, but who was also supposed to have visited Egypt and become acquainted with the sun worship of Akhenaton. Orpheus became the principal priest in Dionysian rites, in which notions of renewal and rebirth were illustrated by an extensive vocabulary of symbols. The idea that death introduced light was an astounding contradiction, and this revolutionary image introduced a mystical concept of light that became central to the three Mediterranean religions: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam.

For late-Hellenistic Jews, the hint of an afterlife was portrayed by David with his lyre, a transformation of Orpheus, as in the synagogue at Dura-Europos (third century A.D.), or the synagogue in Gaza (A.D. 508–509). Christians associated Orpheus with Christ or with the Good Shepherd, as in the

mosaics of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, Italy (A.D. 450), or the floor mosaic of the Church in Jerusalem, now preserved in the Istanbul Museum (sixth century A.D.). In a Virgilian sense, these personifications pointed the way to a bright eternal life for the deceased who had followed the law.

The mystical message of Christ as “the light” incorporated both a Neoplatonic vision of light as truth, as well as a notion of eternal life. This image became central to the writings of the church fathers over the following centuries. The Gospel according to John frequently refers to Christ as the light: “Then spake Jesus again unto them, saying, I am the light of the world: he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life” (John 8:12). Or again: “I am come a light into the world, that whosoever believeth on me should not abide in darkness” (John 12:46). This mystic vision was conveyed in early Christian art by the formula “Life and Light,” written in the form of a cross. Because the cross signified victory, this formula merged the idea of light with the idea of victory over death. Among numerous examples of this device is a cross inscribed on a sixth-century silver plate from the Phela Treasure, presently in the Abegg-Stiftung in Bern, Switzerland. The cross is depicted standing on the hill of Golgotha, from which flow the four rivers of paradise. In this case, Christ, life, light, victory, and paradise are combined in a single expressive image.

The Lamp, as the Vehicle of Light

A simpler representation of Christ as light, lighting the path to eternal life, was conveyed by means of a decorated lamp. The lamp, or candlestick, has symbolic origins in the very light it produces and has developed its own distinct iconographic history. The Psalm calls the word of God “a lamp unto my feet, and a light unto my path” (Psalm 119:105). To this day, Jews celebrate a dedication of light at the festival of Hanukkah. In Isaiah, the seven-branched candlestick, or the menorah, came to represent the divine revelation of “the law.” As it represented “the law,” so the menorah was associated with the Ark of the Covenant. According to Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough, the menorah became even more: it became “a symbol of God, of his streaming Light and Law; it was the Tree of Life, the astral path to God, and the mediating female principle, the Mother” (Goodenough, p. 113).

On a Greek stela, the rendering of a lamp in the hands of a mourner represented the eternal flame of the spirit, an image that frequently appeared on Roman funerary monuments as well. In the classical Mediterranean, lamps were buried with the deceased person to light the soul’s way into the darkness of the underworld. Since the lamp accompanied the soul into the afterlife, its decoration reflected the development of ideas about death and life after death. By the second and third centuries A.D., the mythological figures common to earlier classical lamps had often been replaced by images from the same myths, but with new moral implications. Leda and the swan, for example, might represent the descent of God’s spirit to the receptive mortal; Venus with an apple might indicate the promise of pleasure and future happiness in the next world for the mortal who made the right choice. Symbols of the hunt indicated struggle, reward, and victory, especially victory over death for the owner of the lamp. Frequently, new symbolic themes were explained by means of inscriptions. For example,

on a second- or third-century lamp from Syria, now at the Museum of the American University of Beirut in Lebanon, the ubiquitous figure of Venus, reclining on a couch, is accompanied by a lover and a Greek inscription: *Heidonos* (happiness, or pleasure). Lamps like these, many of which were found in Mediterranean burial sites along the shores from Turkey to Africa and Italy, were inscribed in either Greek or Latin.

By the second and third centuries, flowers, vines, and fruit—symbols of renewal and rebirth associated with the cult of Dionysus—also were portrayed on lamps. These symbols were readily adopted by Jews and Christians. Lamps for Jews, for example, were decorated with Dionysiac motifs and adorned with specifically Jewish insignia: the menorah, the ethrog, and the lulab. Fish and crosses were added to the vines and garlands adorning Christian lamps to guide the faithful along the right path. Indeed, early Christian lamps soon became a vehicle for a vast repertoire of subjects suitable to illustrate the truth in the next life. In addition to specifically Christian insignia, all the beasts of the heavenly kingdom—lions, lambs, panthers, leopards, deer, bear, horses, rabbits, and peacocks—adorn the lamps that light the soul into eternal life and happiness. In place of classical mythological figures, saints and prophets stood by the vines and vases of eternal life, acting as intercessors for entry into the next world. In other words, the lamp, as vehicle of light or truth, offered a field for a variety of decorative motifs, all of which received their meaning through the eternal flame that burned in the vessel.

While the pottery lamps of East and West remained fairly simple in their shapes and decorations, lamps made of more valuable material not only were decorated, but assumed complicated symbolic shapes. Frequently these lamps were in the shape of animals, either pigeons or griffins, creatures long associated with the ascent of the spirit. Some lamps were of more original shape, such as the more popular bronze lamps from the fifth or sixth century in the form of a boat. (There is a well-known example in Florence, Italy, and another one in the Virginia Museum of Art.) The boat originally represented the ship of souls guided by Charon across the river Styx, but in Christian examples the pilot became Peter, Paul, or Odysseus, who, in his Christian incarnation, stood for the indomitable traveler in the troubled seas of life. Because the beam on the mast of the ship formed a cross, these lamps are usually interpreted as Christian, but Jews also understood the image, for it occurs in the mosaics of the House of Leontis in Beit She’an (fifth or sixth century). Another unusual shape of lamp, now preserved in the Hermitage, in St. Petersburg, Russia, is in the form of a basilica.

By the fifth century, iconoclasm was creating problems for the image of the lamp, and in lands where iconoclasm was rampant, the figurative decoration on lamps was often explained or even replaced by selected written formulas. John’s notion of Christ as light, or the written word for light as the eternal life on the cross, was also described. Writing was especially suitable for the depiction of an abstract idea, and the lamp, as the vehicle holding the flame of truth, gave form or meaning to the writing. For example, early pagan lamps were traditionally decorated with conventional subjects of delight, dolphins, and tritons, but by the third and fourth centuries, mythological subjects selected for their moral implications had to be reinterpreted, and inscriptions were needed to explain them. A

Christian lamp decorated with the ubiquitous vines, flowers, rabbits, and doves was then explained by a simple inscription: "Blessing," "Jesus help me," "Lord help me," or with the name of a saint who might intercede in the next world on behalf of the bearer of the lamp. From the third to the seventh century, apart from such obviously sectarian symbols as the cross or the menorah, there does not seem to have been much difference in the decorations on pagan, Jewish, or Christian lamps. By the sixth or seventh century, inscriptions sometimes replaced the image altogether. A familiar expression on Christian lamps, with and without other decoration, was "The light of Christ shines for all," written in Greek. The same sentiments adorn lamps from the West at this time, with the inscriptions written in Latin.

All these forms of decoration appeared on lamps in lands conquered by the Arabs, and while many continued to be inscribed in Greek, some were also inscribed in Arabic. In some cases, whether the lamp was intended for a pagan, Muslim, Jewish, or Christian owner is not indicated. A lamp for either an Arab Christian or an Arab Muslim might be decorated by a single word, "Blessing" written in Arabic. By the sixth and seventh centuries A.D., in areas subject to iconoclastic ideas, the Dionysiac formula of vines and flowers was sometimes replaced by geometric designs, or by suitable inscriptions in Greek or Arabic conveying hope for the deceased or blessings for the bearer of the lamp. Several lamps are known to be inscribed with the following message in Greek: "Shine, oh Light! Do not go out. Light with your flame and do not spill." On two sixth- or seventh-century lamps from Syria, now preserved in the Museum of the American University of Beirut, the same potter apparently turned out one lamp for a Greek-speaking customer, with the Greek inscription cited above, and another one, identical in all other respects, with an inscription in Arabic: "Blessings in the name of God to the owner of the light." Whether the lamp was destined for an Arab Christian or an Arab Muslim is not indicated.

This custom of inscribing a lamp with suitable written verses instead of figural decoration lingered for many centuries in Islamic art, especially where inscriptions replaced figurative images. It is important to point out that inscriptions from the Koran were not used on the smaller, domestic lamps, because it is said that words from the holy book should not be touched by unwashed hands. On the other hand, the great enameled glass mosque lamps from Mamluke, Syria (twelfth–fourteenth century), which hung high in the mihrab (a niche, cut into the *qibla* wall of a mosque, and hung with a lamp to indicate the direction for prayer) or in the prayer halls or doorways of a mosque, were frequently inscribed with all or part of the *Surat an-Nur* quoted at the head of this article.

The Light in the Niche

If the lamp lit the way for the deceased into the next world, then the path traveled by the soul on this journey was signified by an arch, or a niche holding a lamp. In this way, the niche, like the lamp, became an inseparable part of the imagery of light. As the means by which the spirit ascended to the next world, the niche represented a temple, synagogue, or church. In early Greek architecture, sculpture on a temple pediment explained the temple as the way of the logos—the path of

divine law and order in the universe, as opposed to apparent chaos. The sculpture on the opposing tympana of the Temple of Olympia (sixth century B.C.) and the Parthenon (fifth century B.C.) in Greece illustrate the triumph of law over chaos. Thus, a temple facade represented in the background of a mythological scene on a Greek vase not only framed the figures portrayed but also explained the relevance of the story. The columns framing the diners on a krater in Würzburg, Germany (fourth century B.C.), for example, indicate that the meal takes place in the next world. The aedicula on an amphora in Naples, Italy (fourth century B.C.) conveys the same idea regarding the woman standing beneath the arch.

The Roman victory arch, like the gates of the city, not only connoted a military victory, it symbolized the victory of the *Pax Romana*, the divine rule of law over chaos. Virgil portrayed Aeneas entering the underworld through gates of ivory (*Aeneid*, 6:552–554). In the time of Virgil, the shape of a sarcophagus frequently represented a temple facade with a door through which the spirit could pass into the next world. On the end of a well-known sarcophagus in the Melfi Cathedral in Italy (second century A.D.), the mythological figures carved on either side of the door indicate the way and give comfort to the soul along its path.

By the third and fourth centuries A.D., in hypogea throughout the Mediterranean world, the temple facade—as a simple pediment on two columns or as an arched niche—represented the passage from this world to the next. Carved into or painted on the walls of the second- and third-century tomb complexes at Palmyra, Syria, arches and columns indicate the passage through which the spirit might escape after burial. Temple facades, columns, and tympana in pale pink and gray, out of which little souls escape in the shape of small, flying, white birds, were painted on a third-century tomb fresco from Roman Syria, preserved before the Persian Gulf War in the National Museum of Beirut. Pagan and Christian sarcophagi and funeral stele often displayed the bust of the deceased in a niche to suggest the passage of that soul into eternity.

This image of the door was so familiar that it was used by Jesus Christ to explain his position as intercessor: "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved . . ." (John, 10:9). Thus, where deities, or personifications of divine qualities, had stood in front of niches on pagan sarcophagi, so Christ and the saints stood in front of niches on early Christian sarcophagi: for example, on the fourth-century sarcophagus in S. Ambrogio, in Milan, Italy, and the Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (A.D. 359) in the Vatican.

The iconographic implications of the niche flourished in areas favoring iconoclasm. In northern Syria during the fifth and sixth centuries, a basket-of-plenty was placed in a niche to ensure a life of plenty for the soul in the afterworld or, quite frequently, a veil through which the deceased's spirit must pass was hung across an arch. Five lamps from the second or third century A.D., each hanging in a niche, appear on a pagan sarcophagus in the National Museum in Damascus, Syria. These lighted niches on the Damascan sarcophagus expressed bright hope for the deceased in the next world. The symbolic representation of a niche as an indication of passage to the next world spread westward from the Mediterranean and as far east as the sculptures on the stupas of Gandhara, in what is now Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The images of light and the door thus were firmly established in the iconographic vocabulary of the fifth and sixth centuries. A light within a niche or a light standing above an altar became so popular in early Christian church mosaics that it is difficult to select one example over another. The Archaeological Museum in Istanbul, Turkey, preserves a Christian lead sarcophagus (fifth century) on the lid of which the sole decoration is a lamp hanging in a niche. A fifth-century mosaic covers the floor of the memorial to Moses on Mount Nebo (Pisgah), Jordan. The mosaic portrays an arch from which hangs a lamp in front of a chapel altar. Another mosaic, also on Mount Pisgah, is in the Church of the Priest John and portrays candlesticks flanking a center inscription under a temple tympanum. This type of composite image culminated in the great church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (now Istanbul), built in the sixth century by Emperor Justinian, ruler of the eastern Roman Empire. Over the imperial door in the narthex of Hagia Sophia, an enthroned Christ holds an open book on which is written "Peace be upon you; I am the Light of the world." Every aspect of the architecture and decoration in Hagia Sophia, as described by Paul the Silentiary in the sixth century, further supports the notion of the church as a light to the world.

Jews also used the image of a light in a niche to express their own understanding of the law or the "way." The lintel of a doorway in a third-century synagogue in Capernaum (ancient Palestine) is decorated with a Torah ark in the form of a temple facade, closed with a curtain. In the synagogue of Dura-Europos, an ancient Mesopotamian town now in Syria, a third-century Torah shrine is decorated with a temple facade for the ark, and beside it is a menorah, along with the sacrifice of Isaac, the lulab, and the ethrog. A lead sarcophagus from Beth She'arim portrays an arch over a menorah. The ark, closed with a curtain and flanked by two menorah, appears three centuries later on the pavement mosaics of the synagogue in Beit She'an (fifth–sixth century) and without the curtain at Beit Alpha (sixth century).

The representation of temple, church, or synagogue and light—the temple showing the transition, or the way, and the light showing the direction to eternal life—is thus rooted in biblical and classical tradition. It is not clear which of these traditions established the use of these images first. They seem to have borrowed from each other and to have developed simultaneously during the first five centuries of the Christian era. These images persisted in the medieval art of both East and West, rapidly gathering strength on both sides of the Mediterranean, developing a vocabulary of related motifs that spread in their diversity and implications.

Along with a menorah on either side of the ark, a menorah in a niche became a familiar image in later Jewish iconography. A splendid example is a hanging Torah from Turkey (eighteenth century) that is decorated with a niche on columns, filled with flowers. The Torah contains seven hanging lamps and is inscribed with the words from Psalm 118:20: "This gate of the Lord, into which the righteous shall enter."

Fully developed Byzantine art relied on light as its most significant symbolic image. Symbols of light were plentiful: the lamp, the sun, the moon, the stars, the nimbus, the mandorla, the city, and Jerusalem, to name but a few. The icon was a primary symbol of light. Standing between humans and God, it received the grace of God through His light and transmitted

this light to the faithful. The image of the enthroned Christ holding the Gospel as a light to the world, first created in the Church of Hagia Sophia, became even more elaborate with time. In the Cathedral of Céfalu in Italy (twelfth century), a huge apse mosaic under a triumphal arch holds the central "figure" of light in the shape of the Pantocrator. In his hand he holds the open Gospel inscribed with the words from John 8:12: "I am the Light of the world." These developments are fully explained in Byzantine texts.

Similarly, the elaborate ornamentation of cathedral lanterns and candelabra conveyed the image of divine light in the medieval West. Like the early Christian church, and like the synagogue and the temple, the portals of the great cathedrals represented the passage out of this world into the next. These portals were decorated with depictions of the Last Judgment, showing Mary and John acting as intercessors. As the worshippers entered a cathedral, their eyes were directed to the candles, the lantern, the allegory of the cross, the enthroned Virgin, the life of Jesus, the Eucharist, and the Holy Grail, all of which were portrayed in terms of light. Medieval manuscript illumination offers a vast repertoire of light imagery, while the significance of light in Renaissance art and architecture in later periods is well documented in modern sources.

It is less recognized that this artistic vocabulary was also understood by early Muslims and interpreted according to the Revelation of the Koran. The verses of light in the Koran associate it with truth and also, when hung in a niche, as indication of a temple's divine blessing. The light in the niche became, in more specific Islamic terms, the mihrab in the prayer hall of a mosque. (A mihrab is a niche cut into the *qibla* wall of a mosque, hung with a lamp to indicate the direction for prayer.) The mihrab in every mosque is the most essential architectural element of the hall for prayer, because it indicates the direction of the *qibla*, the direction toward Mecca, Saudi Arabia, toward which every Muslim should pray. In other words, the central image of every mosque is the light in the mihrab, or the niche hung with a light to indicate the direction of truth.

The verses of light in the Koran describe a lamp like a "glittering star" hanging in a niche. One of the earliest surviving mihrabs is in the mosque of Ibn Tulun in Cairo, Egypt (ninth century). Here a star is portrayed in the niche, although the lamp became the usual symbol and is most commonly used today. Modern prayer rugs, too numerous to mention, feature representations of lamps and are a familiar example of such symbolism. In Cairo, however, this image adopted an even wider interpretation and significance by the fourteenth century. In the mosque of Sultan Hassan, the massive principal doorway leading to the interior sanctuary is inscribed with the verses of light. A light actually hangs in the doorway, which is shaped like a niche, or mihrab. The presence of the verses of light in the doorway of Sultan Hassan indicate that the function of this doorway is as a worldly mihrab, a kind of compass pointing to truth. According to the Koran, the light in the niche will only be found in temples that God has allowed to be raised, in which His name is glorified, and toward which men do not forget to pray as they perform their religious obligations in the world outside throughout the day.

As the image of the light in the niche persisted in Jewish and Christian art in succeeding centuries, it also was retained by the world of Islam. For example, in the huge King Feyal (Faisal)

mosque in Islamabad, Pakistan, completed in 1988, the usual mihrab in the form of a niche in the *qibla* wall is replaced by an enormous representation of the Koran, open at the page of the Surat ar-Rahman, the Beneficent, surrounded by the 99 names for God. The Surat ar-Rahman describes the bounteous reward awaiting the faithful. Above this startling and deliberate deviation from tradition, however, the symbolism of light dominates the entire building complex. A brilliant gold chandelier, illuminated by 4,000 lanterns, hangs from the center of the dome so that the dome appears suspended in light, very much like the dome of Hagia Sophia. (Actually, the King Faisal Mosque is indirectly associated with Hagia Sophia; its Turkish architect, Vedat Dalokay, was inspired by the Blue Mosque of Istanbul, itself modeled on Hagia Sophia.) The lantern is the most powerful image in the hall. It represents the Light of the Revelation, and like a portal it transforms the interior of the mosque into a mihrab for the world. The large open book representing the Koran in the *qibla* wall then performs the function of the mihrab, indicating the direction for prayer and the promise of reward in the next world.

The central connotations of light could be said to have been conceived before the written word, when God divided light from darkness. Such symbols illuminated the medieval, mystical language of the three Mediterranean religions—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—and became a powerful part of the artistic vocabulary of the Renaissance. Much later, among the most beloved images deeply embedded in nineteenth-century conscience is William Holman Hunt's *Light of the World* (1854). In this painting, flowers, apples, and trees of paradise; the crown of thorns; and the wood of the cross are added to the familiar images of the door, the niche, and the lamp. Indeed, the development of this imagery has become so diverse that it can better be illustrated through the study of single motifs, such as the lantern, illumination, mandorla, or nimbus. All these motifs reflect the differing and brilliant facets of a common theme: amid the chaos and confusion of this world, light shines eternal at the end, as it was in the beginning.

See also Dawn/Dawning; Light II: Divine, Natural, and Neon; Logos/Word

Selected Works of Art

Classical

Greek Krater, detail showing a funeral meal under an architectural framework, fourth century B.C., Würzburg, Germany, Museum

Greek Amphora, detail showing a mourning figure in an aedicula, fourth century B.C., Naples, Italy, Naples Museum

Sarcophagus, second century, Melfi, Italy, Cathedral

Painted Hypogeum of the Three Brothers, second century, Palmyra, Syria

Painted Tomb, fresco, third century, Beirut, Lebanon, National Museum

Clay Lamp, inscribed "*Heidonos*," third century, Beirut, Lebanon, American University

Sarcophagus, with detail of Christ and the Apostles on the back of a "city gate," fourth century, Milan, Italy, St. Ambrogio

Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, A.D. 359, Vatican, St. Peter
Sarcophagus, detail with a series of lamps hanging in niches, fourth or fifth century, Damascus, Syria, National Museum

Jewish

Torah Ark, temple facade, third century, Capernaum, Palestine, Synagogue

Torah Shrine, third century, Dura-Europos, Syria, Synagogue

David with His Lyre, fresco, third century, Dura-Europos, Syria, Synagogue

Lead Sarcophagus, with detail of arch over a menorah, fifth century, Beth She'arim, Israel

Lead Sarcophagus, with detail of arch over a menorah, fifth century, Beth She'arim

David with His Lyre, mosaic, sixth century, Gaza, Israel, Synagogue

The Ark and the Menorah, fifth–sixth century, Beit She'an, House of Leontis, Palestine, Synagogue

The Ark of the Menorah, mosaic, sixth century, Beit Alpha, Israel, Synagogue

Carpet with Seven Lamps Hanging in a Niche, with quotation from Psalm 118:20, eighteenth century, Prague, Czech Republic, Jewish Museum

Christian

Silver Plate, from the Phela Treasure, sixth century, Bern, Switzerland, Abegg-Stiftung

Bronze Lamp, in the shape of a boat, fourth or fifth century, Florence, Italy, National Museum

Bronze Lamp, in the shape of a boat, fourth century, Richmond, Virginia Museum of Art

Clay Lamp, with Greek inscription "the Light of Christ shines for all," sixth or seventh century, found on Mount Sion, Jerusalem

Clay Lamp, with Greek inscription "the Light of Christ shines for all," sixth or seventh century, Beirut, Lebanon, American University of Beirut

Christ Represented as Orpheus, mosaic, sixth century, Istanbul, Turkey, National Museum

Lead Sarcophagus, with lamp hanging in a niche on the cover, fifth or sixth century, Istanbul, Turkey, National Museum

Lamp in a Niche, mosaic, sixth century, Mount Pisgah, Jordan, Memorial to Moses

A Lamp in the Niche, mosaic from chapel altar, sixth century, Mount Nebo (Pisgah), Jordan, Church of the Priest John
Church of Hagia Sophia, sixth century, Istanbul, Turkey
Hunt, William Holman, *Light of the World*, painting, 1854, Oxford, Keble College

Islamic

Clay Lamp, with Arabic inscription, "Blessings in the name of God to the owner of the light," sixth or seventh century, Beirut, Lebanon, American University

Clay Lamp, with Arabic inscription, "Shine, oh Light! Do not go out. Light with your flame and do not spill," eighth century, Paris, Cabinet des Médailles

Mihrab, from Ibn Tulun, ninth century, Cairo, Egypt
 Mosque of Sultan Hassan, 1356–1362, Cairo, Egypt
 Feyal (Faisal) Mosque, twentieth century, Islamabad, Pakistan

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LIGHT II: DIVINE, NATURAL, AND NEON

Helene E. Roberts

The following periods, art forms, and motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Light II: Divine, Natural, and Neon:

LIGHT AS MANIFESTATION OF
THE HOLY: THE ANCIENT
WORLD

LIGHT AS MANIFESTATION OF
THE HOLY: MOSAIC AND
STAINED GLASS

LIGHT AS MANIFESTATION OF
THE HOLY: PAINTINGS

NATURAL LIGHT WITH
SYMBOLIC MEANING

THE RAINBOW

LUMINISM

THE SCIENCE OF LIGHT

LIGHT AS MEDIUM



Bruce Nauman, *Window or Wall Sign: The True Artist Helps the World by Revealing Mystic Truths*, 1967, blue and peach neon tubing, Otterloo, The Netherlands, Kröller-Müller Museum. (Courtesy of Kröller-Müller Museum, Otterloo, The Netherlands)

The first symbolic manifestations of light related to the sun, the main source of light known to ancient peoples, and to a corresponding worship of that light source, as embodied in the sun gods of the Egyptians. The Greeks and Romans made light itself sacred, especially in the philosophy of Plotinus. Christianity, too, associated light with divinity. Jesus Christ was thought of as “the light of the world” (John 8:12), and the symbolism of light was used extensively in the construction and ornamentation of churches to represent the kingdom of heaven. During the Renaissance, artists considered light more as a natural phenomenon, but one still freighted with symbolic connections. Painters appreciated the dramatic effects a single source of light could produce and took advantage of its qualities to convey various meanings. By the nineteenth century, painters began to observe the effect of light on objects. Often following various scientific theories about light, the focus of some paintings shifted from the objects themselves to the effect of light upon those objects. In the twentieth century, light itself has even been used by artists as a primary medium.

The concentric circles of stone megaliths that form Stonehenge (circa 1800–1400 B.C.) on the Salisbury Plain in Wiltshire, England, have long intrigued all who have seen them. Stonehenge consists of an altarlike stone in the center of a ring of bluestones, outside of which stands a horseshoe of five lintel-topped pairs of sarsen stones. Beyond that, an outer circle of large, evenly spaced sarsen stones supports lintels. The sheer size of these stones is impressive; the megaliths of the horseshoe weigh 45–50 tons each. Even in its present damaged state, the structure manages to inspire awe and mystery. The fact that a heelstone beyond the outer circle is in line with the sun on Midsummer Day (the summer solstice, the longest day of the year) and forms a direct axis with the avenue of approach and the altar has led many to believe that this structure was an ancient temple for sun worshipers. Although this possible explanation for the structure has not been proved, belief in it proliferated in popular thought and romantic literature. To this day, latter-day Druids still gather to perform sun rituals at Stonehenge.

According to the ancient Egyptian cosmology, Atum, the sun god, rose out of Nu, the primitive darkness, to create the world. Heliopolis, or the City of the Sun, became the center of Atum’s worship in the Fifth Dynasty. Various other sun gods—Aten, Ptah of Memphis, Amun-Re—shared the name and/or cosmology, but it was not until the Eighteenth Dynasty that the pharaoh Akhenaton declared the sun disk the single god. This monotheistic aberration lasted only from 1372 until 1358 B.C., but it produced perhaps the most memorable artwork of the Amarna period. On a bas-relief in the Cairo Museum, Akhenaton, his wife, and his daughter are portrayed presenting offerings in worship to the sun disk. The three figures stand in a similar posture, with uplifted arms holding vases. Akhenaton,

the tallest, wears the traditional white conical crown of Upper Egypt. Nefertiti, his queen, is about half his height, and their daughter is about half again as small as her mother. At the top of the relief, the circular sun disk emits long rays of light, represented by incisions in the stone, that end in hands, which provide a background for the silhouetted figure of Akhenaton. A similar sun disk and rays were rendered on the back of the throne of Tutankhamen, Akhenaton’s son-in-law.

There are few Greek or Roman works of art that depict light, but the writings of two philosophers, Plato and Plotinus, express a belief in the divine function of light that indirectly influenced Christian art for centuries. Plato compared the good to sunlight and its ability to generate and nourish (*Republic*, book 6). His followers extended this comment to see light as “the transcendental reality that engenders the universe and illuminates our intellect for the perception of truth” (Simson, p. 51). Neoplatonists, such as Plotinus, a philosopher living in third-century A.D. Rome, believed that the union of the soul with the “supreme one” would take place through the medium of light, which he identified with the sun. “The vision floods the eyes with light and sees, but it is not a light showing some other object,” he wrote. “The light is itself the vision” (*Enneads*, VI, 7.36). To Plotinus, “light and brightness act as a bridge between the terrestrial and the celestial” (James, p. 70). Through the writing of St. Augustine, St. Basil the Great, Pseudo-Dionysius, and others, the views of Plato and Plotinus were integrated into early Christian theology, which wholeheartedly embraced the importance of light.

Byzantine churches were conceived as great, dim, mysterious caverns of worship with flickering candles that reflect in the iconic mosaics that decorate the vaults of the church. The luminous interiors, rendered in emulation of the starry firmament, were often compared to heaven itself. Colored bits of glass in the mosaics were angled to catch the light, and the golden halos that outline the features of sacred personages add further radiance to the images. Many Byzantine churches, in their domes, have a huge mosaic of the Pantocrator (Christ as ruler and judge) who holds the Gospel of St. John, often open to reveal the text “I am the light of the world.”

When Abbot Suger built the Carolingian abbey of St. Denis outside of Paris in the twelfth century, he exchanged the mystical Byzantine gloom of flickering reflections from glass mosaics to a church that, in his own words, “would shine with wonderful and uninterrupted light.” The construction methods used by Gothic builders made possible the tall windows filled with the glorious colors of stained glass. The nearly 100 luminous windows in St. Denis not only suffuse the interior with colored light, but by incorporating scenes mainly from the Old Testament they also provide a narrative that underlines the effect of the light itself. Influenced by the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius, as presented in the writings of John Scotus Erigena,

Suger designed the windows to contrast the obscurity of the Old Testament with the revelations of the Gospels. While the reading of the Gospels could illuminate the divine truth, the translucent windows acted like “veils, at once shrouding and revealing the ineffable” (Simson, p. 121). Plenty of blue glass, the most expensive color, and precious and semiprecious stones augmented the luminous effect of the windows. Suger promoted his belief that piety could be stimulated and enlightenment could be gained through the harmony, beauty, and imagery of his church, and especially through the effect of light. His friend Hugh of St. Victor compared stained-glass windows to the holy scriptures, letting the splendor of true light pass through them to enlighten those inside.

The innovative use of windows in St. Denis was repeated and embellished in many Gothic cathedrals. Elaborate iconographic programs, supplementing those of the sculptured portals, paintings, and carved capitals, turned churches into storybooks of religious doctrine, with the mysterious properties of light adding immeasurably to the spiritual experience. Chartres Cathedral in France, dedicated to the Virgin Mary as her residence on Earth and containing the relic of her sacred tunic, became a center of the cult of the Virgin. Not only is she the central figure in the famous rose window over the portal, but the crowned Virgin in Triumph as the queen of heaven is a theme repeated throughout Chartres. Mary’s perpetual virginity came to be compared to glass: for as light penetrates glass without violating it, so Christ was conceived and born without violating Mary’s virginity.

By the middle of the thirteenth century, the aesthetics and theology of light underlying the practical decisions of church building changed. The mysterious and potent divinity of light in the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius and Erigena gave way to St. Augustine’s theory of illumination, giving a greater role to reason and intelligence in knowing God. The windows of French churches and cathedrals began to contain more *grisaille* (clear glass) and less colored glass. This new *rayonnant* (radiant style) was associated with Louis IX and particularly with Sainte-Chapelle in Paris (1243–1248). In the upper chapel of Sainte-Chapelle, structural elements were reduced to a minimum, allowing more than three-fourths of the walls to be glass. Instead of giving one the sense of being inside a monumental luminous enclosure, as is the case with St. Denis, Sainte-Chapelle gives one the sense of floating elegantly through shimmering strips of radiance.

The glory of light shining through medieval stained glass and its association with the divine has never been equaled, but neither has this association been completely abandoned. The effective merging of light and stained glass has been exploited more recently by Edward Coley Burne-Jones in the Cathedral Church of St. Philip in Birmingham, England; John La Farge in Trinity Church in Boston; Antonio Gaudí in the Chapel of the Colonia Güell near Barcelona, Spain; and Le Corbusier in the windows of Notre-Dame-du-Haut at Ronchamp, France, among others.

The association of light with the divine, especially with the body of Jesus Christ, appeared in painting as well as architecture. Many early Renaissance paintings were particularly influenced by two written descriptions of the birth of Christ. The apocryphal Book of James describes the setting of the birth of Christ as a cave beneath a bright cloud. According to James,

the light in the cave was so intense it could not be endured and withdrew only when the Christ Child was born. In another influential account of Christ’s birth, St. Bridget of Sweden told of a vision she had of Mary praying as the Christ Child was suddenly born amid a bright light.

In his predella *Nativity* (1413) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Lorenzo Monaco painted the birth of Christ as a night scene. He placed a shed with an adoring ox and ass in front of the cave and angels in the background waking sleeping shepherds with the news. In the foreground, Mary kneels in prayer with Joseph on the right. In the center, the naked Christ Child lies on the ground with a gesture of blessing. His divinity is represented by his halo and by the golden rays of light that emanate from his body. Monaco used a similar composition for his identically titled *Nativity*, a predella that is part of *The Coronation of the Virgin* (1414) altarpiece now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy.

Nine years later, Gentile da Fabriano painted the *Nativity* predella for his *Strozzi Altarpiece* (1423), also in the Uffizi. In da Fabriano’s rendering, the shed has been moved to the side, and the ox and ass in front of the cave are kneeling by the manger. The Virgin is praying, while Joseph sleeps on the right side. The background here includes a star-studded sky as well as the angels and shepherds. On the left are the two midwives of St. Bridget of Sweden’s vision, one sleeping, the other watching the central scene in which the Christ Child lies naked on the ground in a pool of light composed of gold leaf and incised rays. What differentiates da Fabriano’s predella from Monaco’s is that the light from the Christ Child not only is indicative of his divinity, but it also serves to illuminate the surrounding figures, even casting a shadow on the shed. This same effect of the Christ Child providing the illumination for a night scene was used dramatically by later artists such as Geertgen tot Sint Jans in the *Nativity* (circa 1490) in the National Gallery in London; Gerard David in *Birth of Christ* (circa 1495) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria; and Correggio in *La Notte* (1529–1530) in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, Germany.

Light and darkness evoke the holy dramatically in Matthias Grünewald’s *Isenheim Altarpiece* (circa 1510–1515) in the Unterlinden Museum in Colmar, France. The dark blue-black sky and darker mood of the *Crucifixion* vividly contrast with the explosion of light in the *Annunciation*, the *Nativity*, and especially in the *Resurrection*. In the luminescent *Nativity*, it is not the Christ Child who illuminates the scene, but a choir of angel musicians and a vision of the Trinity in the sky. The light is so bright, so jubilant, so uplifting in spirit, especially in the wake of the austere gloom of the *Crucifixion*, that it sweeps the viewer into the celebratory mood of the *Resurrection*. Here, the risen Christ is propelled upward in a globe of brilliant light, circumscribed by rainbow hues, the outline of his figure nearly obscured.

Near the end of the sixteenth century, light was used in a new way in religious painting. By placing biblical scenes in everyday settings, and by clothing biblical characters in the dress of the people, painters began to lend an intimacy and immediacy to their religious paintings that suggested Christian miracles were still possible. Light was still used to signify divinity, but that light often came from an identifiable source. In Jacopo Tintoretto’s *Last Supper* (1592–1594), in S. Giorgio

Maggiore in Venice, Italy, the 12 apostles are sitting at what could be an ordinary table in an Italian inn, served by servants the viewer might see on the street or during their own evening repast. To add to the domestic ordinariness of the scene, a cat and dog scavenge for scraps. The apostles are outlined by halos, but such naturalistic ones that they could almost be reflections from the overhead lamp. Only Christ's halo has the radiance to penetrate the generally dim interior scene. The lamp at the upper left of the painting sheds light onto the scene, its rays merging with those of Christ's halo, while its wisps of smoke metamorphose into ephemeral flying angels. Whereas light illuminates a seemingly ordinary scene in a natural way, its eerie glow also turns the scene into a spiritual event.

This technique, used so dramatically by Tintoretto, was raised to new heights by Caravaggio. Through his use of light and shade and through the naturalism of his figures, Caravaggio brought a new look to religious painting. In his *Calling of St. Matthew* (1597–1598), in S. Luigi dei Francesi in Rome, the setting is the bare, undecorated corner of a custom house where Matthew collects taxes. On the left, a group of five realistically painted figures sits around a table on which rest coins, a money bag, an ink pot, and an account book. Two figures enter on the left; one, barely distinguished by a thin circle of light around his head, points commandingly at Matthew, who in turn points at himself as if to ask, “Who, me?” The scene is illuminated by a diagonal bank of light that falls from just above the figures on the right to the faces of the group on the left. This light, not in itself blinding or dazzling, lends the necessary impact to Christ's commanding gesture and carries his call across the canvas to his chosen apostle. Caravaggio's naturalistic religious paintings—usually lit from the side or front against a dark undifferentiated background—deny the decorative beauty of former religious art, yet still highlight the drama of the extraordinary event rendered.

Georges de La Tour adopted a similar strategy of illuminating religious scenes with an identified source of light. Examples of his use of this lighting technique include the woman holding a torch in *The Lamentation over St. Sebastian* (1630s), in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, as well as the young Jesus holding a candle to illuminate his father's work in *Joseph the Carpenter* (circa 1645), in the Louvre in Paris. Although La Tour's use of light is similar to Caravaggio's, the effect is different. Instead of the naturalistic energy of Caravaggio's figures, La Tour's figures emanate a serene, still, almost classical or abstract simplicity. In his *Penitent Magdalen* (circa 1638–1643), in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, a square mirror reflects a candle, doubly illuminating the quietly thoughtful Magdalen as she contemplates the skull in her lap and the reflected flame. Many other painters, Rembrandt van Rijn being perhaps the most notable, used light not only to illuminate scenes but to highlight the psychological depth of their compositions.

Throughout the history of art, painters have used one instance of natural light, the rainbow, as a phenomenon worthy of recording and as a sign of supernatural import. It was mentioned in the Bible in Ezekiel (1:28) and in the Revelation of St. John (4:3), and as a portent of hope and divine power the rainbow was associated with the story of Noah by manuscript illuminators as early as the sixth century (the *Vienna Genesis*), and as late as the fifteenth century (in the Norman *Book of*

Hours, circa 1420–1450). In the sixteenth century, Grünewald, in the *Stuppach Madonna* (1517–1519), repeated the association of the rainbow with the Virgin made by St. Bonaventura (*Laus Virginus*, 6) and later by St. Bridget of Sweden in her visions (*Revelations*). In the seventeenth century, Peter Paul Rubens, in his *Rainbow Landscape* (1636–1638), seems to have been primarily interested in the rainbow as a natural phenomenon, while Jacob van Ruisdael in *The Jewish Cemetery* (1670s) used it for its association with transience. In the eighteenth century Angelica Kauffman, in her *Self-Portrait as “Painting”* placed the rainbow close to her raised arm so as to look as if she were actually painting the rainbow or perhaps dipping her brush into its vivid colors.

In the eighteenth century, Joseph Wright of Derby also made a specialty of scenes illuminated by natural light. He, however, painted not as an artist revealing the miracles of faith but as a man of the Enlightenment showing the discoveries of science. In *A Philosopher Giving That Lecture on the Orrery, in Which a Lamp Is Put in Place of the Sun* (before 1766), in the Derby Art Gallery, Wright depicts a lecturer—perhaps inspired by the traveling lecturer James Ferguson, who gave a series of lectures in Derby in 1762—pointing out the positions of the planets as they revolve around the sun. The audience around the orrery, some brightly illuminated and silhouetted by the lamp substituting for the sun, are intent (one even taking notes) on following the explanation. In *An Experiment on a Bird in the Air Pump* (1768), now in the National Gallery in London, Wright again painted the scene of a scientific demonstration with an audience around a table illuminated by a lamp. This time the demonstration, through the use of an air pump, shows the necessity of air, or oxygen, for life. A cockatoo in a glass globe, deprived of oxygen, flutters close to death. The faces surrounding the experiment hold a variety of expressions, including a young girl who hides her face in order not to see the struggling bird. The lecturer rests his hand on the stopcock of the pump, perhaps to revive the bird at the last possible moment.

In the nineteenth century, artists increasingly turned to science to help them understand the composition of light and its effects. Joseph Mallord William Turner read widely about theories of light and color, both for his own curiosity and for his lectures on perspective to the students at the Royal Academy in London. He also kept extensive observations in sketchbooks. The brilliant effects of these studies can be seen in all of his paintings, particularly in *Fall of the Clyde* (circa 1835), in the Lady Lever Art Gallery in Port Sunlight, England. Perhaps not so well known are the contemporary theories he studied. He was especially interested in the *Theory of Colours* (1810), a book by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and painted two illustrations of the contrasting theories about shade and darkness, light and color. Like many of his other paintings, Turner turned to science and observation to understand the effects of light, but ultimately he used this knowledge to depict stories from mythology and the Bible. Turner's pair of paintings, *Light and Colour (Goethe's Theory): The Morning After the Deluge—Moses Writing the Book of Genesis* (1843) and *Shade and Darkness: The Evening of the Deluge* (1843), both in the Tate Gallery in London, reflect Goethe's table of polarities as well as Turner's own iconography of light and dark. However, as art historian John Gage argues, careful study of the paintings

reveals Turner's growing disenchantment with theories and his increasing reliance upon his own observation.

Not all nineteenth-century painters were intrigued with science. A small number of American landscape painters, largely through the use of light, created unique paintings of such quiet perfection and equipoise that they evoked an atmosphere of sublime transcendence. Called luminists, Fitz Hugh Lane and Martin Johnson Heade reduced the size of their paintings, eradicated all brush strokes in a mirrorlike smoothness (especially in renderings of water), and permeated their paintings' atmospheres with a sense of uninterrupted, and unintermittable, silence. "Such paintings, in eliminating any reminders of the artist's intermediary presence, remove him even from his role of interpreter," art historian Barbara Novak has noted. "In their quiet tranquillity, they reach to a mystical oneness above time and outside of space. . . . Oneness with Godhead is complete" (Novak, p. 44). The transparent quality of their paintings could be said to allow a "higher light" to shine through to the viewer. In their silence and transcendence they have been associated with the writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, who believed, not unlike Plotinus and the makers of medieval stained glass, that "from within or from behind, a light shines through us upon things and makes us aware that we are nothing, but the light is all" (Emerson, as quoted in Novak, p. 43).

In the late nineteenth century, the impressionists used a combination of scientific light theory and observation in their revolutionary paintings, but they eschewed the mythological and literary allusions that Turner had so often appended to his paintings. Painting out of doors, the impressionists studied light as the source of their experience of color and often juxtaposed brush strokes of color to bathe forms in light and atmosphere, diffusing them in brush strokes and the vibrating light. Perhaps this effect is best demonstrated by the 30 views of Rouen Cathedral that Claude Monet painted at different times of the day, from different angles, between 1892 and 1894. The complicated iconographic program of the cathedral's sculptured facade is completely obscured by Monet's tones of reflected light. Instead of mimicking the cathedral's portal saints and Gothic tracery, Monet painted the *enveloppe*, "an invisible amalgamation of air, light, moisture and temperature that alters our perception of what we see" (Pissarro, p. 21).

In the twentieth century, artists saw that they could—quite literally—paint with light. Thomas Wilfred developed a "Clavilus" in 1921 with which he could project forms of colored light onto a screen. His compositions of light originally gained much sympathetic attention, but they often ran for days, exhausting even his ardent enthusiasts. Later in the century, artists such as Bruce Nauman, Dan Flavin, and Vardea Chryssa used laser beams and fluorescent and neon tubing; Nam June Paik experimented with holography; and the Pulsa Group used underwater strobe lamps. Even though they used light instead of paint as their primary media and focused on more abstract forms, these modern artists still used narrative themes to some extent. In *Hanged Man* (1985), a construction of neon tubes, Bruce Nauman shows a man change from a living figure, with an upright head and hanging penis, to a dead figure, with dropping head and erect penis, in three flashing sequences of neon light. In a simple and unadorned—not to mention ironic and confrontational—use of light as an icon, Nauman's *Window or*

Wall Sign (1967) places the blue neon words "the true artist helps the world by revealing mystic truths" in a spiral underlined by orange tubing. Its message in light is one of postmodern commentary still resonant with the medieval blue glass windows of Abbot Suger's St. Denis.

See also Dawn/Dawning; Light I: The Lamp in the Niche; Night

Selected Works of Art

Light as Manifestation of the Holy: The Ancient World
Stonehenge, stone circles, circa 1800–1400 B.C., Wiltshire, England, Salisbury Plain

Offering to the Sun Disk (Akhenaton and His Family Worshipping the Sun Disk), bas-relief, end of XVIII Dynasty, circa 1370 B.C., Cairo, Egyptian Museum
Tutankhamen and His Queen in Front of the Sun Disk, throne backrest of wood, covered with gold leaf and glass and stone inlays, from *Throne of Tutankhamen*, XVIII Dynasty, circa 1355–1342 B.C., Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Light as Manifestation of the Holy: Mosaic and Stained Glass

The Good Shepherd, mosaic, fifth century, Ravenna, Italy, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia

The Virgin and Child, mosaic, sixth or seventh century, Kiti, Cyprus, Panagia Angelokristos

Christ Pantocrator, narthex mosaic, ninth century, Istanbul, Turkey, Hagia Sophia

Christ Pantocrator, mosaic panel, circa 1080–1100, Daphni, Greece, Church of the Dormition, central dome

Christ Pantocrator, mosaic in dome of apse, circa 1148, Cefalù, Sicily, Cathedral

Abbey Church of St. Denis, stained-glass windows, 1140–1144, near Paris

Rose Windows, stained-glass windows, twelfth century, Chartres, France, Cathedral

Upper Chapel, stained-glass windows, 1243–1248, Paris, Sainte-Chapelle

La Farge, John, stained-glass windows, 1877–1878, Boston, Trinity Church

Burne-Jones, Edward Coley, stained-glass windows, 1896, Birmingham, England, St. Philip

Gaudí, Antonio, stained-glass windows, 1898–1914, near Barcelona, Spain, Colonia Güell Chapel

Le Corbusier, stained-glass windows, 1950–1955, Ronchamp, France, Notre-Dame-du-Haut

Light as Manifestation of the Holy: Paintings

Lorenzo Monaco, *Nativity*, predella panel, 1413, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Lorenzo Monaco, *Nativity*, predella panel, from *Coronation of the Virgin*, 1414, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Gentile da Fabriano, *Flight into Egypt*, predella panel, from *Strozzi Altarpiece*, 1423, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Martino di Bartolommeo, *St. Bridget's Vision of the Birth of Christ*, before 1434, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

Geertgen tot Sint Jans, *Nativity*, circa 1490, London, National Gallery
 David, Gerard, *Birth of Christ*, circa 1495, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Gemäldegalerie
 Correggio, *La Notte*, 1529–1530, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie
 Grünewald, Matthias, *Isenheim Altarpiece*, circa 1510–1515, Colmar, France, Musée Unterlinden
 Raphael, *Liberation of St. Peter from Prison*, 1513, Vatican, Stanza d'Eliodoro

Natural Light with Symbolic Meaning

Tintoretto, Jacopo, *Last Supper*, 1592–1594, Venice, Italy, San Giorgio Maggiore
 Caravaggio, *Calling of St. Matthew*, 1597–1598, Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi, Contarelli Chapel
 Caravaggio, *Conversion of St. Paul*, 1602, Rome, Santa Maria del Popolo
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *A Man in a Room*, 1624–1632, London, National Gallery
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Supper at Emmaus*, circa 1628–1630, Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André
 La Tour, Georges de, *The Lamentation over St. Sebastian*, 1630s, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
 La Tour, Georges de, *The Penitent Magdalen*, circa 1638–1643, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 La Tour, Georges de, *Magdalene with the Smoking Flame*, circa 1640, Los Angeles, California, County Art Museum
 La Tour, Georges de, *Joseph the Carpenter*, circa 1645, Paris, Louvre
 Wright, Joseph, of Derby, *A Philosopher Giving That Lecture on the Orrery, in Which a Lamp Is Put in Place of the Sun*, before 1766, Derby, England, Derby Art Gallery
 Wright, Joseph, of Derby, *An Experiment on a Bird in an Air Pump*, 1768, London, National Gallery
 Hopper, Edward, *Lighthouse at Two Lights*, 1929, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

The Rainbow

God's *Covenant with Noah*, illuminated manuscript, Vienna *Genesis*, sixth century, Vienna, Austria, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod. Theol. Graec. 31, fol. 5)
The Story of Noah, illuminated manuscript, eleventh century, from *Paraphrase of the Pentateuch and Joshua*, by Aelfric, London, British Library (Ms. Cotton Claudius B.IV, fol. 16v)
Noah's Ark, illuminated manuscript, circa 1430–1450, from the *Book of Hours*, Oxford, England, Bodleian Library (MS Auct D, Inf. 2.11, fol. 59v)
 Grünewald, Matthias, *Stuppach Madonna*, 1517–1519, Stuppach, Germany, St. Maria
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Rainbow Landscape*, 1636–1638, London, Wallace Collection
 Ruysdael, Jacob van, *The Jewish Cemetery*, 1670s, Detroit, Michigan, Institute of Art
 Turner, J. M. W., *Landscape with Windmill and Rainbow*, circa 1795–1800, London, Tate Gallery
 Schinkel, Friedrich Karl, *Medieval Town on a River*, 1815, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Nationalgalerie

Constable, John, *Stonehenge*, watercolor, 1836, London, Victoria and Albert Museum
 Church, Frederick Edwin, *Landscape with Rainbow*, 1866, San Francisco, California, Palace of the Legion of Honour
 Marc, Franz, *Blue Horses with Rainbow*, watercolor, 1913, New York, Museum of Modern Art

Luminism

Bingham, George Caleb, *Fur Traders Descending the Missouri*, 1845, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Lane, Fritz Hugh, *Western Shore with Norman's Woe*, 1862, Gloucester, Massachusetts, Cape Anne Historical Association
 Heade, Martin Johnson, *Twilight Spouting Rock Beach*, 1863, John D. Rockefeller Collection
 Lane, Fritz Hugh, *Brace's Rock, Eastern Point, Gloucester*, 1863, private collection

The Science of Light

Turner, J. M. W., *Fall of the Cylde*, circa 1835, Port Sunlight, England, Lady Lever Art Gallery
 Turner, J. M. W., *Light and Colour (Goethe's Theory): The Morning After the Deluge—Moses Writing the Book of Genesis*, 1843, London, Tate Gallery
 Turner, J. M. W., *Shade and Darkness: The Evening of the Deluge*, 1843, London, Tate Gallery
 Seurat, Georges, *Afternoon on the Island of La Grande Jatte*, 1884–1886, Chicago, Art Institute
 Monet, Claude, *Rouen Cathedral*, 30 paintings, 1892–1894, in various museums and private collections

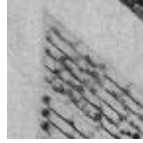
Light as Medium

Wilfred, Thomas, *Aspiration, Op. 145*, projected light, 1955, New York, Museum of Modern Art
 Wilfred, Thomas, *Lunia Suite, Op. 158*, projected light, 1963–1964, New York, Museum of Modern Art
 Chryssa, Vardea, *The Gates to Times Square*, neon sculptures, circa 1966–1967, New York, Pace Gallery
 Nauman, Bruce, *Window or Wall Sign: The True Artist Helps the World by Revealing Mystic Truths*, 1967, blue and peach neon tubing, Otterloo, The Netherlands, Kröller-Müller Museum
 Antonakos, Stephen, *Walk-On Neon*, neon panels under Plexiglas, 1968, New York, Fishbach Gallery
 Pula Group, *Installation*, strobe lights, 1968, Boston, Boston Garden
 Flavin, Dan, *Pink and Gold*, fluorescent tubes, 1969, Chicago, Museum of Contemporary Art
 Paik, Nam June, *Holography-Horrorgraphy, Plus-Minus Silence*, before 1970, New York, Bonino Gallery
 Chryssa, Vardea, *That's All*, neon, Plexiglas, 1970–1973, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Nauman, Bruce, *Hanged Man*, neon tubing, 1985, Düsseldorf, Germany, Konrad Fischer Gallery

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LOGOS/WORD

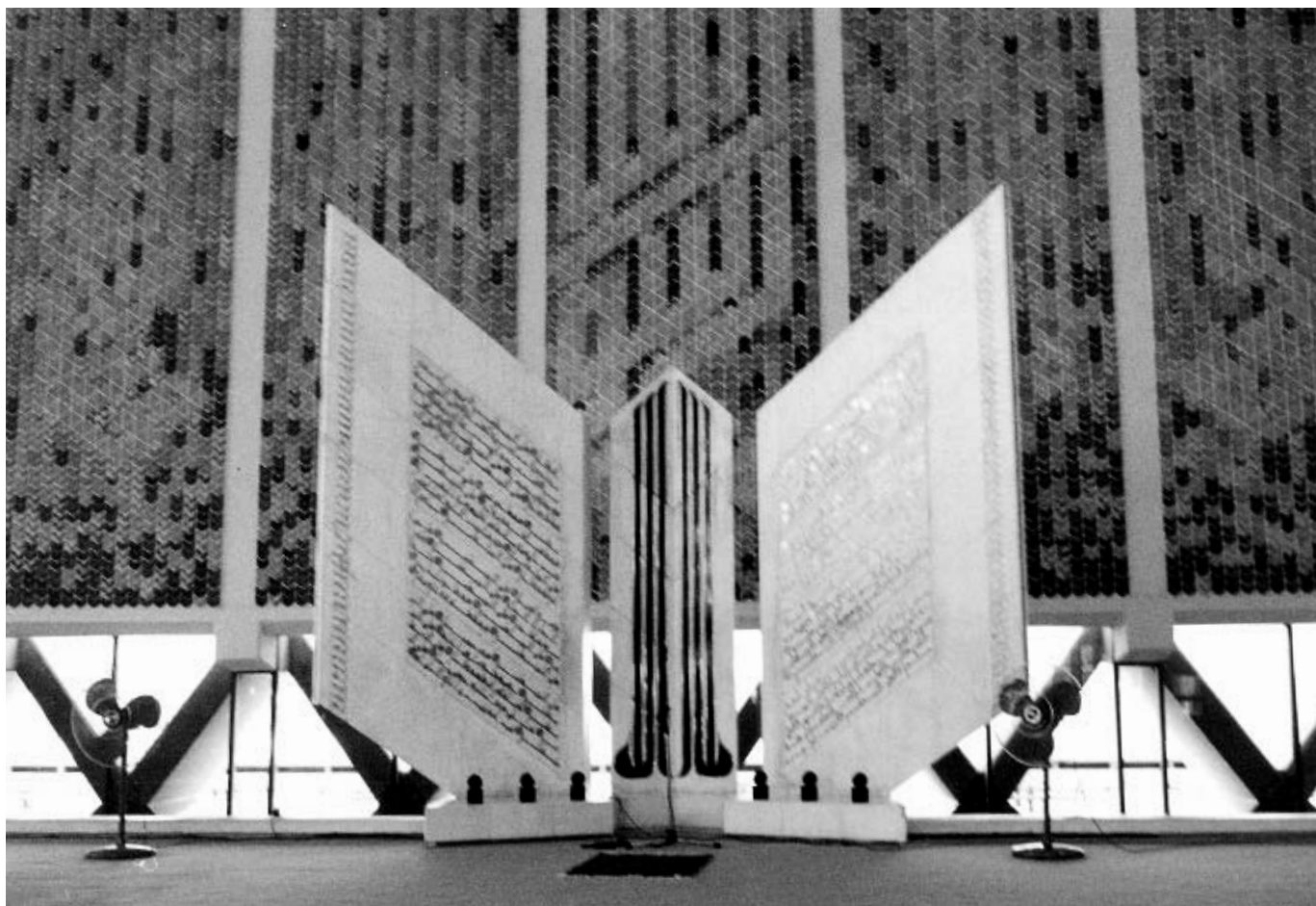
Erika Cruikshank-Dodd

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Logos/Word:

CLASSICAL

CHRISTIAN

MUSLIM



The Word in the Sacred Koran, Islamabad, Pakistan, Faisal Mosque. (Courtesy of the author)

“In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God” (John 1:1). In this passage from the New Testament Gospel According to John, the English word “word” is a translation from the Greek *logos*, and this translation conveys a specifically Christian interpretation. In Greek, *logos* meant “word,” but it also meant “order” or “reason,” and it was used to indicate the divine order of the universe more often than the written word. In the early centuries of Christianity, the representation of this Logos created problems that were sharply focused in the quarrels of iconoclasm. The problems of the image were then inherited by the Muslims, who discovered a solution that was particularly appropriate for Islam.

The Logos had a long history. As early as the sixth century B.C. the philosopher Xenophanes complained about anthropomorphism in the Greek religion, for to give God the form of man was to give Him limits: “. . . if oxen, horses, and lions had hands, or could paint with their hands and fashion works as men do, horses would paint horselike images of gods and oxen oxlike ones and each would fashion bodies like their own. . . . The Ethiopians consider the gods flat-nosed and black; the Thracians blue-eyed and red-haired.” Later classical philosophers, among them Plato, pursued this line of thought to the conception of a single God who became equated with the mind, rather than with the physical human shape, or with the classical Logos, meaning reason and order. For these writers, it was the intellectual capacity of humans, reason—the Logos—that resembled the divine, not the body. Then the identification of God with reason, or the word, called into question how to represent artistically and symbolically the presence of God, or the Logos, without drawing Him in human shape. Later classical philosophers, in particular the Stoics, associated the Logos with the natural order of the universe and represented it by means of pastoral landscapes, ideally peaceful and minutely detailed, as in the “Alexandrian” sculptures or the landscapes of Pompeii.

A more conventional way to represent the classical Logos was with a human shape with superhuman, Godlike proportions through the physical person of the Emperor-God, like the colossal statue of the Emperor Constantine. Indeed, the representation of God in human form was never entirely abandoned. Pagan writers developed a polemic in defense of human images, and these arguments were reused extensively by the iconophiles during the later quarrels of iconoclasm. Meanwhile, however, the problem acquired new direction at the hands of early Christians living in lands dominated by Judeo-classical thought.

The first Christians, in particular St. John the Apostle, extended the classical term Logos, meaning “reason,” to include its more literal Greek meaning: “word.” This wider

interpretation, which was rapidly adopted by the first church fathers, enabled John and his followers to include in the classical meaning of the term the Jewish tradition of divine revelation contained in “the book,” which was certainly the word of God. The problem was then how to represent this word.

The polemic over images was thus given new direction and, by the eighth century A.D., it erupted in the iconoclast controversy. At the center of the quarrel was the representation of God, or how to represent Him without confining Him to the shape of man. The most interesting aspect of this struggle is the vocabulary used to describe His image: in their description of the image of God, the *words* of the church fathers were virtually interchangeable with the *image*. For example: “We enjoy the presence of the saints in their writings, in which we have images, not of their bodies, but of their souls, since their words are images of their souls . . .” (St. John Chrysostom, fifth century); or, “The representations of the Saints are not our Gods, but books which lie open and are venerated in churches in order to remind us of God and to lead us to worship Him” (Leo, Bishop of Neapolis, seventh century). Such writing, indeed, suggested the literal portrayal of the word as an alternative to the human figure to represent the presence of the divine.

For centuries, ancient classical tradition had used words to interpret pictures, and in late antiquity when pictures became more complicated and difficult to understand, more words were necessary to explain their meaning. There were two common traditions in classical representation of divine law that became well established by the fifth and sixth centuries A.D. In late antique art, pictures or scenes taken from pagan myths were not in themselves sufficient to provide moral guidance; consequently, inscriptions were increasingly necessary to point out the moral value or meaning of one of the traditional myths. A typical example is provided by the very common depiction of the marriage of Aphrodite and Ares in the domain of Hephaestus (Odyssey, VIII: 266–270). As it is shown on a pavement in Chahba-Philippopolis in Syria, the marriage of the goddess of love and the god of war had an obvious moral message that was made more explicit by the inclusion of personifications of Charity, Well-Being, and Wisdom, each of which is explained by a title.

More interesting was the development of a practice in classical architecture whereby inscriptions were used to indicate the function of a particular space in a building or the purpose of a room and thus give directions to the person inhabiting that space. For example, at Anemurium, in Asia Minor, people entering a third-century bath were greeted with the inscription, “Have a good bath!” On leaving this room, they stepped over the inscription, “You have had a good bath!” These belong to

a long tradition in the Greek East and have many counterparts in the Latin West.

By the fourth and fifth centuries, inscriptions could even replace figural representation altogether. Some pavements were decorated with personifications of a joyful or bountiful world, and inscriptions were added to indicate what figure was represented, as in the fourth-century triclinos at Apamea, Syria, where a figure of Ge, goddess of the earth, dominates the center of the room with a bountiful cornucopia. In a small building adjacent to the cathedral at Apamea, however, the representation of the personification is left out altogether to be replaced by the inscription "EUXRW," meaning "well-being." The same thing happens in a late antique mosaic in Damascus, Syria, depicting a hunt, where the inscription "LEO" indicates a lion in the hunt but the lion itself is not represented.

In spite of the prohibition of images in Jewish tradition, and apart from the use of certain specifically Jewish symbols, like the menorah and the ethrog, the decoration of ancient Jewish synagogues more or less conformed to the prevailing artistic trends of the Hellenistic environment and there was no specifically Jewish interpretation of "word." Jewish pavements in the second and third centuries A.D. were decorated, like the early Christian church pavements, with the representation of paradise.

The peaceable kingdom represented on the walls and on the floors of churches was a reward awaiting the faithful for their life in the way of the church. Occasionally this paradise was accompanied with explanatory verses from Isaiah. For example, again at Anemurium, a fifth-century mosaic depicts the peaceful kingdom of Isaiah, along with a leopard and a kid, and this is accompanied with a quotation from Isaiah about the kingdom (Isaiah 11:6–9). Among the symbols of this divine universe were specifically Christian symbols, like the cross or the fish and the letters A and W. Other mosaics among the church pavements illustrate other verses from the scriptures, and these, like the earlier Roman examples, indicate the function of the different parts of the building. Particularly effective in this respect are inscriptions in the atrium of a church or on the doorsill. For example, a mosaic inscription from a church on the Mount of Olives reads: "The Lord shall preserve thy going out and thy coming in . . ." (Psalm 121:8).

A water cistern in the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem is inscribed: "The voice of the Lord is upon the waters" (Psalm 29:3). The water, in this case, probably served for baptism in the church. Again, a mosaic pavement in the *diaconia* (deacon's room) in Jerash, Jordan, is inscribed:

Bow down thine ear, O Lord, hear me: for I am poor and needy. Preserve my soul; for I am holy: O thou my God, save thy servant that trusteth in thee. Be merciful unto me, O Lord: for I cry unto thee daily. (Psalm 86: 1–3)

In the center of this panel are words from the evening prayer, the Vulgate: "Of thy holy temple, Thou shalt shew us wonderful things in thy righteousness."

Used in this way, the inscriptions gave meaning to the spaces in ways that no pictorial illustration could achieve. They underlined and explained or gave direction to the generally vague

and repetitive themes of paradise displayed in the mosaics. The choice of the inscription, and its placement in the church, supported the purpose of the room and also responded to the liturgy. In other words, phrases were taken from the liturgy and written in the appropriate place in the church so that the participants in the service read their part of the service, as it were, in the location of the script.

It comes as no surprise that when the Muslims conquered the great centers of Damascus, Jerusalem, and Hama, they built their own religious centers patterned on older models and used local Byzantine craftsmen to decorate them. So the Dome of the Rock, in Jerusalem, and the Omayyad Mosque, in Damascus, were decorated like the Christian churches, with visions of the paradise that waited as a reward for the followers of Islam. This paradise was portrayed like a Christian paradise, with flowers, vines, fruity delights, water, and fruit-bearing trees. The only major difference between the decoration of Christian churches and the decoration of the first mosques lay in that, from the beginning, Islam was firmly iconoclastic and no figural representations were permitted within the religious precinct. In the early years of Islam, figures were commonplace outside the mosque, as, for example, in the Omayyad palaces. In the mosque itself, the only indication that this was a Muslim building, rather than a Christian or Jewish one, was the absence of specifically Christian or Jewish symbols like the menorah or the cross and the presence of words from the Koran. In place of figures, and to give specific meaning to the decoration, inscriptions from the Koran underlined the architectural parts and explained the decoration in much the same way as in contemporary Christian churches described above. Inscribed in the Dome of the Rock are the verses that proclaimed the new faith as the true path for all the peoples of the book living in the holy city:

The Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary,
was only the Messenger of God, and his *Word*
that He committed to Mary, and a spirit from
Him So believe in God and his Messengers,
and say not, "Three." Refrain; better is it for you.
God is only one God. Glory be
to Him—that He should have a son!
(Koran 4:170–172)

The use of the holy word to decorate the mosque was particularly appropriate for Islam because, unlike the Christian tradition, the text of the Koran was the only revelation. For Jews, God revealed himself to Moses in the form of the law; for Christians, God was revealed in the person of Christ; but for Muslims the revelation was the book, a tradition to which all the peoples of the book—Jews, Christians, and Muslims—belonged.

The patterns thus laid for the decoration in the first mosques established a precedent and a direction for the future of Islamic art. In time, over the following centuries and throughout the whole Islamic world, the word was no longer an explanation for a picture, nor just the description of a space, but achieved absolute predominance so that it became the focal point of direction in a building, or, in the case of a small object, it

explained the purpose and defined the form of that object. In the Mosque of Sultan Hassan in Cairo, Egypt (A.D. 1356–1362), for example, inscriptions are used boldly over most of the transitional elements of the architecture, in the arches, niches, doorways, and domes, as well as around the main halls. At the entrance to this mosque, over the doorway, is an invitation for all to enter for prayer, an indication of direction for prayer, a description of the obligations for a good Muslim, the purpose of the building and the use of inscriptions in it, and even an explanation for the inscriptions:

The likeness of His Light is as the lamp in a niche,
in temples God has allowed to be raised up,
and His Name to be commemorated therein;
therein glorifying Him, in the mornings and the evenings,
are men whom neither commerce nor trafficking
diverts from the remembrance of God
and to perform the prayer, and to pay the alms.
(Koran 34:36–37)

Other inscriptions in this mosque are chosen with great care for their meaning and placement in the building, so that the architectural structure becomes a support for the word. When believers enter, they are reminded of their obligations and rewards and warned of the punishments in the world to come. Centuries earlier, early Christians decorated their churches with Holy Scripture in a similar but more primitive fashion. In both cases, the architecture becomes the house into which believers enter to receive the explanation and their instructions along the path for the next world.

An essential tenet of Islam is the unity of God, so that the distinction between secular and sacred is never precise and the difference in decoration between secular and sacred buildings is not distinguished except by content. Recently, for example, the emir of Kuwait decorated his private sailing ship with an emblem containing words from the Koran: “And He subjected to you the ships to run upon the sea at His commandment . . .” (Koran 14:32). Against the background of the greatest earth-filled dam in the world, completed in 1970, curbing the mighty Indus River at Tarbela, Pakistan, white stone dramatically spells the words: “And He subjected to you the rivers” (Koran 14:32). Used in this way, the words recall the verses from the Bible in the Holy Sepulchre (the transition from Christian to Muslim inscriptions is examined in more detail in Light I: The Lamp in the Niche). At some periods of Islam, rich floral or patterned decoration underlined the inscriptions, and at other times, when puritan impulses dominated the community, the inscriptions were relatively few and unadorned.

Many centuries have passed since Greek inscriptions were used in the baths at Anemurium to describe the function of space and to direct or involve the inhabitant in that space. Over the following centuries, in areas dominated by iconoclastic thinking, pictorial representations gradually gave way to biblical phrases in the church that spelled out a specifically Christian view of the universe. When, in Islam, the inscriptions acquired the full implications of divine order and the word of god underlined every curve of the decoration, then, indeed, the word became image.

See also Judaism; Light I: The Lamp in the Niche; Offering; Order/Chaos; Sanctuary

Selected Works of Art

Classical

The Marriage of Aphrodite and Ares in the Domain of Hephaestus, pavement, third century A.D., Chahba-Philippopolis, Syria

Inscriptions, third century A.D., Anemurium, Asia Minor

Inscription, fourth century B.C., Apamea, Mesopotamia, Triclinos

EUXRW, inscription, fourth century A.D., Apamea, Mesopotamia, Cathedral

Christian

The Peaceable Kingdom, mosaic, fifth century A.D., Anemurium, Asia Minor

Inscription, fifth or early sixth century A.D., Mount of Olives, Jerusalem, Church

Inscription from a Cistern, fifth or sixth century A.D., Jerusalem, Holy Sepulchre

Inscription, mosaic, sixth century A.D., Jerash, Jordan, Diaconia

Muslim

Inscriptions, seventh century A.D., Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock

Inscription, eighth century A.D., Damascus, Syria, Omayyad Mosque

Inscriptions, fourteenth century, Cairo, Egypt, Mosque of Sultan Hassan

Emblem, twentieth century, sailing vessel belonging to the Emir of Kuwait

Inscription, 1970, Tarbela Dam, Pakistan

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LOVE AND DEATH

Liana De Girolami Cheney

The following iconographic narratives are covered in the discussion of the theme Love and Death:

ADMETUS AND ALCESTIS

ORPHEUS AND EURYDICE

PYRAMUS AND THISBE

DIDO AND AENEAS

PROCRIS AND CEPHALUS

VENUS AND ADONIS

DIANA AND ENDYMION

BACCHUS AND ARIADNE

MARS AND RHEA SILVIA

CUPID AND PSYCHE

STRUGGLE OF OPPOSITES



George Frederic Watts, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, circa 1869–1872, oil on canvas, bequest of Grenville L. Winthrop, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum. (Courtesy of the Harvard University Art Museums, Cambridge, Massachusetts)

A great love goes beyond the shores of death.
(Propertius, *Cynthia monobiblos*, 7:11)

During the Renaissance, Neoplatonic philosophers such as Marsilio Ficino and Pico della Mirandola expressed concepts of love by means of classical myths. For Pico della Mirandola in particular, myths were a storehouse of secret wisdom veiled in allegory that, if deciphered, would reveal the meaning of the universe. In paintings such as Titian's *Venus and Adonis* (1540) at the Prado in Madrid, Spain, and Piero di Cosimo's *Procris and Cephalus* (1510) at the National Gallery in London, myths served a very similar function.

Several important aspects of love and death representations are discussed below: the relevant Greek myths, the ancient visual sources (Roman sarcophagi) employed by Renaissance artists, the links between Renaissance paintings and Roman sarcophagi, and the philosophical issues involved with this theme. A few comments will also be made on later paintings using these same classical sources.

The theme of Eros-Thanatos, or love and death, was a significant one in antiquity (Flaceliere, p. 54; de Rougemont, p. 94–108; Hyde, p. 13–86; Wolters, p. 189–99). For the classical lyric poets, Eros was the personification of physical desire. Although cruel and unpredictable, he embodied qualities such as beauty and youth that inspired love. By contrast, Thanatos was the personification of eternal sleep or death (Flaceliere, p. 54; de Rougemont, pp. 94–108; Hyde, pp. 13–86; Wolters, pp. 189–199). Four Greek myths told of the mysterious relation between love and death: Admetus and Alcestis, Protesilaus and Laodamia, Orpheus and Eurydice, and Pyramus and Thisbe. These myths all illustrate an ideal concept of love, the concept of love as stronger than death. These myths are also all love stories that emphasize the sacrificial aspect of love. In each the lover attempts to rescue a beloved, but with a tragic outcome. With the exception of Orpheus and Eurydice and Pyramus and Thisbe, visual representations of these sorts of love-death themes in Italian Renaissance art are rare.

A brief review of these Greek myths will be helpful in this discussion of love and death. The ancient love story of Admetus and Alcestis (Alceste) was recounted in Euripides' play *Alceste* (438 B.C.). Alcestis was a beautiful woman, daughter of Pelias and wife of Admetus, king of Pherae in Thessaly. According to Robert Graves in *The Greek Myths* (1960), it is not clear why Admetus omitted the customary sacrifice to Artemis, goddess of the moon and twin sister of Apollo, before marrying Alcestis, but the goddess was quick to punish him. Upon entering the bridal chamber, Admetus found snakes in the bed instead of his beloved Alcestis. After imploring Apollo to help him, Admetus was permitted to offer the neglected sacrifice, and Artemis promised that, when the day of Admetus's death

came, he would be spared on condition that a member of his family died voluntarily for love of him. This fatal day came sooner than the pair expected, and for love of Admetus, Alcestis took poison and went to Hades.

A second important love story from antiquity is based on Protesilaus, a Thessalian prince. According to Homer, Protesilaus was the first Greek to be killed upon landing at Troy, and his death left his wife Laodamia mourning and their house unfinished. The Latin poets Catullus and Virgil later romanticized the tale by placing Laodamia among unhappy lovers in the underworld. In Ovid's *The Heroides* (circa 20 B.C.), Laodamia is granted a prayer after Protesilaus dies that allows the shade of her husband be restored to her for three hours. After her brief respite from mourning is over, however, she kills herself rather than be parted from Protesilaus again.

Popular in ancient times, the drama of Orpheus and Eurydice regained favor during the Renaissance and has remained popular. Orpheus was a Thracian poet whose wife, Eurydice, was bitten in the ankle by a viper on their wedding day and died. Inconsolable, Orpheus sought his bride in the underworld, where the beauty of his song and lyre playing so moved Pluto and Persephone, the king and queen of Hades, that they granted him the right to lead Eurydice back to Earth with him. But they set one condition: he must not look back at her until the pair had reached the surface of the Earth, or else his bride would again be taken from him. As the pair neared the end of their ascent from the underworld, Ovid wrote in the *Metamorphoses* (early first century A.D.):

And, fearing lest she faint, longing to look,
He turned his eyes—and straight she slipped away.
He stretched his arms to hold her—to be held—
And clasped, poor soul, naught but the yielding air.
And she, dying again, made no complaint
(For what complaint had she save she was loved?)
And breathed a faint farewell, and turned again
Back to the land of spirits whence she came.
(*Metamorphoses*, X, 56–63)

Marcantonio Raimondi, the Bolognese engraver of the Italian Renaissance whose prints disseminated a knowledge of Raphael's and Giulio Romano's works across Europe, illustrated the love story of Orpheus and Eurydice in an inventively composed engraving of 1509 (Shoemaker, pp. 86–87). The lovers stand next to the mouth of the underworld while Orpheus concentrates upon his music. He has not yet broken his promise to Pluto and Persephone, and Eurydice looks away pensively, perhaps with some premonition that she will die a second time.

The popularity of this theme extended to the decoration of Italian majolica plates. *Orpheus and Eurydice* (1530) at the

Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, a plate originating from Castel Deruta, shows Raimondi's composition in reverse. On the rim of the plate, a symmetrical composition of grotesqueries incorporates sphinxes, cherubs, dolphins, scrolled stems, flowers, and putti riding on monsters.

The love story of Pyramus and Thisbe was almost unknown in classical literature except through Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (IV, 55ff). The two lovers, next-door neighbors in Babylon, were forbidden by their parents to marry but still frequently spoke to one another in secret through a crack in the wall. Eventually they arranged to meet at the tomb of Nisus outside the city walls, under a white mulberry tree. Thisbe arrived first but was frightened by a lion returning from its kill. As she quickly fled into a cave, Thisbe dropped her cloak, which the lion mauled. Upon his arrival, Pyramus found the tattered and blood-stained cloak marked with the animal's prints, concluded that his beloved was dead, and stabbed himself with his own sword. Thisbe emerged from the cave, became distraught at the sight of the dying Pyramus, and likewise fell upon his sword. Their blood then merged and flowed to the roots of the mulberry tree, which thereafter bore dark red fruit.

Pyramus and Thisbe (1505), presently at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, is Raimondi's first dated engraving. The engraving tenderly depicts the tragic moment when Thisbe discovers the suicide of her beloved Pyramus and prepares to take her own life. Baldassare Manara of Faenza illustrates the same theme in a broth bowl (1532–1535), presently at the Petit Musée in Paris. The cover to the bowl features a rocky landscape of a sarcophagus, a tree, a town, and mountains in the distance. Pyramus, dead on the ground, lies with blood streaming from his side. Thisbe, her left arm raised, stands over him, about to fall upon his sword. Around the double-profiled yellow rim, interspaces are filled with foliage and an inscription in blue: "*Quel che volsse expugnare il Paradiso; Quel che cacho amazzo de furia acesse; Quel che qual salamandra la via presse in megio al focho col figlio et anchiso*" (Rasmussen, pp. 45–47).

There are two types of ancient love stories that emphasize the gods' involvement in the passions of love and death, both commonly represented in Italian Renaissance art. The first concerns the interference of the gods or goddesses in the love between mortals, as in the legends of Dido and Aeneas and Procris and Cephalus. The second concerns the love of a god or goddess for a mortal, as in the tales of Diana, the goddess of the hunt, and Endymion, the handsome shepherd; Venus, the goddess of love, and Adonis; Mars, the god of war, and Rhea Silvia, the vestal virgin; and Bacchus, the god of wine, and Ariadne, King Minos's daughter.

Myths of love and death involving gods or goddesses interfering with mortal lovers occur in the writings of Virgil and Hesiod. Virgil tells of Venus and Juno, wife of the king of the gods, collaborating to bring about the turbulent love affair between Dido, the queen of Carthage, in North Africa, and Aeneas, the Trojan exile (*Aeneid*, IV). Juno wanted to divert the Trojans from Italy, while Venus wanted Dido to treat Aeneas and the Trojans with kindness. According to the goddesses' plan, Aeneas and Dido hunted together early one dawn, when loud thunder was heard and a downpour began. In search of shelter, the pair took refuge in a cave. From that moment on

Aeneas forgot his destiny and devoted himself to Dido and her political aims in Carthage, until an angered Jupiter sent Mercury, his messenger, to prod Aeneas for his self-indulgent passion. Reminded of his destiny, Aeneas quickly departed from Africa. Dido, devastated by his departure, had a high funeral pyre built in the courtyard of her palace, on which she put the bed they had shared and the clothes and sword that Aeneas had left behind, claiming she wanted to burn all reminders of him. But when the pyre was set ablaze, Dido "raging and pale with her approaching death climbed the high funeral pyre." There she drew Aeneas's dagger and threw herself upon it. As Aeneas sailed away, "he looked back to see the walls of the city resplendent with ill-fated Dido's flames."

This myth was engraved by Raimondi in *Dido* (1510). The print portrays Dido on the funeral pyre in the midst of her suicidal act. Raimondi placed the fire to the right of Dido who is plunging a dagger into her breast. A Greek quotation from Xanto, "A famous death lives on," elucidates the moral of the suicide. There is an Italian majolica *coppa* by Castel Durante (1520), now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, that is an adaptation of Raimondi's engraving and the quotation. In this case the Greek inscription reads: "The beautiful Dido receives Aeneas at Carthage." Durante (also known as Deruta) enriches the architecture in his rendition, sets the scene in the open air, and adds the figure of Ascanius, Aeneas's son.

The story of Procris and Cephalus is told as early as the writings of Hesiod but in much greater detail by Ovid. Cephalus, an Attic hero and the husband of Procris, was one of the lovers of Aurora, goddess of the dawn. Although Aurora released him as a lover, she rendered his wife extremely jealous of the time he spent hunting. Procris eventually followed her husband to the woods, where she heard him pray for a breeze, and imagined that he was addressing his mistress (Aurora, the personification of the breeze). As Procris drew closer, Cephalus mistook the rustling underbrush for an animal concealed in the forest and hurled his javelin, which never missed owing to its divine power. Procris was slain.

It is difficult to find a Roman sarcophagus of this narrative, but in Italian Renaissance paintings it is well represented. Piero di Cosimo illustrates the tragic death of Procris in the *Mythological Scene* (1510), at the National Gallery of London. The artist selected the passage from Ovid when Procris is pierced though the breast by her husband's javelin. In the painting, the mortally wounded woman is mourned not only by her husband, but also by his hunting dog. By contrast, Paolo Veronese, in his *Procris and Cephalus* (1540s), at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Strasbourg, France, depicts the moment just before Procris dies, the despairing Cephalus consoling her in her suffering. Both Piero di Cosimo and Veronese successfully fuse the two concepts of love and agony into one tragedy.

In her book *The Greek Spirit in Renaissance Art* (1953), art historian Lucie Simpson explains that Italian Renaissance artists employed Greek myths primarily to express their new ideas about art. The extent to which Renaissance artists understood the subjects of mythological sarcophagus reliefs is not known. Art historians Phyllis Bober and Ruth Rubenstein, in *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture* (1986), theorize that it may well have been Manuel Chrysoloras, a learned and greatly admired Byzantine scholar who taught classical Greek

in Florence, Italy, who opened the eyes of Renaissance humanists and artists to the interest and beauty of ancient reliefs.

When artists of the mid-quattrocento illustrated the Greek myths, they looked to classical literature as a source, yet did not seem to relate the themes they saw on the sarcophagi to those they knew from Homer or Ovid. Leone Battista Alberti, humanist and writer of treatises on painting, sculpture, and architecture, advised his contemporaries in 1435 to study the *istorie* (sarcophagus reliefs) in order to learn how to express the movements of the mind by the movements of the body. Alberti specifically drew attention to a Meleager sarcophagus, famous in Rome, for its weighty portrayal of the dead body of Meleager, a portrayal that is similar in composition to representations of the bodies of Endymion and Adonis.

If the mythological scenes on Roman sarcophagi were not studied by early Renaissance masters in terms of their original subject matter, their drawings still suggest that the reliefs offered formal principles that were applied to new works of art and to motifs and emotive gestures that were used in a different context. Bober eloquently discusses artists' interest in the publication of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and other classical texts in the latter half of the quattrocento, and in the mythological handbooks that appeared around the middle of the sixteenth century by Andreas Alciati, Vincenzo Cartari, and Piero Valeriano. Increasingly, artists tended to draw entire reliefs from them rather than motifs. Some of the reliefs were drawn and engraved by artists in Raphael's circle in the early part of the sixteenth century, as already noted in the engravings of Raimondi. Other artists took pleasure in virtuoso drawing, mixing elements from a variety of reliefs, so that exact sources were consciously transformed into new adaptations, as was noted by mannerist artists in the circle of Giorgio Vasari.

Edgar Wind explains in *Pagan Mysteries of the Renaissance* (1980) that Renaissance humanists encountered pagan myths on Roman sarcophagi, and as "the myths appeared to them in a sepulchral setting, it was only natural to inquire into their secret meaning, and to read them not as simple tales but as allusions to the mysteries of death and afterlife, conceived in neoplatonic terms." According to Wind, to ensure correctness in copying these ancient images or in reconstructing the missing parts, the Renaissance artist needed the advice of an antiquarian whose mind was formed by the study of ancient authors. A literary atmosphere thus enveloped the draftsman who copied from the antique. Literary knowledge, which the artist required to guide the eyes, ended by dominating the mind, particularly as the literary records were much better preserved than the visual.

The unearthing of ancient ruins and recovery of monument fragments provided a visual dictionary for Renaissance artists. For the humanist or philosopher, however, the ancient monuments, as well as corresponding literary sources, gave insight into the meaning of the ancient myths. For example, in seeing the theme of love and death portrayed in Roman sarcophagi, the Renaissance artist might have been simply interested in copying the visual design. The humanists, in contrast, would have inquired into the meaning of love and the reasons for its persistent appearance in sarcophagi.

Ovid also narrated the tempestuous love of Venus and Adonis. Venus fell in love with Adonis when he had grown into

a handsome young man and became his constant companion. Because he was a hunter, she became a huntress, roaming the ridges and woods, pursuing harmless animals. Tiring of this tame type of hunting, Adonis went after wild boars and was eventually killed by one. Driving through the air in a chariot drawn by winged swans, Venus heard the groans of the dying Adonis. She leaped from her chariot to attend to her lover "and tore her bosom and her hair, striking her breasts with wretched hands, and bitterly complained to the Fates" (Ovid, X, 724–726). As an everlasting token of her grief, she transformed Adonis's blood into an anemone, a blood red flower that comes up for a brief period every spring.

The Roman sarcophagus *Venus and Adonis* (second century A.D.), now in the Palazzo Ducale at Mantua, Italy, was in Rome during the sixteenth century and in the collection of Andrea Bregno. After the mid-sixteenth century, the sarcophagus went to the Gonzaga Collection in Sabbionetta, and then in 1771 went to Mantua. The first scene on the left of the sarcophagus follows the formula for the departure for the hunt, but the artist turned it into the death of Adonis. Venus, now faceless, kisses Adonis, both seated before a curtain on the left. Adonis's companions stand behind him, two putti bind his thigh with drapery, and his dog sits at his feet. A pilaster separates this scene from the forest setting to the right. At the center and right of the sarcophagus, Venus is shown "flying through the long glades shrieking amain" (Ovid). She is guided by putti to the dying Adonis, who is mortally wounded by the boar, which the hunters and dogs are attacking.

Another Roman sarcophagus relief of the late second century A.D. (once in the Villa Giulia in Rome, and then moved to the Palazzo Rospigliosi, also in Rome, in the seventeenth century) portrays Venus seated with Adonis in the relief's right section. In the center the boar battles Adonis and his hunting dogs. Adonis's death is mourned by Venus, who supports his head while Cupid, the god of love, applies a sponge to his wound. Adonis has expired, appearing almost as if he is expiring his soul into the mouth of Venus, who bends over him to receive it.

Italian Renaissance artists, fascinated with the love story of Venus and Adonis, drew and painted it often. Amico Aspertini made drawings after the Roman sarcophagus, presently in the Wolfegg Codex, and Venetian painters such as Paolo Veronese and Titian selected segments from the Adonis sarcophagi for their paintings. Veronese's *Venus and Adonis* (1588), at the Prado, renders the moment of the lovers' bliss before the hunt. In a deep sleep, Adonis has been conquered by the love of Venus and the power of Bacchus's libations. Veronese's *The Dying Adonis* (1588), in the Stockholm Museum of Art in Sweden, portrays the dying body of Adonis. Compositionally, the pose is similar to that of other dying Adonises featured on Roman sarcophagi.

There are many versions of Titian's *Venus and Adonis* (1540); two are in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and one in the Prado. In Titian's representation of the tale, Venus tries to dissuade Adonis from engaging in the hunt, yet he appears very much ready to depart with his *jaculum venatorum* (hunter's lance). Titian's composition is based on another Roman sarcophagus, *Amor and Psyche* or *The Bed of Policleitus*. The story is based on *The Golden Ass* (circa A.D. 180) by Lucius Apuleius. The visual composition of his sar-

cophagus was so pleasing to Renaissance artists that in the sixteenth century a copy was made in marble (now located in the Palazzo Mattei in Rome). Raphael and Giulio Romano also employed this motif in their frescoed cycles of *Cupid and Psyche* (1524–1527) in the Palazzo del Te in Mantua.

According to Pausanias, Endymion was either a legendary king of Elis and founder of the festival at Olympia or a shepherd from Caria. In either case, he was a beautiful young man with whom the moon goddess Diana fell in love while he lay sleeping. Diana, the chaste goddess who did not like to be seen naked, made his sleep everlasting so that she could gaze on his beauty forever and kiss him as much as she liked without been observed.

The Roman sarcophagus of Endymion and Diana (A.D. 150) is now in the Palazzo Rospigliosi in Rome, but in the early fifteenth century it was located in the church of San Giovanni in Laterano in Rome. According to the art historian John Pope-Hennessy, there were Florentine drawings after this relief, and in 1530 Fabricius recorded it with the title *The Triumph of Venus*. A rocky country is rendered in this relief, a place where trees grow like exotic flowers. Somnus, the winged god of sleep, is supporting the sleeping Endymion, who lies with one knee bent and his arm crooked behind his head. A distant fountain nymph looks down on them from the ledge on which she lies. Endymion's dog has awakened as the moon goddess, Diana—her veil billowing and a crescent moon in her hair—has stepped down from her chariot guided by three putti to see the sleeping Endymion. Two other putti are left to manage the abandoned horses as best they can. A female figure dressed like Diana, but with wings, carries a torch and guides the horses. She is thought to be Aura, personification of the breeze. On the right, a sleeping shepherd sits on a ledge, his head resting on his hand supported by a raised knee. The relief is flanked by a pair of large *amoretti*, out of scale with the other figures, and not part of the narrative. In this love story, death is replaced by Somnus, or eternal sleep; passion controls love; and love surrenders to sleep.

Cima da Conegliano painted a tondo with the depiction of a *Sleepy Endymion* (1500), now at the National Gallery of Parma, Italy. In a pastoral landscape, Endymion has fallen asleep under the spell of Diana while surrounded by numerous animals. The Venetian artist paralleled the quarter-luna shape of Diana with the dormant position of her lover, Endymion. This composition is Cima da Conegliano's interpretation of the Ovidian theme, rather than a stylistic assimilation from a Roman sarcophagus.

Numerous Roman sarcophagi illustrate the mythic story of love between Bacchus and Ariadne. Of particular interest is the one entitled *Bacchic Revels*, or *Pannychis* (mid-second century), now in the Museo Nazionale in Naples, Italy. (At the end of the quattrocento, these sarcophagi were recorded as being located in the garden of San Marco in the Palazzo Venezia in Rome.) The scene here is of a Bacchic festival. To the left, a reclining figure, overcome by wine and an orgy, a pose usually associated with Ariadne, lies before the temple of Pan, the pastoral god. Other reclining compositions of a dozing Ariadne were based on Roman copies of a Hellenistic Pergamum original of 200 B.C., now in the Galleria delle Statue in the Vatican. Ariadne lies in uneasy slumber on a rocky support. The sculp-

tor has been able to capture both the pathos of her situation, exhausted and abandoned by Theseus on the island of Naxos, and the salvation that awaits her, awakening to the epiphany of Bacchus, who will take her as his bride. A snake bracelet is coiled about Ariadne's left upper arm, a detail that led to the Renaissance identification of her as the dying Cleopatra, an interpretation that persisted until the writings of Johann Joachim Winckelmann in the mid-eighteenth century. Representations of the sleeping Ariadne were pleasing to the Renaissance eye, even appearing on a print of fountain settings designed for a sculpture at the Vatican (sixteenth century). Raimondi's engraving *Ariadne* (circa 1510); Perino del Vaga's drawing *Triumph of Bacchus* (circa 1510), in the Cabinet des Dessins in Paris; and Giovanni Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* (1520) in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., all portray this image, and Titian also found inspiration in the Roman sarcophagi for his *Bacchanal* (1518) at the National Gallery of Art in London. Needless to say, numerous drawings were also executed after this beautiful Roman sarcophagus, such as Raphael's drawing of Calliope, the muse of eloquence and epic poetry, for the *Parnassus* (1510), in the Stanza della Segnatura of the Vatican. The drawing is now in the Albertina Museum in Vienna, Austria.

Another popular Roman love story for Italian Renaissance artists was the tale of Mars and Rhea Silvia. The daughter of King Numitor of Alba Longa, Rhea Silvia was forced to be a vestal virgin by the usurper of the throne, Numitor's brother Amulius, in order to prevent her from producing offspring who could contest the crown. According to Horace (*Odes* 1, 2), Amulius's plan was foiled when the war god, Mars, seduced Rhea Silvia while she slept. Their offspring were Romulus and Remus. Amulius had Rhea Silvia imprisoned and the twins exposed. They were suckled by a she-wolf then later found and reared by the royal shepherd, Faustulus. They grew up to restore Numitor to his throne and to found the city of Rome, of which Romulus was the first king. Although the story is primarily associated with the founding of Rome, the seduction of Rhea Silvia was depicted in terms of Greek mythology and is visually akin to the Endymion sarcophagus.

A Roman sarcophagus relief dated A.D. 190, in the Palazzo Mattei in Rome, was found in the fifteenth century in the Lateran Palace. The relief portrays Somnus, in the center, pouring a sleeping draught over the breast of the slumbering Rhea Silvia as Mars approaches from the left, stepping over the reclining river god, Oceanus, a sea dragon, and various putti. On the extreme left, Vulcan, Venus, and Lucifer are presiding over the seasons of autumn and summer. Gentile Bellini enjoyed studying this sarcophagus, and his drawing (circa 1490s) of the reclining figure of Rhea Silvia can be seen at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan, Italy.

These various sarcophagi all illustrate tales of a god's love for a mortal. To be loved by a god, it was said, was to die and partake of eternal bliss. Franciscus Patricius, a Renaissance humanist, explained in his book *Chaldean Oracles* (1591) that to die for the love of a god was the most highly approved and commended way of dying because "those yearning for God and desiring to be conjoined with him are carried away to heaven and freed from the body by a death which is the profoundest sleep." This type of death was called the "kiss of death" by the

symbolic theologians of the *mors osculi* (cabalists). Giovanni Pico della Mirandola claimed to have found a parallel for it among the ancient Chaldeans and Solomon, in *osculetur me osculo oris sui* (*Song of Songs*). Edgar Wind successfully demonstrates that this concept of death was treated by Cicero in *De finibus bonorum et malorum* (book V, xx, 55), as foreshadowed in the figure of Endymion, whom Diana kissed when he had fallen into the profound sleep *endymionis sommun mortis instar putemus* (the sleep of love).

Pico della Mirandola elaborated on the kiss of death (*morte del bacio*) in the *Commento*:

Through the first death, which is only a detachment of the soul from the body, the lover may see the beloved celestial Venus and by reflecting on her divine image, nourish his purified eyes with joy; but if he would possess her more closely he must die the second death by which he is completely severed from the body. However the most perfect and intimate union the lover can have with the celestial beloved is called the union of the kiss. (book III, vii)

Della Mirandola said the story of Alcestis was one of achieving a spiritual perfection. Alcestis achieved the perfection of love because she longed to go to her beloved through death. In dying through love, she was by the grace of the gods revived.

In a discussion of the predicament of Orpheus and Eurydice in *The Symposium* (fourth century B.C.) Plato views Orpheus as unable to attain complete unity with the beloved Eurydice because he sought her alive with his music in Hades. For this reason, Plato states, Orpheus could only reach the shadow of Eurydice.

Using platonic love as a key to a philosophy of death, it is possible to unlock the secrets of some of the funerary images on some Roman sarcophagi. Wind argues that the Renaissance humanists viewed Thanatos and the funerary Eros as one, and that the image of love was the Platonic communion of death with a god. The Renaissance identified Eros with death itself, in its painful, no less than its joyous aspect, as exemplified in the Roman sarcophagi that represent the agonies inflicted on Psyche, the fair maiden, by Cupid (Eros) as a prelude to their ultimate embrace. Examples of this theme are the Hellenistic sculpture of *Eros and Psyche* (second century A.D.) at the Capitoline Museum in Rome, and the fresco cycle of Psyche painted by Giulio Romano (1524–1527) at the Palazzo del Te in Mantua.

Renaissance philosopher Marsilio Ficino, in *De amore*, introduced the Platonic-Orphic term *dulce-amarum* and defined it as “love which is called by Plato bitter (*res amara*) and not unjustly because death is inseparable from love” (book II, viii). Orpheus’s love for Eurydice is also referred to as *dulce-amarum* because the cause of their bitter death was sweet love. Edgar Wind notes that the term *dulce-amarum* (bittersweet) originated with the Greek love poet Sappho (early sixth century B.C.), and during the Renaissance, Politian, unlike Ficino, was aware of its meaning.

Renaissance artists, enamored with classical mythology and Neoplatonic philosophy, illustrated these two types of love-death themes and expanded on the *psychomachia* (the struggle between two opposites): bitter and sweet, agony and love, res-

cue and sacrifice. Later on, the *psychomachian* dilemma shifted from the individual human aspect of love and death to a grander struggle of opposite types. An example of this would be the battle between virtues and vices, as portrayed in Andrea Riccio’s relief *Humanism over Death or Wisdom over Ignorance* (circa 1500) at the Louvre in Paris. This relief illustrates the idea that opposing forces can create unity, and that harmony reconciles discord—therefore, love or knowledge conquers even after death.

Jane Davidson Reid, in her book *The Oxford Guide to Classical Mythology in the Arts, 1300–1990s* (1993), notes that the classical themes of love and death have continued to be painted and sculpted into the twentieth century. Often, however, the focus changed. At the end of the eighteenth century, François-Pascal Gérard, in his *Cupid and Psyche* (1798) in the Louvre, looks back not to Roman sarcophagi but to a statue by Antonio Canova, completed only a few years before his own painting. Gérard, however, has turned the ideal forms of Canova’s statue into an erotic, even homoerotic, vision of prettified adolescence. Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson, in his *Sleep of Endymion* (1792), brings a sensational brilliance to the eroticism of the nude figure that defies any notion of classicism.

In the nineteenth century, less attention was paid to the poses that could be derived from classical sources and more to the emotional dynamics of the narratives. George Frederic Watts, for example, in his *Orpheus and Eurydice* (circa 1869–1872), in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, focuses on the heads of the protagonists. Orpheus, unable to restrain himself, turns to embrace Eurydice while she already begins to collapse and fade away. The intensity and concern of Orpheus contrasts with Eurydice, her neck no longer able to hold her head upright, her eyes glazing over. A full-length version (1881), in the Watts Gallery in Compton, England, shows her body, limp and white, and a lily falling from her lifeless hand.

In the twentieth century, artists continued to use the classical narrative, but modernist concerns with form have diminished such attention to narrative content. Pablo Picasso, for example, in his etching *Cephalus and Procris, His Wife, Whom He Has Killed by Accident* (1930) evokes the classical but does so through the style of the clean, clear outline of his figures. Cephalus, holding his bow, leans over Procris; her eyes are still open, but neither shows any emotion. The substance of the figures and the passion of their story have been diffused in the energy of the simple linear pattern.

See also Abandonment; Death; Ecstasy; Kiss/Kissing; Sleep/Sleeping; Widowhood

Selected Works of Art

Admetus and Alcestis

Giordano, Luca, *Hercules Entering the Underworld in Search of Alcestis; Hercules Restoring Alcestis to Her Husband Admetus*, originally frescoes for Buen Retiro, Madrid, Spain, circa 1697, subsequently engraved by Giuseppe Castillo and Juan Barcelona, 1779

Coypel, Noël, *Hercules Leading Alcestis from the Underworld to Admetus*, before 1707, Grenoble, France, Musée
 Masreliez, Louis Adrien, *The Death of Alcestis*, 1784,
 Stockholm, Sweden, Nationalmuseum
 Peyron, Pierre, *The Death of Alcestis (The Heroism of
 Conjugal Love)*, 1785, Louvre, Paris
 Delacroix, Eugène, *Hercules Bringing Alcestis Back from the
 Underworld*, 1862, Washington, D.C., Phillips Gallery
 Leighton, Frederic, first Baron, *Hercules Wrestling with
 Death for the Body of Alcestis*, 1869–1871, Hartford,
 Connecticut, Wadsworth Atheneum
 Rodin, Auguste, *The Death of Alcestis*, marble sculpture,
 1899, Madrid, Spain, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection
 Allar, André Joseph, *The Death of Alcestis*, marble sculpture,
 before 1926, Liseux, France, Musées Nationaux

Orpheus and Eurydice

Mantegna, Andrea, *Orpheus in the Underworld*, 1468–1474,
 Mantua, Italy, Palazzo Ducale, Camera Picta
 Raimondi, Marcantonio, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, engraving,
 1509
 Deruta, Castel, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, majolica plate, 1530,
 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Orpheus Leads Eurydice from Hades*,
 painting for Torre de la Prada, before 1640, Madrid,
 Spain, Prado
 Padovanino, *Orpheus Leading Eurydice from the
 Underworld*, before 1648, Venice, Italy, Accademia
 Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista, *Orpheus Leading Eurydice Past
 Cerberus*, ceiling fresco, circa 1725, Venice, Italy, Palazzo
 Sandi
 Restout, Jean, *Orpheus Leading Eurydice from the
 Underworld*, 1763, Rennes, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Lacour, Pierre, *Orpheus Losing Eurydice*, 1802, Bordeaux,
 France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Zix, Benjamin, *Orpheus Losing Eurydice for the Second
 Time*, drawing, 1804, Strasbourg, France, Cabinet des
 Estampes et des Dessins
 Scheffer, Ary, *The Death of Eurydice*, 1814, Blois, France,
 Château de Blois, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Leighton, Frederic, *Eurydice Embracing Orpheus*, circa 1864,
 London, Leighton House
 Watts, George Frederic, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, circa
 1869–1872, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard
 University, Fogg Art Museum
 Dagnan-Bouveret, Pascal-Adolphe, *The Grief of Orpheus*,
 1876, Mulhouse, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Watts, George Frederic, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, 1881,
 Compton, England, Watts Gallery
 Séon, Alexandre, *The Lamentation of Orpheus*, 1896, Paris,
 Musée d'Orsay
 Cox, Jan, *The Second Loss of Eurydice*, before 1980, Boston,
 Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Pyramus and Thisbe

Filarete, Antonio, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, relief on bronze door,
 1433–1445, Vatican, Saint Peter
 Apollonio di Giovanni di Tomaso, *Pyramus and Thisbe*,
 before 1465, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Apollonio di Giovanni di Tomaso, and Marco del Buono
 Biamberti, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, before 1465, New York,
 Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Raimondi, Marcantonio, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, engraving,
 1505, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Altdorfer, Albrecht, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, engraving, 1513
 Cranach, Lucas, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, 1520–1525, Bamberg,
 Germany, Staatsgalerie
 Manara, Baldassare (of Faenza), *Pyramus and Thisbe*, broth
 bowl, 1532–1535, Paris, Petit Musée
 Grien, Hans Baldung, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, 1530–1531,
 Berlin, Germany, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
 Tintoretto, Jacopo, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, circa 1541,
 Modena, Italy, Galleria Estense
 Goltzius, Hendrik, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, engraving, 1580
 Breenbergh, Bartholomeus, *Landscape with Pyramus and
 Thisbe*, 1645, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage
 Giordano, Luca, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, 1692–1702, El
 Escorial, Spain, Casita del Principe
 Burne-Jones, Edward Coley, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, triptych,
 1872–1876, Birkenhead, Merseyside, Williamston Art
 Gallery and Museum

Dido and Aeneas

Mantegna, Andrea, *Dido*, before 1506, Montreal, Quebec,
 Museum of Fine Arts
 Raimondi, Marcantonio, *Dido*, engraving, 1510, after a
 design by Raphael
 Durante, Castel, *Dido*, majolica *coppa*, 1520, New York,
 Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Maulbertsch, Franz Anton, *The Death of Dido*, circa
 1785–1786, Vienna, Austria, Österreichische Galerie
 Stallaert, Joseph, *Death of Dido*, 1872, Brussels, Belgium,
 Musées des Beaux-Arts

Procris and Cephalus

Piero di Cosimo, *Mythological Scene*, painting, 1510,
 London, National Gallery
 Luini, Bernardino, *Story of Procris and Cephalus*, nine
 frescoes transferred to canvas, 1522–1523, Washington,
 D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Giulio Romano, *Death of Procris*, drawing for engraving,
 circa 1530, Frankfurt, Germany, Städelisches
 Kunstinstitut
 Giulio Romano, *Death of Procris*, engraving, executed by
 Giorgio Ghisi, circa 1530
 Veronese, Paolo, *Procris and Cephalus*, 1540s, Strasbourg,
 France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Wtewael, Joachim, *Death of Procris*, circa 1595–1600, St.
 Louis, Missouri, City Art Museum
 Elsheimer, Adam, *Death of Procris*, before 1610, England,
 Corsham Court
 Gelton, Toussaint, *The Dying Procris*, before 1680,
 Copenhagen, Denmark, Statens Museum for Kunst
 West, Benjamin, *The Death of Procris*, 1770, Chicago, Art
 Institute
 MacDowell, Patrick, *Cephalus and Procris*, marble sculpture
 group, 1834, Markree Castle, County Sligo, Ireland,
 Cooper Collection

Escoula, Jean, *Death of Procris*, marble sculpture group, before 1911, Rambouillet, France, Musée
 Picasso, Pablo, *Cephalus and Procris, His Wife, Whom He Has Killed by Accident*, etching, 1930

Venus and Adonis

Venus and Adonis, sarcophagus relief, Roman, late second century, Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi
Venus and Adonis, sarcophagus relief, Roman, Rome, Vatican, Museo Gregorio
Venus and Adonis, sarcophagus relief, Roman, second century, Mantua, Italy, Palazzo Ducale
Venus and Adonis, wall painting, Roman, Pompeii, Italy, Casa d'Adonide Ferito
 Sebastiano del Piombo, *Venus and Adonis*, 1511–1512, Florence, Italy, Uffizi
 Rosso Fiorentino, *Death of Adonis*, fresco, 1535–1540, Château de Fontainebleau, France, Galerie François I
 Titian, *Venus and Adonis*, 1540, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Veronese, Paolo, *Venus and Adonis*, 1588, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Veronese, Paolo, *The Dying Adonis*, 1588, Stockholm, Sweden, Stockholm Museum of Art
 Barry, James, *The Death of Adonis*, circa 1775, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland
 Rodin, Auguste, *The Death of Adonis*, marble sculpture, 1891, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery
 Staley, Earl, *Venus and Adonis*, painting cycle, 1982, New York, Downe Collection

Diana and Endymion

Endymion and Diana, sarcophagus relief, Roman, A.D. 150, Rome, Palazzo Rospigliosi
Endymion and Diana, sarcophagus relief, Roman, Rome, Capitoline Museum
Endymion and Diana, sarcophagus relief, Roman, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Endymion, sarcophagus relief, Roman, Rome, Palazzo Braschi
Endymion, sarcophagus relief, Roman, London, British Museum
 Cima da Conegliano, *Sleeping Endymion*, 1500, Parma, Italy, National Gallery of Parma
 Guercino, *Endymion Sleeping*, 1640–1650, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 West, Benjamin, *Diana and Endymion*, 1766, private collection
 Canova, Antonio, *Sleeping Endymion*, marble sculpture, 1819–1822, Chatsworth, Derbyshire, Duke of Devonshire Collection

Bacchus and Ariadne

Bacchus and Ariadne, sarcophagus relief, Roman, mid-second century, Naples, Italy, Museo Nazionale
Ariadne, sarcophagus relief, Roman, second century, Vatican, Galleria delle Statue
Ariadne, sarcophagus relief, Roman, Copenhagen, Denmark, Ny Carlsberg
 Raimondi, Marcantonio, *Ariadne*, engraving, circa 1510

Perino del Vaga, *Triumph of Bacchus*, drawing, circa 1510, Paris, Cabinet des Dessins
 Bellini, Giovanni, *Feast of the Gods*, 1520, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Titian, *Bacchanal*, 1518, London, National Gallery
 Raphael, *Calliope*, drawing, 1510, Vienna, Austria, Albertina Museum

Mars and Rhea Silvia

Rhea Silvia and Mars, sarcophagus relief, Roman, A.D. 190, Rome, Palazzo Mattei
Rhea Silvia and Mars, sarcophagus relief, Roman, Vatican, Lateran Museum
 Bellini, Gentile, *Rhea Silvia*, drawing, circa 1490s, Milan, Italy, Biblioteca Ambrosiana

Cupid and Psyche

Eros and Psyche, sculpture, Hellenistic, second century B.C., Rome, Capitoline Museum
Amor and Psyche or *The Bed of Policleitus*, sarcophagus relief, Roman, second century A.D., Vatican, Vatican Museums
 Giulio Romano, *Cupid and Psyche*, 1524–1527, Mantua, Italy, Palazzo del Te
 Canova, Antonio, *Cupid and Psyche*, marble sculpture, 1787–1793, Paris, Louvre
 Gérard, François-Pascal, *Cupid and Psyche*, 1798, Paris, Louvre

Struggle of Opposites

Riccio, Andrea, *Humanism over Death* or *Wisdom over Ignorance*, relief, circa 1500, Paris, Louvre

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LUXURY

Eugene Dwyer

The following periods and iconographic topoi are covered in the discussion of the theme Luxury:

ANCIENT

ASIAN

RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY

FOOD

ANIMALS AND PLANTS

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

DWELLING HOUSES (CITY
AND COUNTRY)

FURNITURE AND UTENSILS

FUNERALS AND TOMBS

SLAVES AND SERVANTS



Ephebe lychnophoras, first century A.D., gilt bronze statue from Pompeii, Naples, Italy, Archaeological Museum. (Courtesy of Deutscher Archäologisches Institut, Rome)

The concept of luxury (Latin, *luxus*; French, *luxe*) signifies a mode of living that is characterized by material abundance and excess. It stands in opposition to the concept of life according to necessity. In a positive sense, luxury may represent the decorum of kingship or divinity and the reward of the blessed (i.e., in the eschatological sense). In a more common, negative sense, luxury is a kind of excess, or excessive emulation, that must be condemned, particularly in egalitarian societies or in societies rigidly divided by class. John Sekora has described luxury as a Foucaultian discourse, that is, an ideological system designed to regulate behavior. Although usually established in religious and philosophical realms, luxury has often been enforced in the political sphere by means of sumptuary laws. Soft furniture (especially beds), mirrors, polished marble, aromatic wooden ceilings, warm baths, food that is abundant and varied, and all such things that give pleasure rather than pain may in various contexts be considered as luxuries (i.e., *apparatus luxuriae*). Thus, luxury is bound to a sense of pleasure, while necessity is bound to that of pain or the lack of pleasure.

Typical of the luxury said to be enjoyed by the gods of ancient Greece and Rome was the palace given to Psyche by her lover, Cupid, in Apuleius's *Metamorphosis*:

The lofty ceilings, delicately fretted out of citronwood and ivory, were upheld by pillars of gold. The walls were completely crusted with silver modelling, while shapes of wild beasts and of other animals flanked the entrance. . . . The pavement itself was a mosaic of gems splintered and fitted together so as to weld their colors and to represent various objects. O madly happy, more than happy, must be that man who can trample on jewels and carcanets! (vol. 1, translated by Jack Lindsay)

It is not difficult to see how developing a taste for such things might lead to disaster. The writers of the Hebrew Bible saw luxury as the human usurpation of divine privilege and a disobedience to God. Given the tension that existed between priestly authors and the kings of Israel, the latter were often portrayed in scripture as slaves of sexual and material luxury. Enemies of the Hebrews were also commonly represented as luxurious, their cities (e.g., Babylon, Nineveh) as inherently corrupt.

From the time of Hesiod (*Works and Days*), the Greeks represented poverty as a virtue and wealth as a source of enervation and trouble. The good was attainable only with difficulty; the bad was *too* easily obtainable. Barbarians, the Persians in particular, were portrayed by the Greeks as both wealthy and enervated. Their wealth inclined them to hubris by encouraging them to transgress natural limits, excessive wealth itself being a transgression of natural limit. The character Xerxes in Aeschylus's *Persae* brings on his own ruin and the ruin of his

army by bridging the Hellespont and canalizing the land of Greece. Inadvertently, and ironically, the ancient Greeks' own tales of oriental wealth (i.e., of Midas, Sardanapalus, Gyges, Cyrus, *et al.*) eventually induced them to conquer the East. Working from sources of the T'ang dynasty, Edward H. Schafer has documented a corresponding Chinese taste for exotica contemporary with the ancient Greeks, particularly in the form of imported goods, as well as in the familiar pattern of governmental control through sumptuary laws.

The Romans continued the Greek use of barbarian exemplars (e.g., Mithradates, Cleopatra) and added some from their own culture. The name of Lucullus (i.e., L. Licinius Lucullus) became synonymous with luxury itself. The conqueror of Mithradates, Lucullus was renowned for affronting the sea with extensions of his villas—for which he was called “Xerxes in a toga” (Velleius Paterculus, *History*, 2.33.4). He eventually became the namesake of a particularly beautiful marble imported from an island in the Nile (Pliny, *Natural History*, 36.2.2; 6.8). He was credited with bringing the cherry (Latin, *cerasus*) to Italy from Cerasus in Asia Minor (Varro, *Rerum rusticarum*, 1.39.2; Pliny, *Natural History*, 15.25.30). Cato the Elder, on the other hand, became synonymous with the condemnation of luxury. (He condemned, among other things, the use of warm water for baths.) Yet, even as the Romans were quick to condemn the luxury of private individuals, they were quite willing to accept it in a civic context. “The Roman people hate private luxury, but delight in public magnificence” (Cicero, *pro L. Murena*, 76). Where charges of luxury under the Republic (e.g., Cicero against Verres) usually portended political or partisan conflicts, such charges under the Empire revealed broader class conflicts. Critics contemporary with the Empire, such as Petronius, condemned the vulgar tastes of former slaves who appeared to him to have indulged in luxuries as signs of newly acquired fortunes (e.g., the character Trimalchio in Petronius's *Satyricon*). Like Petronius, the moralist Juvenal condemned the ostentation of wealthy individuals and foreigners whom he deemed inferior to him by birth.

Even to the historian Sallust, writing under the late Republic, luxury was a material cause of the decline of Rome following the destruction of Carthage (*Historiae*, 1.16). Under the Republic, luxury might be taken as a sign of ambition to a throne. With the achievement of monarchy, Augustus was careful to live amid modest circumstances in his house on the Palatine. Nero, ignoring the example of Augustus, came to grief on the charge of luxury for his extravagance in building the Domus Aurea (A.D. 64–69). “All Rome is transformed to a villa! Romans, flee to Veii, if only the villa does not also spread itself to Veii!” (Suetonius, *Nero*, 39). Since luxury was so commonly levied in accusation of the emperors, early historians accepted it as a material cause of the decline of Rome.

However, the historian of Roman names, Ludwig Friedlaender, has demonstrated that luxury, in comparative economic terms, was no more characteristic of ancient Romans than it was of the *noblesse oblige* of modern times.

In the tradition of Roman moralists, later officers of the church continued to condemn luxury. Augustine liberally quotes from Sallust in order to establish the role of luxury in the decline of the Roman state (*De Civitate Dei*, 2.18). Religious fervor has often sanctioned, or at least instigated, public acts of destruction aimed against ecclesiastical and private property. Acts of iconoclasm were often attacks against luxury. In Florence, Italy, under Girolamo Savonarola, parties of boys carried out attacks on private luxury by invading houses and carrying out objects for the sole purpose of burning them in public bonfires. The attacks against ecclesiastical property that took place in the Netherlands in 1566 were instigated as much by class conflict as they were by religious opinion.

The regulation of luxury—control of public and private behavior through sumptuary laws—became normative among west European monarchs of the modern period. Louis XIV of France confiscated Vaux-le-Vicomte, the estate of his *superintendant des finances*, Nicholas Fouquet, on the grounds that possession of such an estate by an inferior constituted an affront to his own majesty. As a royal possession, the estate that had once been considered an audacious luxury became exemplary decorum. Although the objective of sumptuary legislation in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France and England was a rigidly stratified society, luxury was still presented to the public as a moral vice. The old arguments formulated by writers such as Sallust, Cicero, and Augustine continued to be cited as part of a larger philosophical argument.

Painters of the nineteenth century revived the classical association of luxury with the East in their sensuous odalisques. Likewise, Charles Baudelaire's poem "L'Invitation au Voyage" (1855, "Invitation to the Voyage") is classical in its use of luxury topoi:

Furniture that wears
The lustre of the years
Softly would glow within our glowing chamber,
Flowers of rarest bloom
Proffering their perfume
Mixed with the vague fragrances of amber;
Gold ceilings would there be,
Mirrors deep as the sea
The walls all in an Eastern splendor hung . . .
(lines 15–23, translated by Richard Wilbur)

At the end of the nineteenth century, authors such as J. K. Huysmans and Oscar Wilde explored themes of luxury under the rubric of hedonism. Both authors employ imagery of luxury that might have been borrowed from Apuleius for the ambiances of their respective heroes, Des Esseintes and Dorian Gray.

Somewhat more ambivalent, and more consistent with modern notions of the concept, is the representation of luxury given by Henri Matisse in *Luxe, Calme et Volupté* (1905–1906), the title taken from the refrain in Baudelaire's poem. Here the image of pleasure and material comfort is presented wholly without guilt, attainable by all who are privileged to experience it—a deliberate break with classical tradition.

Indeed, except for the eschewal of blatant envy, there is little inhibition to traditional luxury in modern life. Poor and even wealthy countries conduct lotteries that have the power to elevate even the most deprived members of society to life "in the lap of luxury." (The law of treasure trove permits the same small-scale, drastic mobility in many countries.) Those who have experienced such a rise in fortune are often featured as the subjects of popular art forms, as they are in the television series *The Beverly Hillbillies* (1962–1971). Advertisements for luxury items such as jewelry, perfume, designer apparel, and fine furniture occupy a disproportionate space in modern-day newspapers and magazines as publishers and merchants recognize the importance of fantasy in the lives of ordinary people. The change in mores undoubtedly reflects the triumph of a consumer-oriented economy in which the creation of a public demand for luxury items may have actually lowered their prices (art and rhinoceros horn excepted). Hence, the condemnation of luxury is now rarely heard outside of religious communities. Although images of luxury and luxury items abound in contemporary visual culture, discontinuity rather than continuity is most apt to be found within the luxury topoi (Williams).

Iconographic Topoi

The *apparatus luxuriae* may singly or collectively constitute an "iconography of luxury" in the history of art. That is to say, certain topoi signify class status: a pillow of "oriental potentate," or the horses of the young knights in the Parthenon frieze. Historian Friedlaender has distinguished seven categories of luxury: (1) the table and the importation of foreign foods, (2) the importation and use of edible animals and plants, (3) dress and adornment, (4) dwelling houses (city and country), (5) furniture and utensils, (6) funerals and tombs, and (7) slaves and servants. The iconography of luxury may correspondingly be broken down into these seven categories:

Food

The representation of food in art begins in the paintings and reliefs of the tombs of Old Kingdom Egypt (Vandier), but it is not until the appearance of Roman still-life painting that luxury food itself become a subject of painting and mosaic. Pictures known as *xenia* contained arrangements of food ingredients—fish, game, vegetables—presumably to whet the appetites of diners in the rooms where such a meal might be served. The tradition of illustrating culinary opulence continued into the Renaissance, especially with the emergence of the still-life genre in the late sixteenth century. Pieter Aertsen was among the first Netherlandish painters to specialize in this type of painting. Although creating the impression of abundance, and even opulence, remained the primary goal of seventeenth-century European still-life painters, moralizing themes such as excess and vanity temper the exuberance inherent in the subject. In many twentieth-century depictions of food—Andy Warhol's *Campbell Soup* cans, for example—luxury is no longer a consideration.

Animals and Plants

The horse, above all other animals, has the longest history as an object of luxury, a high status amply reflected in the history

of art. Even before the appearance of beautiful, spirited animals in Greek monuments like the Temple of Zeus at Olympia or the Parthenon in Athens, the tombs of Russia and Kazakhstan held the remains of chariot horses slaughtered as grave goods to accompany buried princes (Wilford). Horses have merited even their own portrait galleries: the portraits commissioned during the T'ang dynasty by the Chinese emperor Ming Huang from the painter Han Kan; in sixteenth-century Europe, Federico Gonzaga's favorite horses painted after Giulio Romano in the Sala dei Cavalli of the Palazzo del Te in Mantua, Italy (1525–1535); and Don Juan of Austria's stable engraved by Hieronymus Wierix and Hendrik Goltzius after Johannes Stradanus (circa 1580).

Dogs have also occupied positions of importance among the possessions of the nobility, sometimes meriting portrait status alongside their masters and, in cases of renowned hunters, portraits of their own. Exotic imports constitute an entire class of luxury animals that includes various species of ape, the Amazon parrot, and so forth, depicted in European painting from the seventeenth century. Even the peacock, an import from China, has a very long history as a luxury item, all the more so as an attribute of Juno, the goddess of wealth.

Dress and Adornment

Clothing (including armor), coiffure, and jewelry may themselves be considered works of art, or they may be treated as attributes worn by human subjects. Collectively, such adornments always signify class status and are, therefore, subject to emulation. Perhaps the most striking examples may be found in the luxurious hairstyles worn by private women (like the so-called "Giulia di Tito," a marble bust in the Capitoline Museum in Rome) in emulation of the women of the imperial family during the reign of Vespasian and his successors. "Fabric is thought to decorate and beautify, not only because of its direct appeal but because it has been shown to do so in an incredible variety of works of art since the remotest antiquity" (Hollander, p. 2). The most luxurious fabrics are those, like silk and satin, that are most flattering to the body. Luxury in clothing may be expressed through the nature of the fabric, through the use of dyes, and through the cut of the garment. Given these variables, it has been extremely difficult to regulate dress through sumptuary legislation. In the seventeenth century, the restriction of color in clothing provided additional incentive to luxury in the use of fabrics. The height of bourgeois luxury might be seen in the black and white dress of *J. A. Massa and Wife* (circa 1640) as painted by Frans Hals.

Dwelling Houses (City and Country)

The historical examples of Lucullus, Nero, and Nicholas Fouquet have been discussed above. As in the case of food, the self-sufficiency of the subject as an artistic genre is a gauge of its popularity as luxury item. Elaborate architectural prospects taken from theatrical design, or from actual or imaginary country estates, form a class of Roman wall-painting of the second through the fourth styles (i.e., 80 B.C.–A.D. 79). Romans of this period spent an enormous amount of their income on the embellishment of their houses and gardens, even to the extent of making their city dwellings resemble luxurious country villas (Zanker). At other times in European and American histo-

ry, a sudden increase in wealth has spurred increased luxury in private residences. The house of Jacques Coeur in Bourges, built between 1443 and 1451, set a standard of luxury for fifteenth-century France soon to be outdone by the royal residences of the sixteenth century. The appropriation of ecclesiastical property in sixteenth-century England resulted in a great increase in the number and general appearance of country estates. The windfall profits made by American families such as the Vanderbilts after the Civil War were poured into houses like *The Breakers* (1893) in Newport, Rhode Island, or *Biltmore* (1895) in Asheville, North Carolina, both works of Richard Morris Hunt, an architect who specialized in luxurious houses.

Furniture and Utensils

Imported goods and works of art have often been perceived as luxuries. Hence, historians of material culture sometimes distinguish art objects from the general class of "useful" or "utilitarian" objects. Among utensils, Corinthian and Tarentine bronzes were appreciated by the Romans as luxury items, while Chinese connoisseurs valued furniture made from the rare hardwoods of Southeast Asia. Silver service and glass vessels were such important signifiers of class status (hence *topoi* of luxury) in Rome that they were sometimes represented in fresco painting as still-life vignettes, as in the *Silver Service* in the tomb of C. Vestorius Priscus in the Necropolis of Porta Vesuvio in Pompeii, Italy. Turkish rugs achieved status as icons of luxury in northern European painting of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In his painting *Madonna Enthroned Between Two Musical Angels* (circa 1490) in the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., Hans Memling painted a particular type of carpet, known today as a "Memling carpet," to denote the sacred ground beneath the feet of the Virgin. Another carpet, known as a "Holbein," covers the table at which the merchant, Georg Gisze, sits in Holbein's *Portrait of George Gisze*. The feather bed or pillow is proverbial among Roman writers as a sign of luxury (e.g., Lucilius; Cicero, *Tuscan Disputations*, 3.19.46). Of a Roman matron who ran off with a gladiator, Juvenal wrote that she had been cradled in down pillows, raised "with a silver spoon in her mouth" (*Satires*, 6.88). Later in the same text, Juvenal refers to the "pillow of Sardanapalus" (*Satires*, 10.362), giving rise to the tradition that credited the Assyrian king with its invention. Sardanapalus continued in his role as chief oriental exemplar of the sin of luxury. Eugène Delacroix's painting *The Death of Sardanapalus* (1827–1828) shows the oriental monarch with all his *apparatus luxuriae*: horses, concubines, pillows, etc. Over the course of time, countless other objects achieved a name recognition that allowed them to be used as symbols of the good life.

Funerals and Tombs

After the pyramids of Egypt, the epitome of luxury in burial was reached by Mausolus, satrap of Caria, in his mausoleum (circa 350 B.C.), a monument that added the work of the most prominent Greek sculptors of the time to an enormous architectural mass. After Mausolus, Alexander the Great, Augustus, and Hadrian all received splendid tombs. Although the Roman empire managed to restrain private citizens in their funerary expenditures, the late Republic saw the construction of large monuments to such people as Cecilia Metella (Rome, Via Appia)

and C. Munatius Plancus (Formia). A striking example of luxury may be found in the first-century B.C. tomb of the baker M. Virgilius Eurysacus, located at Porta Maggiore in Rome. Built of elegant travertine stone, it is shaped to look like an enormous bread oven in tribute to its occupant's profession. Amid the splendid tombs of the Italian Renaissance, the tomb planned by Pope Julius II for himself in the Basilica of St. Peter (1513, unfinished) was noteworthy not only for its conspicuous mass and expense, but also for its use of sculpted slaves (*exempla servitutis*), recognizable as a luxury topos (see below). The world's most luxurious tomb is the Taj Mahal in Agra (circa 1635).

Slaves and Servants

The exploitation and expenditure of human life as a sign of status is most graphically demonstrated in the 70-odd bodies of courtiers voluntarily killed in order to accompany the burial of a prince (circa 2500 B.C.) in the royal cemetery of Ur (i.e., "The Great Death-Pit"). Slavery has a long history and extensive iconography among monarchs and their emulators. Surrogate slaves in the form of life-size, or near life-size, statues must also be included in this category. The tombs of the Han emperors in China literally held statue armies.

Although it placed a high premium on individual human lives, the classical world of Greece and Rome was dependent upon the institution of slavery and adopted a corresponding iconography. A class of objects that epitomized luxury in the Greco-Roman world were the *epheboi lychnophoroi* (lamp-bearing youths). Several of the houses of Pompeii contained gilded bronze statues of youths that supported lamps for the illumination of nocturnal banquets, a custom that most likely derives from Homer's description of the palace of Alcinous (*Odyssey*, 7.100). The ephebic lamp stands exceed necessity in several ways: their costly material; their scale, which exceeds the minimum requirements of their function; and their depiction of humans exploited through labor and erotic function. Archaeological evidence suggests that such objects were extremely popular in Pompeii at the time of its destruction following the eruption of Mount Vesuvius (A.D. 79), even though such objects had been singled out for condemnation as luxurious by moralists like Lucretius (*De rerum natura*, 2.24–26) for well over a century. Similarly, caryatids and telamons (i.e., female and male supporting figures, *exempla servitutis*), were incorporated into architectural and furniture designs as luxurious embellishments.

Spanish painting of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries unabashedly records the aristocratic fondness for dwarfs, as does Venetian painting a taste for Moors and other Easterners. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres and Delacroix made the odalisque (from the Turkish word meaning "for the bedroom") a familiar subject in French painting. Moral ambiguity notwithstanding, Jean-Léon Gérôme (1824–1904) developed the iconography of slavery to extremes of luxury in often repeated "orientalist" pictures like *The Snake Charmer* (late nineteenth century), *The Moorish Bath* (circa 1870), and *The Slave Market* (late nineteenth century).

See also Abundance; Excess; Hunting/Hunter/Huntress; Vices/Deadly Sins

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

Tomb of Mausolus, circa 350 B.C., Halicarnassus, Turkey

Tomb of the Baker, first century B.C., Rome, Porta Maggiore

Domus Aurea, A.D. 64–69, Rome

Portrait of a Flavian Lady (Giulia di Tito), marble bust, circa A.D. 80, Rome, Capitoline Museum

Ephebe from the Via dell'Abbondanza (Pompeii), bronze sculpture, Naples, Italy, Museo Nazionale Archeologico

Silver Service, fresco from the Tomb of C. Vestorius Priscus, Pompeii, Necropolis of Porta Vesuvio

Asian

Han Kan, *Horse*, ink on paper, T'ang dynasty, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Renaissance

House of Jacques Coeur, 1443–1451, Bourges, France

Memling, Hans, *Madonna Enthroned Between Two Musical Angels*, oil on panel, circa 1490, Washington, D.C., National Gallery

Michelangelo, *Tomb of Pope Julius II*, 1513, unfinished

Giulio Romano, *Sala dei Cavalli*, frescoes, 1525–1535, Mantua, Italy, Palazzo del Te

Holbein, Hans, *Portrait of George Gisze*, oil painting, Berlin, Germany

Goltzius, Hendrik, and Hieronymus Wierex, *The Stable of Don Juan of Austria*, engravings, circa 1580

Seventeenth Century

Hals, Frans, J. A. *Massa and Wife*, oil on canvas, circa 1640, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Leveau, Louis, André Le Nôtre, and Charles Le Brun, 1657–1661, Château of Vaux-le-Vicomte, France

Nineteenth Century

Delacroix, Eugène, *The Death of Sardanapalus*, oil on canvas, 1827–1828, Paris, Louvre

Gérôme, Jean-Léon, *The Snake Charmer*, oil on canvas, late nineteenth century, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute

Gérôme, Jean-Léon, *The Moorish Bath*, circa 1870, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; San Francisco, California, Palace of the Legion of Honor

Noüy, Jules-Jean-Antoine, Lecomte du, *The Guard of the Seraglio: Souvenir of Cairo*, oil on canvas, 1876, Paris, Pierre Bergé Collection

Hunt, Richard Morris, *The Breakers*, 1893, Newport, Rhode Island

Hunt, Richard Morris, *Biltmore*, 1895, Asheville, North Carolina

Twentieth Century

Matisse, Henri, *Luxe, Calme et Volupté*, oil on canvas, 1905–1906, Merian, Pennsylvania, Barnes Foundation

The Beverly Hillbillies, television program, 1962–1971

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MADNESS

Fritz Laupichler

The following iconographic narratives and motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Madness:

HERCULES

AJAX

ATHAMAS

OTHER GREEK AND ROMAN
MYTHS

NEBUCHADNEZZAR

JESUS HEALING THE
POSSESSED AT GERASA

DAVID PLAYING THE HARP
TO CURE SAUL

SAINTS HEALING MADNESS

REALISTIC DEPICTIONS OF
MADNESS

MODERN DEPICTIONS OF
MADNESS

LITERARY THEMES OF
MADNESS



Artus Quellinus the Elder, *The Woman from the Madhouse (Frenzy)*, circa 1650, statue, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum. (Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, The Netherlands)

Madness as a phenomenon is as old as the history of humankind, and the changes in its depiction in art reflect the varying estimation of madness and insanity by society and by artists. Under the entry “Pazzia,” Cesare Ripa describes madness in his *Iconologia* (1603) as a laughing man clothed in a long black dress, riding on a reed, with toy windmills as attributes; alternatively, as a barefooted maiden with tousled hair, clothed in a shot-colored dress, with a bearskin and a candle.

Madness is only represented sporadically in the visual arts in general. Thematically it covers depictions of simple emotional disturbances (such as melancholy), real eruptions of madness, madhouse scenes, and portraits of insane persons. In a broader sense, the spectrum includes the madness sent by the gods as vengeance or punishment to persons from Greek and Roman mythology; healings of the possessed by Jesus Christ and a number of saints (for instance St. Cyriacus of Rome); and representations of insanity, including real madmen since the sixteenth century, madhouse scenes since the eighteenth century, portraits of insane persons, and descriptions of lunatic imaginations.

Madness may be defined as disorder of mind and soul that causes insane imaginations, and it can be represented by mimicry and gestures, by the pictorial description of hallucinations, by lunatic activities, or by the physiognomy alone. The subject of madness must be differentiated from, on the one hand, representations of the fool, in the sense of court jester or *Schalksnarr*, which must be iconographically verified in each single case; and on the other hand, medical illustrations (since the beginning of the nineteenth century) and pictorial representations of psychiatry patients.

In the sphere of antique mythology, eruptions of madness and activities deriving therefrom occur in the stories of Hercules, Ajax, Lycurgus, Melampus, Attis, and Athamas. Hercules married Megara, the daughter of King Creon, who bore him several children. His enemy, the goddess Hera, sent him an attack of madness, whereupon Hercules killed all his children by throwing them into a fire; his action is depicted in a calyx krater from Paestum, Italy (350–325 B.C.), and a painting (circa 1620) by Alessandro Turchi in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, Germany.

Ajax, the bravest Greek hero (after Achilles) during the war against Troy, lost a quarrel about the weapons of Achilles. He was struck with madness by Athena, the goddess of wisdom, and raved against a herd of cattle, fancying they were his enemies. The scene is pictured in a Hellenistic drinking vessel from Boeotia, now in the National Museum in Athens, Greece; in a black-figured amphora of about 540 B.C. by Exekias in the Musée Municipal in Boulogne, France; and by Nicolas Poussin, in his painting *The Kingdom of Flora* (1631) in the Galerie Alte Meister in Dresden, Germany.

Lycurgus, king of the Edones in Thrace, opposed the introduction of the Dionysus cult. For punishment, Dionysus struck him with madness, whereupon Lycurgus cut off his own legs, mistaking them for his vine shoots. His gruesome action is shown in the Roman Lycurgus mosaic of the second century.

Melampus, one of the great Greek seers, cured King Proteus's daughters of madness. As his price, Melampus received parts of the authoritative power of Argolis. The scene appears on a Lucanian nestorid of about 380 B.C. Cybele, the great mother of the gods, drove her paramour, Attis, to madness when he broke his faith by loving the nymph Sagaritis. In his frenzy he castrated himself and died immediately. A terracotta statue in the Beautiful Style from Cyprus depicts him. He gained prominence in the cult of Cybele during Roman times. Her priests are reputed to have castrated themselves and simulated madness in commemoration of Attis's death.

Ino, the wife of Athamas, king of Thebes, brought up Dionysus, the son of Zeus, the king of gods, and the mortal Semele. The vengeful Hera, wife of Zeus, descended into Hades and asked for help. The Fury Tisiphone, one of the Erinyes who pursued the mortal Orestes, caused Ino and Athamas to become mentally disturbed, whereupon Athamas killed his son Learchus because he considered him to be a stag. Ino threw herself into the sea with her son Melicertes. An Apulian bell krater of 340–330 B.C. and Pio Fedi's sculpture *The Fury of Athamas* (circa 1890) in Florence, Italy, depict their story.

The gods caused many instances of madness, sometimes not directly but through an intermediary, for the purpose of revenge, often for some petty slight. The results nearly always led to the victim's self-destruction, and frequently, as a result of the madness, the victims killed other innocent members of their families. The representations of Odysseus, who plowed with an ox and an ass yoked together and sowed salt because he did not want to join the war with Troy, are worth mentioning, but they do not strictly belong in the present context because his madness was feigned. Representations of madness and insanity in Greek and Roman mythology are infrequent; the few exceptions are not reproduced to any extent in the art of later periods, even in the Renaissance and Baroque periods, which often drew on Greek and Roman mythology for subject matter.

Christian iconography contributes to the madness theme in the visual arts with examples from the Old Testament (Saul, Nebuchadnezzar), the New Testament (healing of the possessed at Gerasa), and the legends of saints.

When the spirit of God had left King Saul, he fell into a deep melancholy, and the young David cheered him up by playing his harp (I Samuel 16:23). The representation of this scene was very popular for centuries. Whereas medieval depictions usually only show Saul suffering and lying on his bed, later artists such as Rembrandt van Rijn are interested in both the mental-

ly diseased Saul and the harp-playing David. The differences can be seen by comparing folio 26v of the French Shah-Abbas-Bible (circa 1250) to Rembrandt's painting *David Playing the Harp Before Saul* (before 1669) in the Städel Institut in Frankfurt, Germany.

Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, corresponding to a prophecy of Daniel, had to live in the wilderness for seven years like an animal, without understanding, because of his hubris (Daniel 4:32–34). The scene is depicted on folio 252 in the Spanish Beatus-Apocalypse (circa 950) and by Santi di Tito in *Nebuchadnezzar Eating Grass* (before 1603), in the Museo Gregoriano Etrusco in the Vatican. The madness of David at the court of the king of Gath is seldom depicted and is irrelevant to this analysis because it was insanity feigned as self-protection.

Among New Testament scenes, representations of the healing of the possessed at Gerasa (Matthew 8:28–34, Mark 5:1–20, Luke 8:26–39) are worth mention because, in comparison with other scenes of this kind, they appear frequently in the visual arts, particularly in book illuminations of the ninth and tenth centuries. In the vicinity of Gerasa Jesus Christ met a man possessed by demons living naked in a graveyard. Jesus drew the demons out of the man and into a herd of pigs, which thereupon threw themselves into the Sea of Genezareth and drowned. Examples of this scene appear on an ivory relief, the so-called *Magdeburg-Antependium* (970); on folio 53v of the *Codex Aureus* (1040) from Echternach; and on the painting *Christ and the Possessed* (circa 1660–1690) by Mattia Preti in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence.

The representations of miraculous healings of Christ, as signs of the might and glory of God, were expressions of a deep desire for salvation. Since the twelfth century this longing turned away from the figure of Christ and toward a number of saints. The number of representations of miraculous healings of saints is therefore relatively high. Cyriacus of Rome, who healed Arthemina, daughter of Emperor Diocletian, and Jobia, daughter of the king of Persia, is an outstanding example. His healing skills are pictured on folio 57v in the *Passionale* (circa 1130) from Zwiefalten; in Matthias Grünewald's painting *Cyriacus Heals Arthemina* (early sixteenth century) in the Städel Institut in Frankfurt; and in Bartholomäus Bruyn the Elder's *Cyriacus Heals Arthemina* (before 1555) in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich.

In medieval Europe, insane people were treated as if they were condemned by God and therefore had to be exorcised or persecuted as bewitched or devilish. In *Wild Man*, a woodcut created in 1520, Lucas Cranach the Elder depicts such a madman running amok in the woods. In 1691 Giacomo Maria Giovannini published a print after Lodovico Carracci that shows *A Fool Running to the Monastery of St. Benedict in Order to Regain Her Sanity*.

Sometimes "fools" were locked up in wooden cages to be shown to onlookers for money, as in the anonymous woodcut *The Fools' Cage* (circa 1550). It is sometimes difficult to distinguish these representations of fools from those of the court jester or *Schalksnarr* without intensive iconographic research. Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Dulle Griet* (Dull = Mad), which has frequently been interpreted as a representation of a madwoman, is actually a personification of avarice.

During the Renaissance and Baroque periods, artists and their patrons often chose miraculous healings of the possessed as themes. Examples include the altarpieces of Matthias Grünewald, *Cyriacus Heals Arthemina* in the Städel Institut in Frankfurt, and Peter Paul Rubens, *Ignatius of Loyola Heals the Possessed* (circa 1615–1616) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria. Rubens depicts the demoniac crisis of hysteria so strikingly that psychiatrists J. M. Charcot and Paul Richer integrated this picture as an artistic example in their *Nouvelle iconographie Salpêtrière*. Also worth mention are the realistic altarpiece (1628) by Rutilio di Lorenzo Manetti in S. Domenico in Siena, Italy, and works by Lodovico Carracci and Jacob Jordaens, inferred from engravings after the paintings.

In the course of time, belief in supernatural causes of madness crumbled; insane persons were increasingly considered only unsocial and consequently were imprisoned with criminals. The first special hospitals for mad persons were built in Spain in the fifteenth century; the rest of Europe did not follow suit until the seventeenth century.

In the garden of the madhouse of Amsterdam, The Netherlands, was the statue now called *The Woman from the Madhouse (Frenzy)* (circa 1650), attributed to Artus Quellinus the Elder (1609–1668). It depicts a woman who has torn off her clothes seated on a stump; she seems ready to jump up in wild excitement, but her maniacal disturbance is so great that coordinated movements are impossible. On the pedestal are four reliefs representing the heads of insane patients who want to liberate themselves from captivity. This sandstone statue, reminiscent of representations of the penitent Mary Magdalen, is now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. Also in the Rijksmuseum is the terra-cotta group *Two Madmen* (1673) by Pieter Xavery. Long interpreted iconographically as Orlando Furioso, it is actually two madmen who suffer from their state of mind and their situation. The three statues in the Boboli Gardens at Florence, which are named *Mattacini* (Jokers), are representations of madmen as well, for which studies in a madhouse must have been made; the group is attributed to Romolo di Francesco Ferrucci (circa 1621).

The 49 almost life-size heads showing physiognomic studies by eighteenth-century Austrian sculptor Franz Xaver Messerschmidt probably do not represent the effects of mental illness, but rather the transformation of the demon of madness into human grimaces. German poet Nikolaus Lenau commented: "There must have been something in this sculptor, which could have let him become a fool. Fortunately it was deposited within him as art." This estimation applies to many artists.

In the English graphic arts of the eighteenth century, the representation of madness and insanity reached a new social and psychological intensity. William Hogarth, in the eighth and last engraving of the series *The Rake's Progress* (1735), depicts the interior of a lunatic asylum. After an attempted suicide, the fettered titular hero is cared for by a group of attendants and priests. The similarity of this group to representations of the Pietà is remarkable. The radical depiction of the group in this print probably forms the first exact physiognomic study of lunatics. In 1775 William Dickinson published the copper engraving *Madness*, which portrays a madwoman in chains, after a painting of Robert Edge Pine.

Francisco de Goya, probably influenced by Hogarth and inspired by his own physical and mental crisis of the years after 1790, painted the interior of the lunatic asylum of Zaragoza, Spain, around 1790. The inmates, who are acting out their hallucinations, are represented through grotesque pantomime. Unlike the Hogarth print, neither attendants nor chains are recognizable. Two versions exist: *Casa de locos* (circa 1795) in Madrid, Spain; and *Corral de locos* (1793–1794) in Dallas, Texas.

The German romantic Wilhelm Kaulbach, inspired by Hogarth and encouraged by his academic teacher Peter Cornelius, visited the lunatic asylum of Düsseldorf, Germany. Deeply impressed by what he saw, Kaulbach depicts the different states of mind and the physiognomies of the well-clothed inmates with great exactness in his drawing *The Madhouse* (1835). Male and female patients, not separated from each other, show no signs of excitement or disinhibition. Chains or fetters are not recognizable, and an attendant with a bunch of keys in his hand does not intervene. The treatment of the theme is nearly without emotion, and the scene resembles a theater performance with an allegorical and typological representation of lunatics.

Between 1822 and 1823 French painter Théodore Géricault produced 10 pictures of lunatics for the director of the Salpêtrière in Paris, probably to document clinical studies, for instruction, or as patterns for medical illustrations. These paintings represent—for the first time in art—portraits of insane persons without distorted mimicry, dramatization, demonizing, or any attributes of lunacy. Five of the original 10 paintings are extant: portraits of a kidnapper, a woman suffering from obsessive envy, a kleptomaniac, a man suffering from delusions of military rank, and a woman addicted to gambling.

Soon after Géricault's portrait cycle, prints of insane persons appeared in the medical publications of J. E. Esquirol (1838), Karl-Heinrich Baumgärtner (1840), Alexander Morison (1848), and Maximilian Leidesdorf (1865). These prints manifested interest in physiognomies as a mirror of the mental state of madhouse patients.

Géricault's artistic attainment becomes evident if his portraits are compared with the etching *Hunger, Madness, Crime* (circa 1845) by the Belgian artist Antoine Joseph Wiertz. A woman driven mad by social misery and hunger has killed her child and cut off one leg to put it into a cooking pot. Although bloodthirsty and terrible, the scene does not arouse horror because Wiertz does not succeed in expressing the physiognomic indications of introverted madness in a psychologically convincing manner.

In a series of drawings by the German classicist-romantic painter Bonaventura Genelli, *From the Life of an Artist* (after 1850), the drawing *View into the Madhouse* holds an exceptional position. It was created out of the "desire also to record in pencil the physiognomic language of human disturbance" (Genelli). For this purpose the artist climbed up the wall of the madhouse garden to look down at the inmates. Genelli expressed the affects of the insane persons compassionately and seriously: the madness of ecstatic enthusiasm, the megalomaniac, and the madwoman disappointed in her hope for lover's bliss. The main subject of the drawing, however, is romantic fantasy and its special affinity with the unusual and the grotesque and its specific mixture of compassion and observation.

English painter Richard Dadd murdered his father out of persecution mania, whereupon he was locked up in the madhouse of London for the rest of his life. During this time he produced several watercolors. *Agony, Raving Madness* (1854) quite conventionally shows a mad person put in chains and lying on straw in his cell. The watercolor, however, without interest in the actual situation in the madhouse, Bethlem (Bedlam), reveals only disturbance and despair.

In his painting *The Ward of the Madwomen at S. Bonifazio in Florence* (1865), Italian painter Telemaco Signorini depicts the great excitement of female patients who, wildly gesticulating, show first signs of protest against their situation. This painting, obviously influenced by Goya, impressed Edgar Degas. The perspective of the madhouse interior anticipates Vincent van Gogh's *Vincent's Sleeping Room at Arles* (1889).

The lithograph *Madness* (circa 1901) by Austrian expressionist Alfred Kubin, from the series *Demon and Nightphantoms* (first published in 1923), was produced while the artist was at least temporarily insane. Kubin reported that after having visited an exhibition of works by Max Klinger, an attack of demons and a hallucinatory episode of artistic imagination drove him to transform his obsessions cathartically into hundreds of drawings and prints. *Madness* shows the mad Kubin himself and a small demon with a hammer driving a nail into the artist's head. Kubin's pen drawing *The Madhouse* (1914) depicts an attempted escape of panic-stricken insane persons from a madhouse court. An attendant, dressed in nineteenth-century clothing and holding a whip in his hand, observes the scene but does not interfere.

The lithograph *Nietzsche and the Madness* (1907–1908) is the work of Luigi Russolo, the cofounder of Italian futurism. Nietzsche's head, exactly portrayed, appears directly beside Insanity, represented as a woman's head. Both heads nearly merge into each other and form an inseparable unit. The statue *Mad Virgin* (1912) by the Belgian sculptor Rik Wouters is an expressionistic study of movement inspired by the American dancer Isadora Duncan.

The German expressionist Erich Heckel, stimulated by his experiences in hospitals during World War I and because of his interest in social and psychological problems, produced several paintings with representations of insane persons, including *Blind Lunatics at Table* (1914) and *From a Madhouse* (1914). Simultaneous use of different perspectival viewpoints creates an unstable space and an undefined and threatening composition in both paintings.

Swiss artist Paul Klee exchanged drawings with Alfred Kubin and collected artworks of mad persons. French painter Jean Dubuffet also used such works for the development of his Art Brut. This influence is evident, for instance, in Klee's colored lithograph *A Man in Love* (1923). It symbolically represents sexual obsession through the expressions of lunatics. This circumstance made it simple to defame Paul Klee and his art in the exhibition "Entartete Kunst" (Degenerated Art) of 1937 in Munich as mad and degenerate. A decade and a half earlier, physician and art historian Hans Prinzhorn published his fundamental book on the works of art of lunatics, *Bildneri der Geisteskranken* (1922), in which he tried to analyze the "original creative impulse" that he thought inherent to all human beings. The question of whether the pictorial representations of

lunatics have a special artistic value is brought up to the 1990s in the exhibition catalogue *Parallele Visionen: Künstler und Aubenseiter* (*Parallel Visions: Artists and Outsider*) (Basel, Switzerland, 1993).

The lithograph *Dance in a Madhouse* (1917), by American graphic artist George Bellows, is stylistically a romantic work, and the influence of nineteenth-century art is evident. However, Bellows takes more interest in the picturesque-melodramatic aspects of the scene and much less in the illness of the patients. *The Mad Woman* (1925) by Otto Dix—similar to the drawing of Luigi Russolo—is made of two spheres brought together like a montage: the realistic individual portrait is positioned above, and the phantasmagoria of the delusional ideas is positioned below.

The painting *The Great Paranoic* (1936) by Spanish surrealist Salvador Dalí depicts a head consisting of writhing and winding figures. These figures, illusionistically as well as photographically exact, project nervous energy and a mental constitution, the name of which is expressed in the title: paranoia as expression of hallucinations and delusional ideas.

American graphic artist Robert Riggs pursued intensive studies in the psychiatric department of the Philadelphia State Hospital in Pennsylvania. In his lithograph *Psychopathic Ward* (1945), he presents the patients and their situations with photographic accuracy. The American pop artist Roy Lichtenstein created a series dealing with science-fiction themes (1963–1964). The painting *Mad Scientist* (1963), a reproduction of an unknown comic strip, shows in a cool and detached manner how a megalomaniacal scientist handles a machine with which he threatens humanity.

German painter and draftsman Jan Peter Tripp spent some time in a psychiatric hospital in 1972. While there, he sketched his fellow patients. The portrait drawings *Else* and *Jakob*, which radiate a great suggestive power, are veristic and exact; each wrinkle and each pore are visible, and the subjects' states of psychic ruin are clearly recognizable.

Since 1968 Austrian artist Arnulf Rainer, known from the *Documenta* 1972 exhibition, has photographed himself again and again with grimaces and in poses that are adapted from old photographs of madhouse patients who have not been manipulated by psychopharmacological drugs. The work of Franz Xaver Messerschmidt provides the model for Rainer's physical-language self-representation, which attempts to preserve the culturally discriminated and provocative physiognomic singularity of madhouse patients.

In addition to the representations deriving from classical mythology, Christian iconography, and the madhouse pictures and portraits of insane persons in a broader sense, a number of insane figures from postclassical literature also occur in the visual arts. The main subject in Ludovico Ariosto's epic poem *Orlando Furioso*, in which the Roland saga has been combined with Arthurian legends, is the unfortunate love of Orlando for Angelica. This love drives him to madness because Angelica does not return his affections and prefers the love of Medoro. Although many artists have derived subjects from this story, perhaps the most elaborate are Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld's frescoes (1822–1827) in the Casino Massimo, Ariosto Hall in Rome.

In Shakespeare's drama *Hamlet* Ophelia loves Hamlet, who rejects her out of his world-weariness. Singing and with flow-

ers and herbs in her hair, the maddened Ophelia flees to her watery death in the river. Many nineteenth-century artists painted this scene; perhaps the best known version is by John Everett Millais (1851–1852). In Shakespeare's tragedy *Macbeth*, Lady Macbeth, plotting with her husband to kill the king, completes the task herself but collapses under the psychic pressure of the situation and becomes mad. Important Shakespeare illustrators include Henry Fuseli, Daniel Chodowiecki, Eugène Delacroix, Peter Cornelius, Oskar Kokoschka, and Max Slevogt.

In Goethe's *Faust*, Gretchen yields herself to her beloved, but conscious of having committed a sin, she kills her child and becomes insane. Although the number of illustrated editions of *Faust* is large, there have been only a few attempts by outstanding artists to treat this great literary work pictorially. Goethe himself commended the drawings of Peter Cornelius, the academic teacher of Kaulbach. In *Scene in the Jail* (1815) and other works, Cornelius, enthusiastic about bringing back to life the central figures of national sagas, shows Gretchen as a saint—a repentant Mary Magdalen—and an angel brings her a martyrs' wreath as a sign of salvation. The lithographs of Eugène Delacroix also won Goethe's recognition. The etchings of Max Slevogt and the woodcuts of Ernst Barlach deserve mention.

Madness is represented in the world's literature, religions, and mythologies. In giving visual embodiments to these descriptions, artists have also depicted their personal observations of madness, both in others and, in a few cases, in themselves.

See also Fools/Folly; Humors; Melancholy; Physiognomy

Selected Works of Art

Hercules

The Madness of Hercules, calyx krater, 350–325 B.C., from Paestum, Italy, now in Madrid, Spain, Museo Archeologico

Turchi, Alessandro, *The Raving Hercules* (*Hercules and Omphale*), oil painting, circa 1620, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek

Canova, Antonio, *Hercules (in His Madness) Killing His Sons*, painting, 1799, Bassano del Grappa, Italy, Musico Civico

Allar, André-Joseph, *Hercules Discovering His Dead Son*, sculpture, before 1926, Toulon, France, Musées Municipaux

Ajax

Exekias, *The Suicide of Ajax*, black-figured amphora, circa 540 B.C., Boulogne, France, Musée Municipal

The Madness of Ajax, drinking vessel, from Boeotia, now in Athens, Greece, National Museum

Poussin, Nicolas, *The Kingdom of Flora*, 1631, Dresden, Germany, Galerie Alte Meister

Fuseli, Henry, *The Mad Ajax, After Slaying the Lambs, Recovers Himself and Is Surprised by His Comrades*, drawing, 1768, Zurich, Switzerland, Kunsthau

Athamas

Athamas Kills His Son Learchus, bell krater, 340–330 B.C., from Apulia, now in Geneva, Switzerland, private collection

Flaxman, John, *The Fury of Athamas*, marble sculpture group, 1790–1794, Ickworth House, Suffolk, England, Ickworth House

Fedi, Pio, *The Fury of Athamas*, sculpture, circa 1890, Florence, Italy

Other Greek and Roman Myths

Melampus Cures the Daughters of Proteus of Madness, nestoris, from Lucania, circa 380 B.C., now in Naples, Italy, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

The Madness of Lycurgus, Roman mosaic, second century, Taormina, Italy, Villa S. Pankrazia

Mad Attis Castrates Himself, terra-cotta statue, Beautiful Style, from Cyprus, now in Paris

Nebuchadnezzar

Beatus-Apocalypse, circa 950, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (M. 644, fol. 252)

Santi di Tito, *Nebuchadnezzar Eating Grass*, before 1603, Vatican, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco

Jesus Healing the Possessed at Gerasa

Magdeburg-Antependium, ivory-relief, 970, Darmstadt, Germany, Landesmuseum

Codex Aureus, from Echternach, 1040, Nürnberg, Germany, Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Ms 156142, fol. 53v)

Preti, Mattia, *Christ and the Possessed*, oil painting, circa 1660–1690, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

David Playing the Harp

Shah-Abbas-Bible, French, circa 1250, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (M. 638, fol. 26v)

Rembrandt van Rijn, *David Playing the Harp Before Saul*, before 1669, Frankfurt, Germany, Städel Institut

Saints Healing Madness

Passionale, Zwiefalten, circa 1130, Stuttgart, Germany, Württembergische Landesbibliothek (Cod. bibl. 20, 36–58, fol. 57v)

Grünwald, Matthias, *Cyriacus Heals Arthemias*, early sixteenth century, Frankfurt, Germany, Städel Institut

Bruyn, Bartholomäus, the Elder, *Cyriacus Heals Arthemias*, before 1555, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Ignatius of Loyola Heals the Possessed*, circa 1615–1616, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Realistic Depictions of Madness

Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *Wild Man*, woodcut, 1520, Berlin, Germany, Kupferstichkabinett

The Fools' Cage, woodcut, circa 1550, Nürnberg, Germany, Germanisches Nationalmuseum

Quellinus, Artus, the Elder, *The Woman from the Madhouse* (*Frenzy*), sandstone statue, circa 1650, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Xavery, Pieter, *Two Madmen*, terra-cotta group, 1673, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

Giovannini, Giacomo Maria, *A Fool Running to the Monastery of St. Benedict in Order to Regain Her Sanity*, copper engraving, 1691

Ferrucci, Romolo di Francesco, *Mattacini*, stone figure group, circa 1621, Florence, Italy, Boboli Gardens

Hogarth, William, *The Rake's Progress*, copper engraving, 1735, London, The Bethlem Royal Hospital and the Maudsley Health Authority

Dickinson, William, *Madness*, copper engraving, 1775

Goya, Francisco de, *Corral de locos* (Yard of a Madhouse), oil on tin, 1793–1794, Dallas, Texas, Southern Methodist University, Meadows Museum

Goya, Francisco de, *Casa de locos*, oil painting, circa 1795, Madrid, Spain, Academia de San Fernando

Géricault, Théodore, *Portrait of a Kidnapper*, oil painting, 1822, Springfield, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Géricault, Théodore, *Portrait of a Kleptomaniac*, oil painting, 1822, Ghent, Belgium, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Géricault, Théodore, *Portrait of a Man Suffering from Delusions of Military Rank*, oil painting, 1822,

Winterthur, Switzerland, Oskar Reinhart Collection

Géricault, Théodore, *Portrait of a Woman Addicted to Gambling*, oil painting, 1822, Paris, Louvre

Géricault, Théodore, *Portrait of a Woman Suffering from Obsessive Envy*, oil painting, 1822, Lyon, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Kaulbach, Wilhelm, *The Madhouse*, pencil drawing, 1835, Berlin, Germany, Staatliche Museen

Wiertz, Antoine Joseph, *Hunger, Madness, Crime*, etching, circa 1845

Genelli, Bonaventura, *View into the Madhouse*, pencil drawing, after 1850, Leipzig, Germany, Museum der Bildenden Künste

Dadd, Richard, *Agony, Raving Madness*, watercolor drawing, 1854, London, The Bethlem Royal Hospital and the Maudsley Hospital Health Authority

Vedder, Elihu, *The Lost Mind*, 1864–1865, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Signorini, Telemaco, *The Ward of the Madwomen at S. Bonifazio in Florence*, 1865, Venice, Italy, Gallery of Modern Art in Cà Pesaro

Modern Depictions of Madness

Kubin, Alfred, *Madness*, lithograph, circa 1901

Russolo, Luigi, *Nietzsche and the Madness*, lithograph, 1907–1908, Milan, Italy, Raccolta della Stampe, Castello Sforzesco

Wouters, Rik, *Mad Virgin*, bronze statue, 1912, Antwerp, Belgium, Musée Royal des Beaux-Arts

Kubin, Alfred, *The Madhouse*, pen drawing, 1914, Linz, Austria, Landesmuseum

Heckel, Erich, *Blind Lunatics at Table*, oil painting, 1914, Mönchengladbach, Germany, Städtisches Museum Abteiberg

Heckel, Erich, *From a Madhouse*, oil painting, 1914, Gelsenkirchen, Germany, Städtisches Museum

Bellows, George, *Dance in a Madhouse*, lithograph, 1917

- Klee, Paul, *A Man in Love*, lithograph, 1923
 Dix, Otto, *The Madwoman*, oil painting, 1925, Mannheim, Germany, Kunsthalle
 Dalí, Salvador, *The Great Paranoic*, oil painting, 1936, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Museum Boymans van Beuningen
 Riggs, Robert, *Psychopathic Ward*, lithograph, 1945
 Tripp, Jan Peter, *Jakob*, pencil watercolor drawing, 1963, Pforzheim, Germany, Collection R. Kraus
 Lichtenstein, Roy, *Mad Scientist*, oil painting, 1972, Cologne, Germany, Museum Ludwig
 Tripp, Jan Peter, *Else*, pencil watercolor drawing, 1972, Pforzheim, Germany, Collection R. Kraus

Literary Themes of Madness

- Cornelius, Peter, *Faust: Scene in the Jail*, pencil drawing, 1815, Frankfurt, Germany, Städel Institut, Graphische Sammlung
 Carolsfeld, Julius von, *Ariost-Frescoes*, circa 1822, Rome, Casino Massimo, Ariosto Hall
 Millais, John Everett, *Ophelia*, 1851–1852, London, Tate Gallery

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MARGINS/OUTSIDERS

Priscilla Baumann

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Margins/Outsiders:

MEDIEVAL

RENAISSANCE

EIGHTEENTH–TWENTIETH
CENTURY



French School, *Bayeux Tapestry: Harold Journeying to Normandy*, eleventh century, embroidered linen, Bayeux, France, Musée de la Tapisserie. (Courtesy of Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)

Many common contemporary expressions make reference to “the margin” or “the edge.” Certain people or activities are termed “marginal” or “beyond the pale”; the emotionally unstable are often categorized as “borderline” or “over the edge”; fashion in dress, food, language, or literary taste is considered either “in” or “out.” This contemporary vocabulary echoes the universal human reflex to organize and judge society, a process that often relegates those elements perceived as less desirable to the periphery.

Etymologically, the margin refers to the border, the edge, or the frontier. The original meaning of the term *marginal* evolved from a common medieval practice whereby the blank parchment of a manuscript surrounding or framing a written text was decorated with humorous, scatological, or subversive illustrations—hence, the negative connotation frequently associated with the term.

Throughout history, societies have repeatedly created their own metaphoric margins as invisible but powerful walls for protection, barriers for exclusion, or signs of danger. Depending on the period in time, the specific subjects relegated to the margins shift, and these changes in popular taste or political necessity are reflected in art with varying iconography and creative emphasis. In the physical world, geographic markers like rivers or mountains form natural margins that separate, protect, or enclose space. Political or national boundaries form similar, although more arbitrary, margins. Charlemagne created “marches,” or military margins, on the frontiers of his realm, which formed a buffer zone between relatively peaceful inner lands and the chaotic, lawless, and frightening wilderness of the regions outside.

Intellectually and philosophically, the marginal refers to ideas and concepts too alien or threatening for popular or general acceptance. Theories of an advanced nature might be described in a complimentary manner as being “on the cutting edge,” but a mystical poet or ragged street musician might be described in a derogatory sense as living “on the fringe.” Moral convictions not approved by the establishment might likewise be considered marginal and their resulting activities condemned. At various times, such marginal activities might have included the efforts of suffragettes, abolitionists, or proponents of euthanasia. The theological state of limbo—an intermediate place between heaven and hell, where souls, through no fault of their own, await redemption—constitutes yet another sort of fringe area. Psychological statisticians use the term *outlier* to describe exceptions: those members of society not within the normal distribution. All of these examples make specific reference in some way to the margin or the boundary and to the realm that lies beyond that limit.

Marginal members of contemporary twentieth-century society might include migrant workers, illegal aliens, or welfare

recipients, as well as certain physically or emotionally handicapped persons. Feminists argue that women have been treated as marginal citizens throughout much of the history of Western civilization. From the Middle Ages to the present, marginal members of society have included lepers, Jews, prostitutes, witches, Gypsies, moneylenders, midwives, sexual deviants, and the physically malformed. During the Victorian Age, the poor, especially the homeless and the criminal, were particularly identified as marginal. In every century, the margins of society have been clearly defined physically, socially, and morally. From schoolchildren scolded when their handwriting slips outside the margins on their paper, to those persecuted or ostracized by society, the visible and invisible bounds of acceptable behavior and belief constrain us all. These perceived or real margins, along with the forbidden, feared, misunderstood, or despised subjects relegated within their boundaries, have inspired artists and their iconographic vocabularies for centuries.

Artists use various strategies to identify the marginal: compositional devices, where centrality and symmetry negate or minimize the marginal; specific iconographic markers like peculiar costumes or attributes; or depiction of a clearly marginal subject in a realistic or sentimental manner to transform their meaning or importance.

During the Middle Ages, scurrilous, subversive, or sinful subjects were placed safely within the margins. One example is found in the eleventh-century *Bayeux Tapestry*, with its clearly articulated horizontal bands at the upper and lower edge of an embroidered linen strip. In the border under a scene in which Harold is being led to William, a naked man and woman are shown about to copulate. This audacious counterpoint to the scene unfolding above hints at many possible meanings. Regardless of the intended effect, however, the overt sexual activity and shocking state of undress of the couple mean that they couldn't have been placed anywhere else but in the margin.

The twelfth-century central tympanum in the narthex of the Church of the Madeleine (1120–1132) at Vézelay, France, offers a more sophisticated example of placing the undesirable in the borders, at the edge, and as far as possible from the center. In the eight compartments of the archivolt, different kinds of human impairment are depicted: organic defects of the blind, the deaf, and the mute; mental illness and possession by the devil; and various physical disabilities like lameness or paralysis. The artist implies a hierarchy of these imperfect states and places the most seriously ill farthest from the central figure of Jesus Christ. Similarly, unusual races like the floppy-eared Panotii, considered monstrous because of their paganism and imagined deformities, are found on the lowest register, within the borders of the lintel.

On the exterior walls of many Romanesque churches, corbel sculptures of lewd, antic, or aberrational subjects decorate

the cornice or string course. These images are placed a significant distance from any centrally planned sculptural program, often not plainly visible from the ground, and often relegated to the periphery of the building. Romanesque painting follows an analogous technique of exclusion. At Nohant-Vicq, in the province of Berry, France, a fresco of the Last Supper (twelfth century) depicts Judas in the foreground, separated from Christ and the other apostles by the horizontal barrier of the dining table. The asymmetrical placement of Judas serves to isolate him, exclude him from the others, and thereby indicate his treachery.

A scene from the fourteenth-century *The Cloisters Apocalypse* provides an example of the medieval technique of the diagrammatically conceived composition, where centrality and symmetry create a hieratic and static effect. Christ, the largest and most imposing figure, surrounded by a mandorla and the symbols of the Evangelists, sits at the exact center. Four rectangular frames placed at each corner of the picture contain six elders each. The resulting effect of controlled order reflects the medieval belief in a timeless, cosmic equilibrium, with God at its center, the ultimate source of power.

Fifteenth-century Italian painters employed similar methods to emphasize the hierarchical importance of their subjects. In Gentile da Fabriano's *The Adoration of the Magi* (1423), two miserable beggars, stooped outcasts, are placed in a lower right panel of a predella. Not a part of the central painting, the beggars are outside of the architectural center of the individual scene. Both figuratively and compositionally, these figures have been marginalized. In *Expulsion from Paradise* (circa 1445), Giovanni di Paolo depicts Adam and Eve at the very edge of a panel, pushed by an angel away from the fertile garden and into the unknown. In another version of this scene, in a fresco in the Brancacci Chapel in Florence, Italy (circa 1427), Masaccio emphasizes the grief of this moment of loss. His Adam and Eve, overwhelmed with remorse and shame, are shown scurrying away to the margins of the painting. In the Middle Ages, the edges of a panel, tympanum, or building assumed a dramatic and symbolic value, one appreciated by all observers. Soon, however, such didactic effects lost much of their impact, and artists were compelled to discover new methods to emphasize and develop their message.

Apart from the hierarchy established by a compositional scheme, artists also resorted to traditional iconography in order to identify marginal subjects. Lepers, for example, considered for centuries the most despised of outcasts, were forced to live and beg outside the normal limits of a village or town, sounding a bell or clapper to warn others of their approach. Artists often included such noisemakers in their representations of the leper and inevitably identified them by a spotted skin: red when painted, raised welts if worked in stone. These sure signs of leprosy identified the ostracized in all media and were understood by everyone. On a sculpture on the south porch wall at Moissac, France, the poor man Lazarus is clearly identified as a leper in this manner, replete with dogs licking his sores. An analogous iconographic example appears in a stained-glass panel in the cathedral at Bourges, France, where Lazarus, covered with red sores, stands outside a rich man's house. He is relegated to a half-medallion, adjacent to the one showing the rich man at a table, and thus forced visually and symbolically into the margins.

Another group of traditional outsiders were the Jews. During the early medieval period, they were often depicted wearing exotic headgear, sometimes called a Phrygian cap, of a pointed, conical, or bell shape. This distinctive sign of otherness was a recognizable marker and universally comprehended. In a manuscript from Speyer, Germany (circa 1233–1236), showing the triumphant entry of Jesus into Jerusalem, the doorway of the city is filled with men adorned with conical hats. Sculptural examples follow the same iconography, as on the tympanum at Strasbourg Cathedral in France, where a Jew helping Jesus carry the cross is identified by a sharply pointed hat. Another example appears at Rouen Cathedral in France, where the Jews stoning St. Stephen wear hats shaped like steeply pointed cones.

Later in the medieval period, prejudice against the Jews increased dramatically, and increasingly scurrilous depictions of the Jew appeared in manuscripts and woodcuts. The emphasis shifted to a denunciation of the Jew as heretic, sorcerer, and worshiper of the devil, as well as instigator of well poisonings, ritual murders of Christian children, and desecrations of eucharistic hosts. The Jew of this period was often depicted with exaggerated Semitic features, frequently with horns, often engaging in lewd activities, and in close proximity to the devil, or even disguised as a devil. A fifteenth-century wood carving on a choir stool in Aerschot, Belgium, shows a Jew riding backwards on a large goat, the devil's favorite animal, holding the animal's tail in a provocative gesture. This rich vocabulary, one that stereotyped and caricatured its subject, was frequently used to identify the Jew as the ultimate outsider, the most marginal member of Christian society.

With the rise of secular painting following the Reformation, many subjects previously ignored or given minor attention began to challenge artists in new ways. Gradually, the very members of society hitherto deemed marginal began to occupy a central position—worthy subjects for artists to depict and for society to commission.

Similarly, artists have traditionally portrayed the peasant as a marginal creature, crude and perhaps bestial in appearance. Sometimes the artist's attitude toward these "lower orders" would be sufficient to relegate them to a lesser stratum of society. One such example is Cornelius Mahu's *Wedding Dance in a Barn* (1645), where the exaggerated boisterousness of the rural folk is represented in hopes of eliciting a reaction of disdain from the viewer. Throughout the seventeenth century, Dutch and Flemish artists reveled in this humorous and satiric approach to the peasant populace. Elsewhere, however, painters like Louis Le Nain in France stressed the human dignity of the peasant, as in *Peasant Family* (circa 1640). This kinder and more sensitive reflection on the plight of the peasant was a theme renewed again, and very powerfully, in the nineteenth century. A very different view of the peasant is found in a series of etchings by Francisco Goya called *Los Caprichos* (1794–1799). Far from idealizing his subject, Goya emphasizes a horrifying spectrum of human violence, with its demonic and pathological sadism. Goya's dispossessed, the losers in war as well as in life, offer a timeless view of human suffering as a result of the ravages of war and economic deprivation.

Following the upheaval in society caused by the Industrial Revolution as well as the exodus of a starving populace from

Ireland because of the potato famine of the 1840s, a new kind of art evolved, merging social conscience and interest in the documentary. Marginal subjects—the poor, homeless, criminals, the insane, prostitutes, and unwed mothers—became the central focus of artists and no longer served as incidental figures intended merely to animate a scene or landscape. In his many novels, Charles Dickens drew attention to the plight of mistreated laborers, destitute widows, children forced into a life of begging, and the injustices of an overcrowded industrial world. His descriptions of the abysmal working conditions of the mills and the cruelties and injustices of orphanages and prisons helped to effect social change and influenced the work of many nineteenth-century artists.

In France, interest in the less fortunate and often forgotten people of the metropolis emerged as a major artistic theme. Théodore Géricault created sympathetic studies of the physical characteristics of men and women in insane asylums and prisons and sketched human heads and limbs found in morgues. His painting *The Madman* (1821–1824) mirrors the horrors of dementia in hopes of eliciting a profound response in the social conscience of the viewer. Charles Meryon's engravings of claustrophobic city walls and threatening shadows of tenement streets impress on the observer the ugliness of the overcrowded metropolis and the concomitant evil effects on the people forced to live in such miserable conditions. Gustave Doré's nightmarish wood engraving of a prison yard, with its incarcerated denizens hopelessly shuffling in a circle under the heartless eye of two guards, evokes the modern problems of an industrial and impersonal society where the lower classes, often forced into a life of crime, seem to find no way out of their plight. Honoré Daumier concentrated on the prosaic world of the Parisian common folk—the laundresses, mountebanks, and blacksmiths—and on groups of quite ordinary people in public situations. Daumier's *The Third-Class Carriage* (1861), for example, presents a banal subject but hints at the alienation and lack of communication between human beings in crowded industrial cities.

During the Victorian Age, many painters in England examined the problems of society's poor and developed an iconography fully appreciated by the public. It was widely believed, for example, that physiognomy directly reflected character, and artists felt compelled to specifically detail facial expression, as well as the size and shape of the head, in order to fully identify the moral quality of the subject. Servants and lower-class workers were often depicted with a tendency toward prognathism (in which the jaws project beyond the upper part of the face), whereas the aristocrat would be shown with a straight profile and refined features. Dickens insisted that evil character was invariably detectable to the experienced eye. The criminal was considered a race apart, with quite distinctive features, including a low forehead, broad and heavy features, and a thick neck. One of John Tenniel's illustrations of a wife beater for *Punch* (May 30, 1874) clearly depicts such characterization. The concept of a specific criminal physiology persisted throughout the nineteenth century and is shown in an array of sketches in Havelock Ellis's *The Criminal* (1890). Although physical coarseness equaled moral ugliness, a certain hierarchy of criminal types existed as well, as evidenced in William Powell Frith's *Derby Day* (1858). This encyclopedic panorama

depicts a day when social classes mingled freely, and the painting describes a variety of morally doubtful characters, all clearly identified by their physical attributes: the fallen woman, the aristocratic *roué*, the fortune-teller, the acrobat, the bookmaker, the pickpocket, as well as an assortment of gamblers and swindlers.

As a result of the economic depression of the 1870s in England, hundreds of workers were unemployed and pressed to the margins of existence. Artists mirrored the social anguish of this period in diverse ways. In his painting *Hard Times* (1885), Hubert von Herkomer portrays the grim search for work in a sentimental but hopeful vein. Other artists criticized the system that fostered the labor disputes and strikes that divided communities. In Robert Koehler's painting *The Strike*, threatening workers crowd around the front steps of a mill owner's office. Many painters chose to portray the dismal poverty and inhuman living conditions of the urban population, stressing themes such as mourning for the death (by famine or disease) of an infant, the humiliating search for a place to sleep, or the hopelessness of daily life when the husband/father has become a drunkard. In the tradition of William Hogarth, and mirroring the influence of the temperance union, George Cruikshank created a series of illustrations for *The Bottle* (1847) and *The Drunkard's Children* (1848). Luke Fildes's *Applicants for Admission to a Casual Ward* (1874) shocks the viewer with its realistic portrayal of the hungry and homeless: shivering men, women, and children huddled together under a street lamp, snow falling lightly in the gloom.

In the twentieth century, despite a growing freedom of expression in art and life, certain subjects and actions still retain their element of shock or scandal, and particular people remain marked as outsiders. Today's society offers a contemporary analogue to the medieval attitude toward lepers in its reaction to the person with HIV/AIDS, quarantined in a limbo of isolation and lonely suffering. Present prejudice against Gypsies (Romanies) in central Europe mirrors the communal distrust of Jews during the Middle Ages. Historically, itinerant peddlers were viewed with mistrust or even fear because they existed outside the accepted boundaries of society, with no known families or relatives and no established residences. Similarly, in today's world, men and women recoil from the homeless who live their rootless, transient lives pushed to the physical and emotional limits of marginalization.

The phenomenon of homelessness, with its concomitant alienation and despair, has been studied carefully by twentieth-century sociologists, following the pioneering efforts of Émile Durkheim, who referred to aspects of this societal disorder as *anomie*. But even the homeless, despite their unstable and dangerous existence, show proof of spontaneous and persistent creative powers, as evidenced in their tenuous "gardens," unusual and offbeat creations of plant and inanimate life, the latter objects often salvaged from rubbish heaps. These poignant gardens attest to the irrepressible human urge to create beauty in the least promising of spots and offer only one example of what has been termed Outsider Art.

Currently, the subject of Outsider Art has elicited much controversy. The term itself, coined in the 1970s, harks back to the passionate efforts of Jean Dubuffet, who championed the merits of extracultural art, which he called Art Brut. Dubuffet

prized the artwork of psychotic patient Adolf Wölfli because he was uneducated, a social misfit, and had neither art training nor professional aspirations. In Dubuffet's opinion, contact with the art establishment destroyed the creative impulse.

Today, the term Outsider Art still defies precise definition. Does it mean that the artist has had no art training? No contact with the art world? Does it suggest that the artist has removed himself or herself from normal communal life, choosing the path of eccentricity? That the artist is slipping into schizophrenia? Does the term imply a lack of education or social sophistication as established by the dominant culture? Should women artists be included? Originally, the creative efforts of primitives and folk artists were classified in the category of Outsider Art, but now that judgment has been reevaluated. Since folk artists and primitives, as well as artists from black, Hispanic, or other ethnic communities, develop and create within a particular society that nurtures and responds to them, can they be considered true outsiders? From various perspectives, and at various times, anyone might be regarded as an insider or an outsider. The center creates the margins, and as the center shifts, so do those margins. Thus, the concept of Outsider Art remains frustratingly elusive as well as inconclusively defined. Ultimately, through its rigid sociological stratifications, the concept may serve to dehumanize both the art and the artist.

While art critics and art historians may determine what seems to belong in the category of Outsider Art, it has been the artists themselves who have cultivated the character or personality of the outsider. Beginning in the nineteenth century, as a result of the aesthetics of the romantic movement, great emphasis was placed on the individuality of the artists, their introverted sensitivity, and the emotional expressivity of their work. An early *Self-Portrait* (circa 1810) by Caspar David Friedrich, for example, epitomizes these qualities. The artist's probing, intense gaze suggests his relentless search for a reality beyond the obvious and his determination to follow this uncompromising vision regardless of the consequences. One of Gustave Courbet's self-portraits, *Self-Portrait, Man with a Pipe* (circa 1846–1847), depicts a brooding, veiled, and enigmatic image of the artist, while a halo of unruly hair frames the face and hints at his independent character. Max Beckmann's *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo* (1927), with its monumental frontality and confrontational stare, reinstates the artist's solitary role as seer and critic of the world around him. The romantic movement has been described as a veritable war of liberation, not only against established institutions of society, but against the bedrock of tradition and authority. Modern artists, as direct inheritors of this legacy, have often come to regard themselves as different, not bound by ordinary conventions, and as loners, set apart from the surrounding society. Artists, therefore, almost by definition have become outsiders, or "others."

Like the biblical scapegoat set loose in the wilderness (Leviticus 16:20–22), those members of society castigated for their "otherness"—whether because of social rank, physical disability, religion, ethnicity, or morals—are relegated to the margins of the community in an effort to ignore their existence or to prevent their assimilation into the group. Society seems to constantly redefine its margins according to new perceptions

and desires, and the outsider always exists. The artist reflects these metamorphoses of taste and morality and offers pictorial and tangible proof of the existence and influence of the margin.

See also Abandonment; Madness; Melancholy; Music

Selected Works of Art

Medieval

Bayeux Tapestry, embroidered linen, eleventh century,

Bayeux, France, Musée de la Tapisserie

Archivolts, sculpture, circa 1130, Aulnay-de-Saintonge,

France, Church of Saint-Pierre

Tympanum, sculpture, central portal of narthex, 1120–1132,

Vézelay, France, Church of the Madeleine

Last Supper, fresco, west choir wall, twelfth century, Nohant-Vicq, Church of Saint-Martin

World Map, manuscript, *Psalter*, thirteenth century, London, British Library (Add MS 28681, fol. 9r)

Gospel Book, manuscript, from Speyer, Germany, circa 1233–1236, Karlsruhe, Germany, Landsebibliothek (Bruchs.I, fol. 17)

Renaissance

The Cloisters Apocalypse, manuscript, fourteenth century,

New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cloisters (fol. 5v)

Gentile da Fabriano, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1423, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Masaccio, *Expulsion from Paradise*, fresco, circa 1427, Florence, Italy, Santa Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel

Giovanni di Paolo, *Expulsion from Paradise*, circa 1445, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection

Jew Astride a Goat, wood carving on choir stool, fifteenth century, Aerschot, Belgium, Church of Notre Dame

Eighteenth–Twentieth Century

Mahu, Cornelius, *Wedding Dance in a Barn*, 1645, private collection

Friedrich, Caspar David, *Self-Portrait*, circa 1810, Berlin, Germany, Staatlich Museen

Géricault, Théodore, *The Madman*, 1821–1824, Ghent, Belgium, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Courbet, Gustave, *Self-Portrait, Man with a Pipe*, circa 1846–1847, Montpellier, France, Musée Fabre

Hunt, William Holman, *Scapegoat*, 1855, Manchester, England, Manchester Art Gallery

Frith, William Powell, *Derby Day*, 1858, London, Tate Gallery

Daumier, Honoré, *The Third-Class Carriage*, 1861, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, the H. O. Havemeyer Collection

Tenniel, John, *The Wife Beater*, from *Punch* LXVI (May 30, 1874)

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MARRIAGE/BETROTHAL

Brucia Witthoft

The following motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Marriage/Betrothal:

COURTSHIP

WEDDING CONTRACT

PREPARATION FOR THE
WEDDING

EXCHANGING VOWS

EXCHANGING RINGS

JOINING OF HANDS

WEDDING FEASTS

WEDDING DANCES

WEDDING PROCESSIONS

THE WEDDING NIGHT

MARRIAGE BY PROXY

MARRIAGE PORTRAITS

FILMS



Jan van Eyck, *Arnolfini Wedding* (*Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami*), 1434, London, National Gallery (Courtesy of the National Gallery, London)

Marriage is the union of sexuality and property, and as such it has been a central concern of every human society and viewed as a fundamental condition of human life: “For as in the days that were before the flood they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage, until the day that Noah entered into the ark” (Matthew 24:38). Uniting two persons, or more generally two families, has historically been a long and complex process. The time required for negotiation, betrothal, celebration, and consummation was often proportional to the social status of the parties involved. Remarkably, many of these rituals and customs have been conserved in the Western marital process despite vast transformations in religious and economic practices. Marriage is frequently the subject of novels and motion pictures, and therefore plays an important part in twentieth-century popular culture: a formal wedding photograph is often the most prominent work of art in the American household.

Marital customs were depicted on Greek pottery and Roman sarcophagi. Later, sacred weddings began to appear in medieval Christian art. Scenes of “real” wedding customs began to appear in the Renaissance, particularly on some Florentine marriage chests and in early Netherlandish painting. Married couples appeared in Dutch paired and joint portraits, and by the eighteenth century, the subject of marriage eventually attracted the sharp-witted criticism of artists such as William Hogarth. Because marriage is a contract carrying personal and financial obligations, its depiction in art can serve as a record of, or witness to, that contract.

Marriage in the primitive sense, reflected in the Old Testament story of Jacob and his wives, was the purchase of a female’s reproductive capacity by the labor, wit, or strength of a male. Females were assessed such a value because, when food supplies were ample, women represented the limiting factor in population. Jacob worked to pay for his two wives (not coincidentally, a job that increased the population of his father-in-law’s sheep) and was rewarded by the opportunity to father children of his own. The competition between his wives to bear children emphasizes the biological, rather than psychological, rewards of marriage.

Property, in the tangible sense of land, as well as the forging of familial or dynastic alliances, has been the motive for many historical and literary weddings. *The Marriage of Solomon and Sheba* (circa 1460) by Piero della Francesca depicts one such scene in contemporary forms, with symbolic references to the hoped-for union of Eastern and Western Christianity in the mid-fifteenth century. In the fresco, Solomon and his bride grasp hands (see description of Roman marital customs, below) to seal the marriage contract in the presence of numerous witnesses. The conquest of France by King Henry V of England yielded Katherine, daughter of the French king, as his bride.

This alliance is similarly portrayed in William Shakespeare’s play *Henry V* and in the film versions of the play (directed by Laurence Olivier, 1944; directed by Kenneth Branagh, 1989). Even the prosperous peasants painted by Pieter Bruegel the Elder in *Peasant Wedding Banquet* (circa 1565) seek to ally their child with an heir to fertile fields.

Among the propertied classes, the custom of exchanging property in marriage was formalized as bride-price (a payment that the groom owed to his wife’s parents) or dowry (money or objects of value given by the bride’s family to the groom, either totally into his control or under conditions stipulating disposal upon the death of the wife). For example, the price of the adulteress whom Hosea purchased to live with him in a monogamous relationship was 15 pieces of silver and one and a half homers (approximately 16 bushels) of barley (Hosea 3:2). Probably because the purchase of a bride prevails largely in tribal societies without significant narrative art forms, it is rarely represented. Dowry, on the other hand, has appeared in Renaissance paintings of marriage processions, such as the painted Florentine *cassone* (a traditional Italian chest that held the dowry) *Wedding of Leonora Bardi and Ippolito Buondelmonte* (fifteenth century), and in paintings of marriage feasts such as Apollonio di Giovanni’s *Wedding of Dido and Aeneas* (fifteenth century). Among the prosperous peasantry and small merchant classes, the dowry consisted of household linens, personal clothing, and jewelry. The rich, in addition, received monetary endowments or real estate. The pile of coins on the table in Hogarth’s *Betrothal from Marriage à la Mode* (1745) represents such a financial settlement.

Marriage is a process, not a single event. The stages in this process are remarkably consistent in Western culture. First is a determination of marriageability, that is, selection of a spousal candidate on the basis of physical maturity, health, financial standing, clan, tribal, or even political affiliation. Parents and relatives may make this choice; children’s rights to refuse a proposed spouse vary. Selection is followed by negotiation, which is concerned largely with monetary arrangements but may also in some societies determine issues such as whether the wife remains under the jurisdiction of her own family, becomes her husband’s property, or acquires legal independence. A successful negotiation leads to betrothal, an ambiguous state sometimes considered as binding as marriage but preceding the physical consummation. Physical union is usually required for the completion of the process, and the establishment of a new household, with concomitant financial settlement.

Sexual attraction is often considered an accidental impediment to the selection of a desirable marital partner, although legend and literature have long recognized the mystery of “the way of a man with a maid” (Proverbs 30:19). In the world of the ancient Greeks, concubinage and the low status of women

virtually eliminated the romantic impulse from marriage. In medieval times and later, among the underclass with no property to divide, the choice of a wife or husband did depend on attraction. Cases in which personal preference conflicted with familial goals are described in Giovanni Boccaccio's "Third Tale of the Second Day" of *The Decameron* (1349–1351), Geoffrey Chaucer's "The Merchant's Tale" from *The Canterbury Tales* (1385–1400), as well as various fourteenth-century *novelles*. The main character of Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders* (1722) marries according to her own preferences and divorces just as easily and informally. Dalliance and amorous glances occur in contexts separate from marital imagery, as in the anonymous *The Month of May* (before 1407), a calendar fresco in the Torre Aquila in Trent, Italy.

Roman law specified that a son could reject the bride chosen for him by his father and that the father had the power to veto his son or daughter's choice of a mate, clearly implying that the young people in Roman society had at least some opportunity to meet and adjudge potential partners. Literature suggests that late medieval and early modern Europe saw personal choice largely in conflict with family interest. It was not until the Enlightenment that treatment of marriage as an economic transaction began to be thought of as immoral. America's agrarian democracy and the rootlessness of continental expansion left both the choice and the marital arrangements to the participants, as seen in John Rogers's popular plaster sculpture *Going to the Parson* (1875).

Betrothal and marriage in ancient Greece can be studied from abundant visual evidence and literary references. Wedding scenes appear on both black-figured and red-figured vases, especially on objects for women's use, according to John Oakley and Rebecca Hague Sinos (*The Wedding in Ancient Athens*, 1993) on objects for women's use. While ancient Greek marriage was arranged through negotiations between the parents of the couple, mythology tells of brides being won by a trial, as in the story of Hippodamia.

Marriage in the Greek world was a rite of passage, which, like any change of state or place, was dangerous. Just as a traveler crossing a bridge is not so secure as one standing on firm ground, transitions suspend people between secure roles, making them vulnerable—in Greek terms, vulnerable to the whims of the gods. To mitigate the risk, a bride and her family sacrificed to the gods before her wedding. The young woman dedicated objects to Artemis indicative of her childhood (toys, ornaments) and requested the protection of the Olympians as she passed from childhood in one household to adulthood in another. Both bride and groom were bathed in water drawn and carried from a sacred spring in a *loutrophoros* (wedding pitcher). The vessel might be decorated with marital imagery, perhaps of the wedding procession. The bride was led to her bath with accompanying musicians and gaily dressed women. She was then dressed in a special garment: a belt, which when tightly bound around her waist symbolized her virginity, and when undone by the groom, her deflowering. She wore jewelry, a crown, a veil, and bridal sandals.

The ancient Greek wedding began with a feast. Families of both the bride and groom participated, as well as friends and clients of the couple's fathers. Men and women ate separately in accordance with the customary Greek practice of separating

the sexes. Sumptuary laws attempted to control the extent of the festivities, which clearly served the additional purpose of establishing, via "potlatch" economics, the power of the host. Sinos points out that the public nature of the festivities, in the absence of written contracts, also served to "publish" the wedding before witnesses. Both feasting and the procession are represented on a François vase (sixth century B.C.) in the story of the marriage of the mortal Peleus and the sea goddess Thetis.

The wedding procession, which transferred the bride from her state as a child in her parents' home to a woman in her husband's, followed the feast. At evening, the groom grasped the bride by the wrist and, with a mock show of force, removed her from her mother. She traveled by wagon in a torchlit procession to her new home, accompanied by attendants (often including a child, who appears to represent the god of erotic love, Eros). Sinos notes that this procession is the most common wedding scene to be portrayed on black-figured vases, indicating that it was the most significant event of the wedding process. Often the couple are depicted riding in a chariot, conflating them with the Olympian weddings of the gods, although the actual vehicle in Athenian practice was a plain wagon. Later red-figured vases more frequently portray the earlier moment when, still on foot, the groom has taken hold of his bride to lead her away. One red-figured vase shows the couple departing in a shower of old shoes thrown by the wedding guests.

After a ritualized reception, the couple were put to bed in the groom's paternal home to the accompaniment of song and ribald jokes. The door was guarded by the *thyroros* (a friend of the groom) as wedding guests and friends remained outside all night to sing, bang on the walls, and create a general distraction apparently meant to drown out the young girl's cries of pain. At dawn, the couple rose to another day of festivities, offering food to guests who arrived with gifts.

Almost every element of the ancient Athenian wedding ceremony is instantly recognizable today. The special preparation and dress of the bride, the importance of a shared meal, the release from the father's household and departure for a new one, and the opportunities for lewd remarks and mock-hostile behavior are constants that seem to have survived every social transformation in the ensuing centuries. The direct basis for marital practices in the medieval and Renaissance periods was Roman law and custom. And while Roman legal terms defined marriage for later eras, Roman practices appear to have been closely related, with a few alterations, to Greek rituals.

As in Greece, Roman marriage ordinarily began with research and negotiation. Roman myth incorporated an element of violence, however, most notably in the story of the Sabine women (the subject of a Peter Paul Rubens painting). Livy, the Roman historian (59 B.C.–A.D. 17) was the source of Rome's foundation myth, which symbolized the integration of the supposed immigrants with native tribal peoples. Actual Roman practice is probably better represented in either the letters of Pliny the Younger, who was looking for a suitable wife for the niece of Junius Maricus (Treggiari, p. 87), or in Roman comedy. Plautus, in *Trinummus* (early second century B.C.), has a character say, "My son has sent me to you to arrange a marriage-tie and good feeling between you and us. He wants to marry your sister; my decision is the same and I want it too" (442–445; in Treggiari, p. 108). The introduction of profes-

sional marriage brokers in the imperial epoch was an addition to the process, probably reflecting the increased complexity of the larger Roman society.

The prescribed dress of Roman brides mimicked the garments said to be worn by the wife of a priest of Jupiter, the king of the gods. Thus, the tie between marital practice and organized religion was more explicitly delineated in imperial Rome than it had been in classical Athens. The Roman bride's dress was supposed to be woven on an archaic upright loom; her girdle, like that of the Greeks', was tied with a special knot that the groom would loose. Her hair was parted with a spear and combed into six braids. This process is described in Lucius Apuleius's *The Golden Ass* (4:26) and appears in a Pompeian fresco *Dressing the Bride* (first century B.C.), now in Naples, Italy.

Roman society tolerated many nonstandard cults. The nonstandard, Dionysian preparation of a bride or initiate, with its attendant whipping and musical accompaniment, appears to be depicted in a fresco in the Villa of Mysteries in Pompeii (first century B.C.). The groom was also carefully, though never so violently, prepared: Roman biographer and historian Suetonius refers to sending a groom for a haircut. Even the house itself was prepared, with greens and lit with torches, probably resembling the decorations on the Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome.

A friend of the family assumed the role of *ausper* (soothsayer) and read the omens; it was considered "shocking" to omit this part of the ritual. The groom came to the wedding "surrounded by a great crowd of kinsmen and connections and sacrificing in the temples and public shrines." Attendance at the weddings of friends and relatives was considered a duty (Treggiari, p. 164).

A written contract for the dowry might be witnessed and sealed at the wedding. In Roman law (and in common law ever since) a handshake sealed a contract. Thus, the joining of the hands of the bride and groom, the most frequently represented marital image in Roman art, relates marriage to the larger world of Roman law and custom. This scene appears on a number of sarcophagi, such as one held by the British Museum in London on which the depicted arrangement of guests and witnesses simulates the iconography of military triumphal monuments. A similarity between depictions of weddings and triumphal processions reappears in Italian Renaissance imagery (see Francesca, below).

Uxorem ducere, or *deducere*, meant literally to lead a bride to her new home. The Romans, however, sent the groom ahead after the feast so that he awaited her at his home. The bride was tearfully, perhaps forcibly, torn from her mother. The *deductio in domum mariti*, or *pompa* (wedding procession) took place by torchlight. Three young boys led the bride, her many attendants threw nuts to the crowd, while onlookers sang obscene ditties and repeatedly shouted *hymen hymenaeae* (the marriage song). The marriage procession, not the conjoining of hands, was the most important element in the classical Roman ceremony because it served to publish the wedding, as in classical Athens, and because the physical removal of the bride once again served as metaphor for her change of state. The procession was neither a legal requirement, nor was it prescribed by religious doctrine. It was a ritual tied directly to marriage itself.

When she reached her new home, her attendants lifted the bride over the threshold. This echoes primitive bride-stealing

traditions: once the bride is in the house, she is legally married. In Roman law, her presence indicated consent, and consent, not consummation, is the essence of contract. Inside, she performed certain rites, such as putting a coin in the hearth to ensure prosperity and fertility. A festive dinner took place in the groom's house the following day. The wedding feast and the postconsummation dinner might be lavish, and both served as displays of familial power. Although history includes many examples of divorce in the Roman world, there is no doubt that marriage was intended to be a true partnership and sharing of responsibility, and inscriptions on tombs often convey the grief of the surviving spouse (Treggiari, pp. 245ff).

Roman law and custom proved a powerful influence on the Christian societies of medieval and early modern Europe, shaping social behavior as they had shaped the Roman Catholic Church. The fact that the joining of hands is the most frequently chosen act in medieval and Renaissance imagery testifies to the power of Roman precedent. It is seen in Gothic manuscript illumination (late thirteenth century), on Lorenzo Ghiberti's bronze *Gates of Paradise* (circa 1440) for the Baptistry in Florence, in Francesca's frescoes in Arezzo, and is the subject of Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Wedding* (*Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami*) (1434). To this tradition, Christianity added—rather, developed from a mere hint in Roman practice—an emphasis on the spiritual dimension of the marital bond. The Jewish duty to marry, because of the emphasis placed on family in celebration of holidays and the Sabbath, may have been an ingredient in the formation of Christian practice. The Anglican prayer book states the Christian view clearly: marriage is a sacrament, given to mankind by God when he created Eve. Its purposes are to bring children into the world, to "prevent fornication," and for the mutual "society, help and comfort" of the couple through good and bad fortune.

Wedding scenes from the Old and New Testaments appear in art as idealized or abstracted versions of actual practice, designed to illustrate moral principles, yet reflecting some aspects of the artist's own experience. In the Old Testament, marriage is more often mentioned than described in detail, so that artists wishing to illustrate Old Testament weddings had to draw upon later custom. Only a modest number of biblical examples of marriage are depicted in art with any frequency.

To begin at the beginning, Adam and Eve are married in the Garden of Eden by God, who joins their hands, Roman fashion (Heimann, 1975). The marriage of Solomon and Sheba is not recounted in I Kings 10, but Sheba's arrival in a lavish procession and her gifts to the king, who reciprocates by giving "all her desire," parallel marital customs. This elusive description grows into the formal conjoining of hands depicted by Ghiberti on the *Gates of Paradise* and as a component of Francesca's *True Cross* fresco cycle in Arezzo, Italy. The wedding of Tobias (Apocrypha, Tobit 8:4–5) seems to have been especially popular in the seventeenth century, the subject of paintings by Pieter Lastman, Nikolaus Knupfer, and Jan Steen. Tobias appears in his wedding chamber in Pieter Lastman's delightful painting *Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah* (1611). In this work, the bride sits on the edge of the bed as Tobias, on his angel's advice, broils a piece of fish to drive off the devil that has murdered her previous suitors.

Two marriages in the New Testament are frequently portrayed in art of the fourteenth through the sixteenth century: Mary's marriage to Joseph, and the marriage at Cana, where Jesus Christ, as a guest, performed a protoeucharistic miracle. The Marriage of the Virgin is not described in the Gospels; only Matthew and Luke recount the infancy cycle. In both, Mary is espoused to Joseph but the union unconsummated (Matthew 1:18–19, Luke 1:27). A considerable body of extrabiblical legends have accrued to this marriage, most prominent among them the story of the choice of suitors. Joseph and other hopeful men each lay a bare branch upon the altar of a temple. God's choice of Joseph as Mary's spouse—to deceive the devil as well as skeptical contemporaries—was indicated when his branch was found to have sprouted leaves and flowers overnight. In Raphael's *Marriage of the Virgin* (1504), the disappointed suitors break their worthless sticks as the hands of Mary and Joseph are joined by a priest.

Depictions of Mary's marriage, lacking any specific biblical narrative details, are based upon late medieval and Renaissance marriage customs. Similarly, the depictions of the marriage at Cana look very much like the wedding feasts described in Florentine law and literature, or like mythological weddings, such as the portrayal of the *Wedding of Dido and Aeneas* in Apollonio di Giovanni's fifteenth-century *Aeneid* manuscript illuminations. The patterns of Renaissance marriage, therefore, may be used to interpret biblical and secular weddings portrayed in art.

Marriage in the Renaissance combined elements of Roman custom and law, Jewish and Christian medieval practice, and contemporary power politics. The process began with the selection of a possible candidate. Mothers might look over the young people they saw in church to judge apparent health and attractiveness; fathers might be more directly concerned with financial stability and political alliances. In Florence, a special type of bank account—the *monte delle dote*—enabled families to budget for their daughters' dowries as modern families save for college tuitions.

Once a candidate for a child's spouse was selected, a process not very different from that found in the ancient world ensued. Again, the stages in marrying consisted of negotiation, betrothal, celebration, transfer of the bride to the groom's household, and consummation.

Prebetrothal financial negotiations were conducted by a marriage broker or by relatives of the families. A dowry consisted of two parts. The *donora* (material goods) consisted largely of linens and clothing. These objects were evaluated by a professional appraiser and are often listed in Florentine merchants' *ricordi* (memoirs). The *donora* played an important part in the ceremonial transfer of the bride, as it was carried in the wedding chests that were such a prominent feature of Florentine marriage customs. The Buondelmonte wedding procession depicted on a fifteenth-century *cassone* shows that even heavy chests could be transported on the back of a single porter. (The story of Leonora Bardi and Ippolito Buondelmonte is recounted in an anonymous quattrocento novella.) For peasants and small merchants, the *donora* was the major or entire dowry. The rich, however, also exchanged substantial sums of money.

When two families were substantially in agreement, the fathers of the bride and groom, and often the groom as well,

met before a notary to swear out a legal agreement. Without any formal participation of the bride, the couple were now considered engaged. Courtship was the next step, during which the groom would visit his betrothed, bring her gifts, and dine with her family. Because it was the groom's duty to furnish the new home (usually, the designated bedroom in the paternal house), he also ordered a bed, a pair of wedding chests, and a *lettuccio* (daybed).

The bride took part in the process for the first time on the "day of the ring." Combining Roman and Jewish or Byzantine custom, she and her fiancé declared their willingness to marry and shook hands. The notary, a key figure in the mercantile climate of the fifteenth century, conducted the ceremony. He then repeated the formula, "what God hath joined together," etc. A rare example of this scene is found in the fresco cycle *Works of Charity* (late fifteenth century) done by a follower of Domenico Ghirlandaio in S. Martino del Vescovo in Florence. Although the laws of many Italian communes stipulated the presence of a priest, in practice there was usually none. In fact, one law states specifically that the notary takes the place of the priest. In northern Europe the ceremony may have taken place on the steps of the church, as depicted by Robert Campin in *Marriage of the Virgin* (circa 1430) in the Prado in Madrid, Spain. Van Eyck's *Arnolfini Wedding* shows the couple joining hands in their bedroom, in the presence of a witness—the artist—whose image is reflected dimly in the mirror behind them.

At this ceremony, or within a few days, the groom gave his wife a ring. This custom, believed to be of Byzantine origin, had been practiced by the Jews of the Diaspora since the seventh century. In Renaissance Christian ceremony, the influence of Roman practice on the one hand, and the ring tradition on the other, led to a doubling of ritual. On the "day of the ring," a wedding banquet took place either at the bride's father's home or outside in the street to accommodate a large crowd of guests. Sumptuary laws attempted in vain to control the expense by limiting the number of guests or the number of dishes, but the opportunity for lavish display served the same power-enhancing function that it had in ancient societies. Because the laws were written and enforced to support the power of the ruling factions, enforcement against that class was negligible. Objects from the *donora* and gifts of gold and silver were often displayed at the feast, as in Giovanni's *Wedding of Dido and Aeneas* manuscript illuminations. If the wedding feast took place outdoors, tents might be strung across the street.

The wedding procession was in the Renaissance Christian ceremony, as it was in Rome, the central and most public element in the ritual. At the end of the banquet, the groom took his bride through the streets to her new home while the groom's party may have enacted a ritualized abduction (as was still the custom in village weddings in many rural areas well into the nineteenth century). The Renaissance procession was a festive demonstration related to other displays of power, such as the triumphal entries staged by returning monarchs, and the *donora* was carried through the streets like war booty. The spirit of the event can be judged from works such as Francesca's *Triumph of Federigo da Montefeltro* (circa 1459). Here, on the back of his wedding portrait, the duke rides in glory, accompanied by courtiers and symbolic figures. His "triumph" is analogous to the images that illustrate Petrarch's "Triumph of Love,

Chastity, Death, etc.” on a pair of panels in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston. In Florence, processions were on foot—sumptuary laws restricted the use of horses or parade wagons. Musicians, friends, and allies of the groom’s party, accompanied the bride. Because the procession is a vital rite, even the Virgin, on her way to Joseph’s home, is led by a musician and accompanied by a crowd in Giotto’s fresco *Marriage Procession of the Virgin* (1303–1306) in the Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy.

Actual wedding processions were large and rowdy. There was good reason for a large party to accompany the newly married couple as the parade provided opportunities for expressions of hostility and jealousy. Rude joking, throwing objects, and even street barricades faced the wedding parade. (A novella by Agnolo Firenzuola follows a street gang as they intercept a wedding procession and demand a ring as ransom.) The throwing of stones and filth at the house of a newly married couple was a practice that had to be specifically forbidden by the Florentine *Statuti* of 1415.

A second banquet took place when the triumphal procession reached the groom’s home. Gifts were exchanged; the guests danced, drank, and played games. The couple would then be put to bed, a scene not considered suitable for artistic interpretation. (Pictures of bedded couples are likely to depict either adultery or rape.) A flurry of smaller celebrations continued for several days, like aftershocks following an earthquake, as the bride made a return visit to her parents, distributed gifts to her female relatives, and banqueted.

By the sixteenth century, aristocratic weddings had evolved into staged spectacles important in the development of European theater, but their essential components were unchanged. Peasant weddings in early modern Europe followed similar patterns. The *Peasant Wedding Banquet* (circa 1565) and *Peasant Wedding Dance* (1566) depicted by Bruegel are the best examples of sixteenth-century custom among the more prosperous peasantry. In the former work, a crowned bride is dressed in finery and sits between her parents before a cloth of honor. A pair of wheat sheaves hangs above her head. The lord of the manor has dropped in to offer congratulations; he chats with a monk. All present belong to the bride’s party. The groom’s family and friends are not included, but in all probability they are celebrating outside the door shown at the rear. The wedding dance will follow the meal. As late as the nineteenth century, Russian peasant weddings resembled scenes from Bruegel. In Vasili Maximovich Maximov’s *The Magician Arrives at the Village Wedding* (1874), family and friends sit on rough benches, gay banners hang from the rafters, and musicians entertain the company. Judging from peasant customs documented in countries isolated since the nineteenth century such as Sardinia and Albania, at some point the groom was to grab his bride and drag her away. She entered her new home, where the mock tears of the wedding abduction might correctly describe her future. She was the person of lowest status in the household, subject to the orders of her mother-in-law and the wives of her husband’s older brothers. Not until she bore a son was she accorded a measure of dignity.

The twenty-fourth session of the Council of Trent in 1563 gave the Roman Catholic Church actual control of European marriage for the first time. New regulations for record keeping

mandated the publication of banns, or intents to marry, in the church in advance of the wedding date, the presence of a priest, as well as the presence of witnesses. This seems to have initiated the practice of celebrating the wedding vows with a conjugal mass inside the church before the altar. The sacramental ritual gradually supplanted earlier custom, although not without considerable resistance among conservative families. There remained the basic components of the process—selection, negotiation, contract, and celebration—but the bride’s banquet was postponed until after the church ceremony, and the groom’s banquet became obsolete. The wedding party still wandered about on foot: first to the church, then back to dine, physical travel retaining its symbolic significance as change of state. Jan Steen’s *Village Wedding* (1653) shows that the common people continued to transfer the bride to her husband’s home as they had a century earlier.

By the seventeenth century, there was no longer a special category of art (like Greek *loutrophoroi* or Florentine wedding chests) associated with weddings. Portraits of married couples, either paired panels that formed a sort of secular diptych, or a portrait of the husband and wife together, such as Rembrandt van Rijn’s so-called *Jewish Wedding* (circa 1666), commemorated weddings or anniversaries. Peter Paul Rubens chronicled the politically significant marriage of France’s Henry IV and Marie de Médicis, which took place by proxy (1621–1624). Because Henry would not accept the loss of status that traveling to his bride would have entailed, and Marie, as a maiden, could not properly travel to him, Henry sent a stand-in to Italy. The king’s glove served to represent him for the handclasp, which sealed the marriage.

The reforms of the Council of Trent were paralleled, to some extent, by continental Protestant churches. In England, however, most of medieval canon law, with its flexible standards, remained in place. The abdication of the authority of the church was most sharply challenged under Oliver Cromwell (1642), when the ceremony outlined in the Book of Common Prayer was denounced as “popish,” and again in 1653, when Parliament declared weddings that took place in church or before a clergyman illegal. This extreme position was unacceptable to much of the English population. Lawrence Stone has characterized the result as “chaos,” each family electing its own combination of secular and religious ceremonies, leaving endless scope for deception and litigation. These events may have spawned the spread to the middle classes of the loosely construed marriage customs prevalent among the poor. An example of this would be Defoe’s character, Moll Flanders, who several times in the course of the novel marries and separates on the basis of mutual agreement. The legal situation in England was not regularized until the passage of the Marriage Act of 1753.

The conditions in the English colonies in the Western Hemisphere provided further impetus for change. Religious dissidents who settled New England had their own ceremonies, loosely based on post-Tridentine principles as adopted by European sects. But primitive living conditions for the struggling settlers limited the scope of the visual arts to occasional European-derived portraits, usually of married persons. Narrative painting begins to appear in the English colonies only late in the eighteenth century.

The Enlightenment profoundly affected traditional views of marriage. As each person was accorded both autonomy and equality, the notion of arranged marriage, particularly those arranged for advantage, became anathema. Hogarth's novel-in-pictures *Marriage à la Mode* chronicles the personal and social effects that result from two fathers' attempts to control their children's choice of mate for their own gain. In *Betrothal*, an impoverished aristocrat, having disdained to profit from business ventures, offers his distinguished ancestral line in exchange for a non-pedigreed businessman's hard cash. Hogarth makes it clear that the young couple have not been consulted and are already looking elsewhere for returned affection.

Courtship, celebrated in poem and novel, became a matter between the young, who were granted greater opportunities for social contact. In actual practice, of course, individual choice often coincided with class interests—a girl who dressed in silk and played the harp attracted richer suitors than did the peasant maid. Antoine Watteau's *Fêtes Champêtres* and *The Embarkation for Cythera* (1717) depict in fantasized form the dalliance that children of the upper classes were now permitted. The couple who married upon personal choice then presided over household and land in a partnership in which the wife, although still unequal in law and status, nevertheless gained some personal autonomy. Such a couple appears, posed informally, in Thomas Gainsborough's *Robert Andrews and His Wife* (circa 1748). Andrews, with dog and gun, stands beside an ornate bench upon which his elegantly dressed wife is seated, and together they survey their domain, the rich grain fields and meadows that provide their wealth. Their appearance and pose are reminiscent of Elizabeth Bennett and Mr. Darcy, Jane Austen's characters from *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), at Pemberley.

Nineteenth-century painting dealt with sexuality and marriage in a variety of ways. Romanticism intensified the emphasis on individual choice, placing sexual attraction and emotional bonds foremost in the choice of marriage partners. When the romantic artists dealt with marriage customs, they tended to portray a "natural" society of peasants or tribes inspired by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. Salon painters, on the other hand, chronicled bourgeois social customs—sometimes approvingly, occasionally critically—with faithful attention to detail. American genre scenes emphasized freedom from family ties and showed how a nation of immigrants and migrants left arrangements for marriage up to the couples themselves.

Unions that crossed political or social boundaries became the subject matter of romantic literature, appearing in works such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Werther* (1774), Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1847), and Alessandro Manzoni's *The Betrothed* (3 vols., 1827). Eugène Delacroix illustrated Goethe's *Faust* (1808, 1832), a story of illicit sexual attraction (among other themes) fascinating to the romantic spirit. Among the romantics, only artists such as Philipp Otto Runge saw in intimate family relations a passion as exciting as the attraction of exotic and illicit love. In his *Wir Drei* (1804, We Three) the artist, his wife, and his brother are bound together by a "community of understanding" (Honour, p. 251) deeper than any other social tie.

A longing for earlier, more "natural" human relations led Delacroix to travel to North Africa; his *Jewish Wedding* (1839)

associates modern Jewish customs in Morocco to a lost biblical world. In Delacroix's painting, guests recline on the ground in a stuccoed courtyard. A bride enters from the left, leading a dance to the accompaniment of lute and tambourine. In her rich, colorful costume and dark complexion, Delacroix seems to allude to the biblical Rachel or Esther. The simple, earthy expression of this scene was in contrast to the artifice of the European society of Delacroix's time.

The Health of the Bride (1889) by Stanhope Forbes is an example of such European social artifice. In Forbes's painting, a wedding dinner takes place in the confined space of a conventional nineteenth-century parlor. Prim women sit stiffly upright in their boned corsets, knives and forks placed precisely beside each dinner plate. Queen Victoria set just such an example for the middle class of late nineteenth-century England. Edwin Landseer's *Windsor Castle in Modern Times* (*Queen Victoria, the Prince Consort and the Princess Royal at Windsor*) (1840–1843) depicts the ruler herself as a bourgeois wife and mother, surrounded by family, pets, and upholstered furniture.

Coerced marriage was still a social problem addressed by a number of painters. In Vasili Vladimirovich Pukirev's *The Unequal Marriage* (1862), a young, pale, beautiful bride and a distinguished elderly groom stand before a priest. The priest's face is thrown into darkness, as the light from behind and above him illuminates the unhappy young woman. Grim-faced witnesses form a tenebrous background to the scene. The sequel to such a union, a cold and loveless partnership, is portrayed in works such as William Quiller Orchardson's *Le Mariage de Convenance* (1883). Here, an unhappy couple sit at opposite ends of a long table, scarcely willing to bid each other good day.

The persistence of long-standing behavioral patterns, even after the intellectual impact of the Enlightenment and the economic transformations of the Industrial Revolution, is a remarkable feature of marriage imagery in all schools of nineteenth-century painting. Negotiation, betrothal, preparation of the bride, shared meals, and obligatory travel remain as prominent themes. In John Henry Frederick Bacon's *A Wedding Morning* (1892), a bride stands in a bedroom, holding up her veil to assist an older woman (her mother?) in pinning a seam of her dress. In addition to being observed by other marriageable young women, a little girl (her sister?) watches the bride and perhaps sees in the bride her own future.

The greatest change in nineteenth-century marital behavior occurred in the initiation of the process. Increasingly, the choice of a partner rested with individuals. New social patterns, like informal dances and cafes, provided meeting places for children of the middle class. Pierre-Auguste Renoir's *Le Moulin de la Galette* (1876) is an earthier version of the amorous gardens painted by Jean-Honoré Fragonard, a place where flirtation and courtship might enable the youth of Paris to select a mate. A state of courtship might persist for years, as long as financial constraints prevented the couple from establishing a household of their own, a situation depicted by Arthur B. Hughes in *The Long Engagement* (1859). Hughes offers little hope for his engaged couple: they look at the names they carved into a tree trunk years ago, names that the ivy is already beginning to obliterate.

The initiative in taking the next step was also increasingly left to individuals. Rogers's aforementioned sculpture *Going to the Parson* depicts an awkward young man and his blushing fiancée on a visit to a comfortably middle-aged minister to ask him to preside at their wedding. The scenario is frequently repeated in popular culture. Innumerable Hollywood films (such as Frank Capra's *It Happened One Night*, 1934) bring an attractive young couple before a minister or justice of the peace and his wife, who serves as witness. The contrast between the sexual personae of the young and the postsexual coziness of the older married couple is part of modern myth.

The wedding procession is the subject of Marc Chagall's romanticized *Village Wedding I* (1909) and *Village Wedding II* (1910). Two musicians lead a bride and groom through a village street. They are followed by family and watched by passersby—the painting a kind of Polish shtetl (small town) version of Giotto's Arena Chapel *Marriage Procession of the Virgin* painted 600 years earlier. Although Chagall's painting is probably based on his childhood memories, the artist's choice of a subject is just as likely based on a desire to preserve an idealized past, like Delacroix's *Jewish Wedding*.

Although largely abandoned by avant-garde artists, the subject of marriage is a staple of contemporary popular culture. Weddings are recorded by a photographer, who is as essential to the ceremony as the Renaissance notary or the post-Tridentine priest. The record includes a formal portrait in which the bride's dress is artfully draped around her feet, as well as a large group of "candid" shots depicting the wedding dance and the cutting of the wedding cake. The popular iconography of twentieth-century marriage is displayed in a long series of episodes of the comic strip *Gasoline Alley* by Frank King. Nina and Skeezix are childhood sweethearts whose first step toward marriage is recorded in "Closer and Closer" (1941). The story of Skeezix and Nina's courtship and marriage satisfied a demand for a vision of a world more stable and more cohesive than contemporary reality supplies. It is also a genuine record of the persistence of centuries-old marital customs.

Technology has changed, but has not destroyed, old customs. The shoes thrown at an Athenian couple are today tied to the back of an automobile. The wedding dance that took place in Bruegel's sixteenth-century barn is now held in a rented hall, the bagpiper replaced by a disk jockey. Twentieth-century marriage is still a process that begins with the selection of a partner; includes a period of betrothal; requires a ceremony of special clothes, meals, and dancing; and concludes in a wedding journey. Its place as the subject of popular art is as secure as its earlier role in sacred works and genre painting.

See also Abduction/Rape; Adultery; Birth/Childbirth; Love and Death; Widowhood

Selected Works of Art

Courtship

The Month of May, from *Labors of the Months*, calendar fresco, before 1407, Trent, Italy, Torre Aquila

Steen, Jan, *The Proposal*, oil on canvas, seventeenth century, private collection

Vois, Ary de, *Rustic Courtship*, oil on panel, 1656, London, Wallace Collection

Terborch, Gerard, *The Suitor's Visit*, oil on canvas, circa 1658, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Mulready, William, *The Sonnet*, 1839, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Hughes, Arthur, *The Long Engagement*, 1859, Birmingham, England, Birmingham City Art Gallery

Sadler, Walter Dendy, *Sweethearts*, 1892, London, Guildhall Art Gallery

Wedding Contract

Steen, Jan, *Wedding of Tobias and Sarah*, oil on canvas, circa 1667, Brunswick, Germany, Staatliches Herzog Anton-Ulrich Museum

Hogarth, William, *Betrothal*, from *Marriage à la Mode*, 1745, painting and engraving

Charles, James, *Signing the Register*, circa 1880s, Bradford, England, Bradford City Art Gallery

King, Frank, *Gasoline Alley*: "Closer and Closer," 1941, comic strip

Preparation for the Wedding

Dressing the Bride, fresco from Pompeii, first century B.C., Naples, Italy, National Museum

Premarital Rites (Cult of Dionysus), fresco, first century B.C., Pompeii, Villa of Mysteries

Halliday, Michael Frederick, *The Measure for the Wedding Ring*, 1855, private collection

Rogers, John, *Going to the Parson*, 1875, plaster sculpture, Framingham, Massachusetts, Danforth Museum of Art

Bacon, John Henry Frederick, *A Wedding Morning*, 1892, Port Sunlight, England, Lady Lever Art Gallery

Exchanging Vows

Ghirlandaio, follower of, *Marriage*, fresco cycle from *Works of Charity*, late fifteenth century, Florence, Italy, S. Martino del Vescovo

Pukirov, Vasili Vladimirovich, *The Unequal Marriage*, 1862, Moscow, Russia, State Tretyakov Gallery

Frith, William Powell, *The Marriage of the Prince of Wales*, 1865, England, Collection of Her Majesty, the Queen of England

Exchanging Rings

Sassetta, *Marriage of St. Francis to Lady Poverty*, panel from *Sansepolcro Altarpiece*, 1437–1444, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé

Verona, Michele da, *Betrothal*, panel, circa 1490, Berlin, Germany, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz

Raphael, *Marriage of the Virgin*, 1504, Milan, Italy, Brera Veronese, Paolo Caliari, *Mystical Marriage of St. Catherine*, oil on canvas, circa 1570s, Venice, Italy, Accademia

Schiavone, Andreas, *The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche*, oil on panel, before 1563, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Lichtenstein, Roy, *The Engagement Ring*, oil on canvas, 1961, collection of Mr. and Mrs. S. L. Newhouse Jr.

Joining of Hands

Sarcophagus with Marriage Scene, Roman sculpture, London, British Museum

Bible Moralisée, circa 1230, Oxford, Bodleian Library (2706, F. 6)

Decretum Gratiani, Flemish illuminated manuscript, late thirteenth century, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery (MS 10.135, f275)

Speculum Humanae Salvationis, Italian illuminated manuscript, circa 1370, Cologne, Germany, Historisches Archiv (W105)

Campin, Robert, *Marriage of the Virgin*, circa 1430, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Eyck, Jan van, *Arnolfini Wedding (Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami)*, 1434, London, National Gallery

Ghiberti, Lorenzo, *Marriage of Solomon and Sheba*, from *Gates of Paradise*, gilt bronze, circa 1440, Florence, Italy, Baptistery

Piero della Francesca, *The Marriage of Solomon and Sheba*, fresco, circa 1460, Arezzo, Italy, San Francesco

Wedding Feasts

François Vase, *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, Greek, sixth century B.C., Florence, Italy, Archaeological Museum

Apollonio di Giovanni, *Wedding of Dido and Aeneas*, fifteenth century, Florence, Italy, Biblioteca Riccardiana (Ms 492, *Aeneid*)

Veronese, Paolo, *Marriage at Cana*, oil on canvas, 1563, Paris, Louvre

Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Peasant Wedding Banquet*, circa 1565, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Steen, Jan, *The Marriage at Cana*, oil on canvas, 1660s, Blessington, Ireland, Sir Alfred Beit Collection

Steen, Jan, *The Marriage at Cana*, oil on canvas, 1676, Pasadena, California, Norton Simon Museum

Maximov, Vasili Maximovich, *The Magician Arrives at the Village Wedding*, 1874, Moscow, Russia, State Tretyakov Gallery

Forbes, Stanhope, *The Health of the Bride*, 1889, London, Tate Gallery

Wedding Dances

Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Peasant Wedding Dance*, oil on panel, 1566, Detroit, Michigan, Detroit Institute of Arts

Delacroix, Eugène, *Jewish Wedding*, 1839, Paris, Louvre

Wedding Processions

François Vase, *Wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, sixth century B.C., Florence, Italy, Archaeological Museum

Marriage of Thetis and Peleus, Greek dinos, circa 580 B.C., London, British Museum

Wedding Chariot, Greek dinos, circa 530 B.C., Salerno, Italy, Provincial Museum

Marlay Painter, *Wedding Procession*, Greek pyxis, circa 440 B.C., London, British Museum

Giotto, *Marriage Procession of the Virgin*, fresco, 1303–1306, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Florentine School, *Wedding of Leonora Bardi and Ippolito Buondelmonte*, carved chest, fifteenth century, Waltham, Massachusetts, Brandeis University

Piero della Francesca, *Triumph of Federigo da Montefeltro* (reverse of portrait), 1459, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Steen, Jan, *Village Wedding*, 1653, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen

Hicks, George Elgar, *Changing Homes*, 1862, London, Geffrye Museum

Frith, William Powell, *For Better. For Worse*, 1881, Forbes Magazine Collection

Chagall, Marc, *Village Wedding (I)*, 1909, Foundation E. G. Bühle, Zurich, Switzerland

Chagall, Marc, *Village Wedding (II)*, 1910, Paris, private collection

The Wedding Night

Sodoma, Il, *Marriage of Alexander and Roxana*, fresco, circa 1517, Rome, Villa Farnesina, bedroom

Lastman, Pieter, *Wedding Night of Tobias and Sarah*, 1611, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Steen, Jan, *The Prayer of Tobias and Sarah*, oil on canvas, 1654, Utrecht, The Netherlands, Centraal Museum

Knupfer, Nikolaus, *The Prayer of Tobias and Sarah*, oil on canvas, 1654, Utrecht, The Netherlands, Centraal Museum

Marriage by Proxy

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Proxy Marriage of Henry IV and Marie de Medicis*, 1621–1624, Versailles, France

Marriage Portraits

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jewish Wedding*, circa 1666, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Gainsborough, Thomas, *Robert Andrews and His Wife*, circa 1748, London, National Gallery

Runge, Philipp Otto, *Wir Drei*, 1804, destroyed

Landseer, Sir Edward, *Windsor Castle in Modern Times (Queen Victoria, the Prince Consort and the Princess Royal at Windsor)*, 1840–1843, London, Royal Collection

Orchardson, William Quillter, *Le Mariage de Convenance*, 1883, Glasgow, Scotland, City Art Museum

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Olivier, Laurence, *Henry V*, film, 1944

Branagh, Kenneth, *Henry V*, film, 1989

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MARTYRDOM

Alicia Craig Faxon

The following iconographic narratives are covered in the discussion of the theme Martyrdom:

CHRIST AS THE LAMB ON
THE ALTAR

CHRIST AS MARTYR

EARLY CHRISTIAN MARTYRS

ST. AGATHA

ST. AGNES

ST. ANDREW

ST. CATHERINE OF
ALEXANDRIA

ST. CECILIA

ST. HIPPOLYTUS

ST. JAMES THE MAJOR

ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

ST. LAWRENCE

ST. LUCY

ST. SEBASTIAN

ST. STEPHEN

PROTESTANT AND MODERN
SECULAR MARTYRDOM



Flemish School, *Martyrdom of Saint Hippolytus with a Bishop and Saints Catherine, Bavo, and Elizabeth of Hungary*, fifteenth century, tempera and oil on panel, Walter M. Cabot Fund, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. (Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

A martyr is defined as a person who elects to suffer or die rather than give up his or her faith or principle, or a person tortured or killed for their beliefs, or, by extension, a person who suffers great pain or misery over a long period of time. Martyrdom is the state of becoming a martyr; the death or suffering of a martyr; or severe, long-lasting suffering, torment, or torture. Often the belief for which the martyr has died in one era becomes triumphant and accepted later, especially in the case of Christianity, and the martyrs become canonized. The word martyr originally came from the Greek word for witness and was first used in referring to the apostles as witnesses to Christ's ministry and resurrection (Acts 1:8, 22). After the persecution of the early Christians, however, it was restricted to those who had suffered and died for their faith. Russian novelist Fyodor Mikhaylovich Dostoyevsky summed up this state of affairs in an epithet: "Men reject their prophets and slay them; but they love their martyrs and honor those whom they have slain" (*The Brothers Karamazov*, part III, book VI, ch. 3).

Martyrdom seldom appears in the ancient or classical world, not because persons did not die for their beliefs, but because the concept and category were not described in that form. There were many sacrifices, but those sacrificed, like Iphigenia or the sons of Brutus, did not choose to die but were designated by others and were victims rather than martyrs. Even in the Old Testament, the main story of human sacrifice is the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, not Isaac's self-chosen martyrdom for a principle.

The first Christian victim and martyr can be seen in the person of Jesus Christ himself, who made willing atonement for the sins of others by his own life. He is often described as the Paschal Lamb sacrificed at Easter, and is even pictured as a lamb on the altar, as in the central panel of *The Ghent Altarpiece* (1432) in St. Bavo in Ghent, Belgium, by Jan and Hubert van Eyck. Jesus Christ's martyrdom on the cross is, of course, pictured in the many paintings of the Crucifixion.

The era that produced the greatest number of Christian martyrs began with the fierce persecutions of early believers in A.D. 64 under Nero and lasted until the reign of Diocletian in the fourth century A.D. Christianity was an outlawed sect, so Christians met in the catacombs or burial places in Rome and decorated the walls with symbols of the religion: the Good Shepherd stood for Christ, and Old Testament stories such as the sacrifice of Abraham or the escape from the fiery furnace referred to Christ's sacrifice or present persecution. Thousands of Christians died during this time, often as organized entertainment in Rome, thrown to lions, broken on the wheel, crucified, or even buried alive. Because their allegiance was to Christ as ultimate lord and savior, they regarded their allegiance to him higher than that to the emperor and the Roman state and were, therefore, seen as subversive and dangerous.

Eighteenth-century English historian Edward Gibbon, in *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, declared that Christianity destroyed the Roman Empire as a growing cell within it with different aims and allegiance; this thesis has been disputed, possibly even disproved, but it offers an interesting insight into the threat of martyrs to the system of government that condemned them. They were ultimately uncontrollable, unshakable, and unbribeable, and their "citizenship was in heaven," not on Earth in the Roman Empire. Persecutions ceased when Constantine the Great, a converted Christian, became emperor in A.D. 306 and later declared Christianity the official religion of the state.

Constantine the Great was proclaimed emperor at York in 306 and became senior ruler of the empire in 312 after defeating Maxentius at the Battle of Milvian Bridge. The victory enabled him to rule with Licinius as joint emperor. In 313 Constantine and Licinius met at Milan and agreed to recognize the legal status of the Christian church and pursue a policy of religious toleration. This agreement was commonly known as the Edict of Milan, but actually was neither an edict nor issued at Milan. The proclamation establishing Christianity as the state religion was not issued until 380 under Theodosius I, followed by an edict in 391 prohibiting pagan worship.

Although Constantine the Great was not baptized a Christian until he lay on his deathbed in 327, the persecution of Christians stopped in 313 and a new era for Christians began. Constantine became a champion of the once outlawed sect. The age of martyrs came to an end and their glorification began with the building of numerous churches in their honor under Constantine.

As many of the first Christian converts were Jews, the new sect had kept the prohibition against idols until around A.D. 200. After that time the tombs of the martyrs in the catacombs were decorated with paintings, not of their martyrdoms, but mainly of Old Testament themes of deliverance, such as Jonah's deliverance from the whale, the deliverance of Daniel from the lions' den, Noah delivered from the deluge, Moses striking the rock to get water in the wilderness, or the deliverance of the three Hebrews from the fiery furnace. There were also representations of the Last Supper and its commemoration in the Eucharist, Mass, or Communion. These rituals were especially significant in terms of the recognition of martyrs. Soon Christians developed the custom of having a funeral service and communion at martyrs' tombs on the day of their martyrdom or victory over death. The tomb holding their remains was often used as a table or altar in the service, prefiguring the importance of the actual remains of the martyrs as relics, both in terms of liturgical practice of the church and of church construction. An example of this is the priest kissing the altar at the beginning of the Roman Catholic Mass, revering the relics enclosed there. In the Mass the martyrs come before all other

saints in worship and in intercessional prayers. Following the early practice of memorial services for martyrs on the day of their death, martyrs' days are celebrated throughout the church year in the calendars of Roman Catholic, Orthodox, and Anglican churches. The liturgical color for martyrdom is red, signifying the blood shed for their faith.

The earliest mention of the preservation of relics and the memorial services for saints at their tombs or the places they were martyred occurs in the *Martyrium Policarpi* (circa 156–157). The biblical reference to praying before the throne of God is in Revelation 6:9, and receiving white robes as a reward for martyrdom is referred to in Revelation 7:13–17. There were local calendars naming martyrs, their place of martyrdom, and the day of their festival in Rome as early as 354, and in the more general *Breviarum Syriacum* of 411. Many of the legends of the saints and martyrs were codified in the *Golden Legend*, written by Jacopo da Voragine, archbishop of Genoa in the thirteenth century. The *Acta Sanctorum*, a collection of the early lives of saints and martyrs, was compiled by a group of Jesuits known as Bollandists. It was begun in the seventeenth century and is not yet finished. Unfortunately, much of the evidence was documented a number of years, even centuries, after the life of the original martyr, by which time the material was often more legendary than accurate and very difficult to verify. Often the relics of saints are quite genuine, but little is known about the martyr; and in other cases, the story is well known, but the connection to the material remains of the martyr is tenuous.

One consequence of the legalization of the Christian faith was the building of numerous churches for worshipers. Constantine the Great was zealous in the building of martyries, or shrines built in honor of a martyr. The first basilica erected by Constantine the Great and Pope Sylvester was to preserve the tomb of the martyred St. Peter. The transept of the church was over the trophy of Gaius marking St. Peter's grave, and the church was therefore a martyr.

There were two main types of martyries. The first was built around a central dome under which the altar was placed, making the relic the focus of the entire plan. There were four aisles radiating from the altar, usually in the form of a Greek cross. In some early churches, such as San Lorenzo in Milan (circa 370), the central altar was surrounded by a circular ambulatory. San Stefano Rotondo in Rome, built during the rule of Pope Simplicius (468–483) is one of the largest and oldest martyries built on a central plan, although only two of the aisles now remain. The second type was the basilica with the altar located over relics, tombs, or catacombs where martyrs were buried, such as St. Peter's or San Sebastiano in the Via Appia, also built during the reign of Constantine the Great.

The cult of relics became very popular under the reign of Emperor Theodosius I in the late fourth century, and many martyries were built to house them in the fourth through the sixth century. Martyrs' remains were much sought after, especially after the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, which ruled that no church could be consecrated if it did not have relics. Pilgrimages were made, especially during the Middle Ages, to churches and shrines devoted to the relics of martyrs.

Martyrs were also exalted during the Counter-Reformation and Catholic Restoration, with the militant campaign of the Roman Catholic Church against Protestantism. Religious

orders such as the Jesuits prepared novices for possible martyrdom in Protestant territory or the non-Christian world by focusing on the heroism of martyrs and their sacrifices for their faith. Seventeenth-century and Baroque art pictured vividly the sufferings of martyrs. The accidental rediscovery of the Catacomb of Priscilla in 1578 set off a campaign to rebuild early martyries that had fallen into disrepair.

Sometimes the discovery of the remains of a martyr created new works of art and architecture, as in the case of St. Cecilia. A Roman woman whose martyrdom may have taken place anytime between 177 and the fourth century, Cecilia's body was supposedly interred in the Catacomb of Callixtus and later put in the Church of St. Cecilia-in-Trastevere in Rome. Her sarcophagus was opened in 1599, and her body was found intact in a coffin of cypress wood, lying on her right side, her head bound with a cloth. According to legend, Cecilia was martyred by receiving three wounds in the neck and breast, after which she lived three days and gave all her possessions to poor Christians. In 1600 Stefano Maderno was commissioned to sculpt a statue of St. Cecilia for the church. Having seen her body when the sarcophagus was opened, he created a very touching and beautiful memorial, showing her reclining on her side in the same attitude as the body in the cypress wood coffin.

St. Cecilia was a very popular martyr and may be the subject of an early half-length drawing on a wall of the Catacomb of St. Lorenzo (before 313). Although she was the patron saint of music, she was not shown with a musical instrument until after the fifteenth century. Jan van Eyck painted her playing the organ with a heavenly choir in the *Ghent Altarpiece*, and Lucas van Leyden, in an early sixteenth-century painting now in Munich, Germany, showed her as a single figure holding a portable organ. Some of the most famous representations of her are in a series of frescos by Domenichino (1613–1614) in the Chapel of St. Cecilia in the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome.

Another dramatic case of the discovery of a saint's relics occurred in 1634 when the painter and architect Pietro da Cortona was given permission to rebuild the crypt of the church of the Academy of St. Luke at his own expense in order to make a tomb for himself. In October 1634 the body of the martyr St. Martini was discovered in excavating the space. At this point Cardinal Francesco Barberini took charge and in 1635 ordered the rebuilding of the entire church. Pietro da Cortona designed the building, which was dedicated in 1650 to the martyred St. Martini and to St. Luke, the patron saint of artists whose church it had originally been.

In painting and sculpture martyrs are often portrayed wearing a crown and holding a palm frond as symbols of their martyrdom. "The victor's crown of gold" stood for a victory over death and was adapted from the classical custom of rewarding winners, such as athletes or poets, with a wreath, at first of laurel, but later of gold. Among the Romans, the palm frond was a conventional symbol of victory, again indicating the martyr as one who wins everlasting life. An example of this convention can be seen in the sixth-century A.D. church of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, Italy. A procession of male and female martyrs is depicted in mosaic on each side of the interior.

In addition to these general symbols of martyrdom, certain saints are identified by the distinctive attributes of their martyrdom, such as the wheel (an instrument of torture and death) with St. Catherine of Alexandria; a human skin with St. Bartholomew,

who was flayed to death; and an X cross with St. Andrew. Sometimes saints are shown with a gruesome token of their deaths, as in the case of St. Peter Martyr, who is portrayed with a knife planted firmly in his head. St. John the Baptist is usually shown as he is about to be decapitated with a sword. In *The Beheading of John the Baptist* by Caravaggio, the saint's head is being held down to the block, and a rivulet of blood flows from his neck. A variant of this scene shows the kneeling saint with the executioner about to swing his sword, as in the painting by Pierre Puvis de Chavannes in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts in Birmingham, England, and numerous other examples.

The first Christian to be martyred was Stephen, a deacon in the early church, who was stoned to death for his witness to Christ (Acts 7:54–60). His martyrdom is shown in many paintings, including Rembrandt van Rijn's first dated painting (1625) in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Lyons, France; Adam Elsheimer's painting of 1602–1605 in the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh; Annibale Carracci's work in the Harvard Art Museums in Cambridge, Massachusetts; and Fra Angelico's Chapel of Nicholas V in the Vatican. Even as late as the nineteenth century, John Everett Millais's painting (1895) in the National Gallery in London and Gustave Doré's wood engraving depict the theme.

Rembrandt depicts Stephen's martyrdom very actively, showing his persecutors on all sides actually throwing stones at the saint while he sinks to his knees, looking up at heaven and asking forgiveness for his murderers. In other representations, such as Annibale Carracci's, the witnesses to the event are shown placing their clothes at Saul's feet. Still others show the saint alone, dead or dying, as in John Everett Millais's *St. Stephen*, an oil of 1895, where the young haloed martyr is stretched out on the ground, surrounded by a few stones, his murderers appearing only as shadowy figures in the right background. Some artists represent the stoning of Stephen with his vision of God the Father and angels in heaven, as in Annibale Carracci's version in the Louvre in Paris, while others show a vision of the Trinity, as in Lodovico Cigoli's painting (before 1613) in the Academy in Venice, Italy. In *St. Stephen in Glory* (before 1660), Giacomo Cavedone depicts a post-martyrdom version with angels carrying the soul of Stephen to heaven.

St. Sebastian, another popular early martyr, was an officer in the army of Diocletian in the third century. When he refused to sacrifice to Roman gods, he was stripped and bound to a stake for archery practice. He survived this ordeal with the help of a Christian woman named Irene, who unbound him and healed him, but Sebastian was disposed of more efficiently later. St. Sebastian's martyrdom was a favorite subject of artists as it allowed them a chance to show a minimally clad anatomical study. His ordeal was painted, among others, by Antonio del Pollaiuolo (circa 1475), the painting now located in the National Gallery in London; by Andrea Mantegna (circa 1455–1460), now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria; by Hendrik Terbrugghen (1625), now in the Allen Art Museum at Oberlin College in Ohio; by Georges De La Tour (circa 1649), in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin; and by Louise Bourgeois in a 1990 engraving.

One of the most common representations of St. Sebastian shows him as a young man in a loincloth tied to a stake or pillar, usually pierced by some arrows. In the Renaissance exam-

ple by Mantegna, the saint is bound to a classical arch and riddled with arrows. The broken arch and scattered fragments of sculpture may allude here to the passing of the classical, pagan world. An unusual variant of this theme by Antonio del Pollaiuolo shows St. Sebastian raised on a pole in the center of the composition, while on the ground below six crossbowmen are loading their weapons or taking aim. This composition enables the artist, who was also a sculptor and engraver, to show three active poses in pairs, each a mirror image of its partner. Hendrik Terbrugghen shows the aftermath of the shooting party, with St. Sebastian, slumped on the ground, being released from his bonds by St. Irene and a maid. Another representation exploiting the drama of torchlight is that of Georges de la Tour whose night scene depicts the recumbent figure of St. Sebastian lying on the left while a kneeling St. Irene and others holding torches look down on the wounded martyr.

St. Agnes was one of the most popular female martyrs. Her legend is one of the oldest in church history and is attested to by St. Jerome's mention of the spread of her cult in the fourth century. She was supposedly martyred under either the Emperor Decius's or Diocletian's persecutions in the third or fourth century. The son of a prefect of Rome saw her and wanted her as his wife, but she refused him, citing Christ as her heavenly bridegroom. The son fell ill and his father tried to make Agnes accept him, finally chaining her and stripping her naked before his soldiers. In response to her prayers, her hair grew long and covered her entirely, protecting her modesty. She was imprisoned and prayed not to be dishonored—referring to a practice of putting a virgin martyr in a brothel to be violated, as Roman law forbade the execution of a virgin (Hall, p. 11). An angel visited her in prison, bringing her a white and shining robe of martyrdom. After unsuccessfully trying to burn her to death (the flames kept being extinguished), an executioner killed her by the sword.

There are several churches in Rome built in her honor. The oldest, Sant'Agnese Fuori le Mura, originally constructed by Constantine the Great over the tomb of the martyr, was reconstructed under Pope Honorius (625–638). Several early representations of St. Agnes are in this church, including a relief from a fourth-century altar frontal showing her as an orant, or praying figure with arms raised, and a mosaic depicting her as a court lady (625–638). Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona is a seventeenth-century church that replaced an older one begun by the architects Girolamo and Carlo Rainaldi in 1652. In 1653–1655 Francesco Borromini designed the facade of the church. A sculpture of St. Agnes by Ercole Ferrata (1660) in this church shows her on the pyre of flame, looking up to heaven in entreaty. She is also represented by Titian presenting her martyr's palm to Christ (sixteenth century), in the Louvre in Paris; and by Paolo Veronese, in the Academia in Venice, as a patroness of maidens presenting a nun to the Madonna (sixteenth century). Tintoretto painted *The Martyrdom of St. Agnes* (sixteenth century), in the church of S. Maria dell'Orto in Venice, as a theatrical spectacle. An unusual twentieth-century representation of St. Agnes shows the angel bringing the white and shining robe of martyrdom to the saint in prison. Painted by Frank Cadogan Cowper, a very late Pre-Raphaelite painter, this work is now in the Tate Gallery in London.

Another very popular female martyr was St. Agatha, a virgin believed to have died under the persecutions of Emperor

Decius at Catania in Sicily. Legend says she was desired by Quintian, the prefect of Sicily, and when she refused him he had her tortured by cutting off her breasts. She is often represented in art with a pair of pincers or with her breasts on a plate. The legend continues with a huge volcanic eruption of Mount Etna. The citizens of Catania fled to the tomb of St. Agatha and put the relic of her veil on a lance as a banner, miraculously stopping the lava. St. Agatha is the patron saint of Catania, and a town northwest of Mount Etna, Sant'Agata di Militello, is named after her. Italian families and families of Italian descent originally from that area bear the name Santagata in honor of the saint and her town.

There are a number of artistic representations of St. Agatha, the most dramatic showing her bound to a column, stripped to the waist, and threatened by an executioner with shears. These include Sebastiano del Piombo's *Martyrdom of St. Agatha* (sixteenth century) in the Pitti Palace in Florence and Parmigianino's *St. Agatha and Her Executioner* (early sixteenth century) in S. Giovanni in Parma, Italy.

In the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance, altarpieces for churches and private chapels frequently depicted martyrdoms, sometimes of the patron saint of the donor. The fifteenth-century triptych altarpiece of the *Martyrdom of Saint Hippolytus with a Bishop and Saints Catherine, Bavo, and Elizabeth of Hungary*, now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, by an unknown Flemish artist, possibly influenced by Hugo van der Goes, is just such an altarpiece. Although the spectacle of someone being pulled to pieces by four horses going in opposite directions might not seem particularly attractive subject matter in the twentieth century, contemplation on the sacrifice of martyrs was encouraged during this period. This was a time when relics, or physical remains of saints, such as bones, nails, etc., were in great demand as objects of veneration, bestowing merit on the possessor. Picturing a martyr's painful death was an appropriate object of edification and worship. The work itself bristles with excitement and movement, the horsemen and henchmen contrasting with the still central figure of the saint.

Another era during which the martyrdoms of saints were extensively pictured and written about was the Counter-Reformation of the seventeenth century, when the Roman Catholic Church attempted to counteract the inroads of Protestantism by dramatizing the sacrifices of earlier saints. New churches and missionary orders like the Jesuits commissioned explicit, and often gory, paintings and sculptures dramatizing martyrdom. These vivid depictions, which draw the spectator emotionally into the event, appear in works like *The Conversion of St. Paul* and *The Crucifixion of St. Peter* in S. Maria del Popolo in Rome; *The Martyrdom of St. Matthew* in the Contarelli Chapel in S. Luigi dei Francesi in Rome, by Caravaggio; and *The Martyrdom of St. Agatha* in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin-Dahlem, by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo.

The church of San Andrea al Quirinale in Rome, commissioned of Gian Lorenzo Bernini by Cardinal Camillo Pamphili for the novices of the Jesuit order in 1758, was planned in its architecture, sculpture, and painting to re-create the drama of the martyrdom of St. Andrew. The convex curve of the church facade reaches out into the world; in the interior the painting *Martyrdom of St. Andrew* by Guglielmo Cortese (circa 1670) shows the saint's death on an X-shaped cross, while over the

painting and high altar a sculpture of the saint by Bernini soars upward from the earthly zone toward heaven.

Poet T. S. Eliot made martyrdom the subject of his play *The Cocktail Party* (1950), in which a young woman, Celia, ends up as a martyred missionary. There is also a strong tradition of Protestant martyrdom, particularly in the reign of Mary Tudor (Bloody Mary). A Roman Catholic married to Philip II of Spain, she attempted to return England, which had become Protestant under Henry VIII, to Roman Catholicism. A number of Protestants would not forsake their beliefs, and their fates—beheading, burning, etc.—are detailed in John Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. Another set of Protestant martyrs were the Scottish Covenanters, who subscribed to the National Covenant (1638) or to the Solemn League and Covenant (1643) to uphold the principles of the Reformed Presbyterian Church. They would not renounce their allegiance, even when condemned to die. Margaret Wilson was condemned in 1683 for being a Covenanter and was tied to a stake in Wigtown Bay to drown as the tide rose. Millais's *The Martyr of Solway* (1871) is a poignant view of her watching the waves rise.

A secular martyrdom has often been bestowed on those who were killed because of their principles, such as Joan of Arc, Nathan Hale, Abraham Lincoln, Sacco and Vanzetti, and Martin Luther King Jr. Lincoln's death was referred to by Samuel Cole in the poem *In April*: "Twas April when they laid the martyr's crown / On Lincoln's brow." Walt Whitman commemorated Lincoln's assassination in the poem "Oh Captain, My Captain." Nathan Hale, the American Revolutionary spy killed by the British, died saying, "I regret that I have but one life to give for my country." He was commemorated in sculpture by Frederick MacMonnies. Ben Shahn painted a secular Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti, two anarchists wrongly condemned for their beliefs. Their story is dramatized in the play *Winterset* by Maxwell Anderson. Martin Luther King Jr. has many icons dedicated to his memory, one of the most dramatic being a giant sculptured head by John Wilson in Washington, D.C.

Still another type of secular martyrdom involves suffering from great pain or misery over a long period of time, as described by the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow in *Vittoria Colonna*, stanza 6: "She knew the life-long martyrdom / Of waiting for some one to come / Who nevermore would come again." Phrases such as "she is a martyr to migraine headaches" or "he was a martyr to gout" (or even to imaginary diseases) refer to suffering from debilitating and lengthy illnesses that are equated to the painful process of religious martyrdoms.

One attribute shared by sacred and secular depictions of martyrdoms is the presentation of the victims with sympathy and admiration, as heroes or heroines. The viewpoint is that of a sympathetic observer seeing the event, usually in all its dramatic possibilities. The viewer is asked to admire and possibly even emulate the martyr.

One of the main differences between sacred and secular martyrdoms is the element of the divine. Depictions of martyrdoms of saints sometimes include visions of heaven, angels, God, Christ, or the Trinity, so that the viewer is seeing the same vision as the saint. Representations of religious martyrdoms or martyrs often appear in places of worship, especially in the Roman Catholic and other liturgically traditional churches, and are not excluded from many Protestant churches. In certain branches of the Christian church, some martyrs are worshiped.

Special healing powers are attributed to some, such as St. Margaret or St. Barbara. Despite the differences between sacred and secular martyrdoms, both continue to inform the present with their spirit, their power, and their principles.

See also Apotheosis/Deification; Beheading/Decapitation; Crucifixion; Death; Ecstasy

Selected Works of Art

Christ as the Lamb on the Altar

Eyck, Jan and Hubert van, *The Ghent Altarpiece*, oil on panel, 1432, Ghent, Belgium, St. Bavo

Christ as Martyr

Guttoso, Renato, *Crucifixion*, oil, 1942, private collection

Early Christian Martyrs

Procession of Martyrs, mosaic, sixth century, Ravenna, Italy, San Apollinare Nuovo

Nanni di Banco, *Four Crowned Martyrs*, marble sculpture, circa 1413, Florence, Italy, Orsanmichele

Delaroche, Paul, *The Christian Martyr*, oil, 1855, Paris, Louvre

Puvis de Chavannes, Pierre, *The Cavalcade of the Martyrs*, circa 1898, Paris, Panthéon

St. Agatha

Sebastiano del Piombo, *Martyrdom of St. Agatha*, oil, first half of sixteenth century, Florence, Italy, Pitti Palace

Parmigianino, *St. Agatha and Her Executioner*, oil, early sixteenth century, Parma, Italy, S. Giovanni

Cerrini, Giovanni Domenico, *Cycle of St. Agatha*, circa 1630, Rome, St. Agatha of the Goths

Zurbarán, Francisco de, *St. Agatha*, 1630–1633, Montpellier, France, Musée Fabre

St. Agnes

St. Agnes as Orant, relief sculpture, fourth century, Rome, Sant'Agnese Fuori le Mura

St. Agnes, mosaic, 625–638, Rome, Sant'Agnese Fuori le Mura

Veronese, Paolo Caliari, *St. Agnes Presenting a Nun to the Virgin Mary*, oil, sixteenth century, Venice, Italy, Accademia

Titian, *St. Agnes*, oil, sixteenth century, Paris, Louvre

Tintoretto, Jacopo, *The Martyrdom of St. Agnes*, oil, sixteenth century, Venice, Italy, S. Maria dell'Orto

Ferrata, Ercole, *St. Agnes on the Pyre*, sculpture, 1600, Rome, Sant'Agnese in Piazza Navona

Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista, *Martyrdom of St. Agnes*, oil, circa 1719, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie

Cowper, Frank Cadogan, *St. Agnes in Prison Visited by an Angel with a Shining Robe*, oil, 1905, London, Tate Gallery

St. Andrew

El Greco, *St. Andrew*, painting, circa 1590, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Caravaggio, *St. Andrew*, 1607–1610, Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art

Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, San Andrea al Quirinale, church, 1658–1670, Rome

Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, *Martyred St. Andrew Rising to Heaven*, sculpture, 1658–1670, Rome, San Andrea al Quirinale

Cortese, Guglielmo, *Martyrdom of St. Andrew*, oil, circa 1670, Rome, San Andrea al Quirinale

Domenichino, *St. Andrew*, early seventeenth century, Rome, San Andrea della Valle

St. Catherine of Alexandria

Master of the First Prayer Book of Maximilian I, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, miniature on vellum, from *Hours of William, Lord Hastings*, late 1470s, London, British Library

Marmion, Simon, *The Martyrdom of St. Catherine*, miniature on vellum, 1475–1481, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Raphael, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, oil, circa 1507, London, National Art Gallery

Caravaggio, *St. Catherine of Alexandria*, oil, circa 1597, Lugano-Castagnula, Switzerland, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection

El Greco, *St. Catherine with Her Wheel*, oil, before 1614, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Preti, Mattia, *St. Catherine of Alexandria Visited in Prison by the Emperor*, oil, circa 1640–1643, Dayton, Ohio, Dayton Art Institute

Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *St. Catherine*, oil, 1857, London, Tate Gallery

St. Cecilia

St. Cecilia, drawing, before 313, Rome, Catacomb of St. Lorenzo

Eyck, Jan van, *St. Cecilia Playing the Organ*, from *The Ghent Altarpiece*, oil on panel, 1432, Ghent Belgium, St. Bavo

Leyden, Lucas van, *St. Cecilia*, oil on panel, early sixteenth century, Munich, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Maderno, Stefano, *St. Cecilia*, sculpture, 1600, Rome, St. Cecilia-in-Trastevere

Domenichino, *Life of St. Cecilia*, frescoes, Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi, Chapel of St. Cecilia

Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *St. Cecilia*, pen and brown ink drawing, 1856–1857, Birmingham, England, City Museum and Art Gallery

St. Hippolytus

Flemish School, *Martyrdom of Saint Hippolytus with a Bishop and Saints Catherine, Bavo, and Elizabeth of Hungary*, oil on tempera on panel, fifteenth century, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Bouts, Dirck, *Martyrdom of St. Hippolytus*, panel, circa 1475, Bruges, Belgium, St. Savior's Church

St. James the Major

Mantegna, Andrea, *The Martyrdom of St. James*, fresco, circa 1455, Padua, Italy, Church of the Eremitani

St. John the Baptist

- Donatello, *Feast of Herod*, gilt bronze on baptismal font, circa 1425, Siena, Italy, Cathedral
- Titian, *Salome with the Head of John the Baptist*, oil, circa 1511, Rome, Galleria Doria-Pamphili
- Caravaggio, *The Beheading of John the Baptist*, oil, 1608–1609, La Valetta, Malta Cathedral
- Puvis de Chavannes, Pierre, *Beheading of St. John the Baptist*, oil, 1869, Birmingham, England, Barber Institute of Fine Arts
- Beardsley, Aubrey, *Salome with the Head of John the Baptist*, pen and ink drawing, 1892, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Library

St. Lawrence

- St. Lawrence*, mosaic, mid–fifth century, Ravenna, Italy, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia
- Angelico, Fra, *Life of St. Lawrence*, frescoes, 1448, Vatican, Chapel of Nicolas V.
- Donatello, *St. Lawrence*, relief sculpture, first half of fifteenth century, Florence, Italy, San Lorenzo
- Titian, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, oil, circa 1548–1547, Venice, Italy, Church of the Gesuati
- Bronzino, Agnolo, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, 1569, Florence, Italy, San Lorenzo
- Rubens, Peter Paul, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, sixteenth century, Schleissheim, Germany, Castle
- Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, *Martyrdom of St. Lawrence*, marble, circa 1616, Florence, Italy, Contini-Bonacousi Collection

St. Lucy

- Lorenzetti, Pietro, *St. Lucy*, circa 1332, Florence, Italy, San Lucia Frole Rovinante
- Caravaggio, *Burial of St. Lucy*, oil, 1608, Syracuse, Sicily, Church of San Lucia
- Zurbarán, Francisco de, *St. Lucy*, 1636, Chartres, France, Musée

St. Sebastian

- Mantegna, Andrea, *St. Sebastian*, circa 1455–1460, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
- Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, miniature on vellum, from *Hours of Marguerite Foix*, circa 1470–1480, London, Victoria and Albert Museum (fol. 205v–206)
- Pollaiuolo, Antonio del, *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, oil, circa 1475, London, National Gallery
- Veronese, Paolo, *The Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, oil, 1560s, Venice, Italy, San Sebastiano
- Terbrugghen, Hendrik, *St. Sebastian Tended by Irene and Her Maid*, oil, 1625, Oberlin, Ohio, Oberlin College, Allen Art Museum
- La Tour, Georges De, *St. Sebastian Tended by Irene by Torchlight*, oil, 1649, Berlin, Germany, Gemäldegalerie
- Piot, René, *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, painting, circa 1913, Paris, Musée d'Art Moderne
- Ciry, Michel, *St. Sebastian*, etching, 1950
- Bourgeois, Louise, *St. Sebastian (The Pins)*, engraving, circa 1990

St. Stephen

- Elsheimer, Adam, *The Stoning of St. Stephen*, oil, 1602–1605, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland
- Cigoli (Ludovico Cardi), *Martyrdom of St. Stephen*, before 1613, Venice, Italy, Venice Academy
- Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Stoning of Stephen*, oil, 1625, Lille, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
- Cavedone, Giacomo, *St. Stephen in Glory*, before 1660, Modena, Italy, Pinacoteca Estense
- Millais, John Everett, *St. Stephen*, oil, 1895, London, National Gallery

Protestant and Modern Secular Martyrdom

- Millais, John Everett, *The Martyr of Solway*, oil, 1871, Liverpool, England, Walker Art Gallery
- Jones, Lois Mailou, *Meditation (Mob Victim)*, oil, 1944, private collection
- Gorky, Arshile, *Agony*, oil, 1947, New York, Museum of Modern Art
- Shahn, Ben, *The Passion of Sacco and Vanzetti*, oil, 1967, Syracuse, New York, Joe and Emily Lowe Art Gallery, Syracuse University

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MASKS/PERSONAE

Elaine Shefer

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Masks/Personae:

ANCIENT

NINETEENTH CENTURY

MEDIEVAL

TWENTIETH CENTURY

SEVENTEENTH AND

EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES



James Ensor, *Scandalized Masks*, 1880s, painting, Brussels, Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. (Courtesy of A. C. L., Brussels)

Man is least himself when he talks in his own person.
Give him a mask and he will tell the truth.
(Oscar Wilde)

To paint or sculpt the human face is to transform it. This activity is already part of mask iconography because the very act of re-creating brings about something or someone else while the subject itself remains the same. Re-creating, then, produces ambiguity and equivocation. In some ways, a metamorphosis or transfiguration takes place, not only of the subject but also of the artist. Transfiguration implies mystery, and it often implies something shameful that must be hidden from view. Hence, the adoption of a persona and use of a mask.

The secrecy implied by a mask is evidence of a human dilemma, our private search for a “real” self. By wearing masks, are individuals hiding or revealing who they “really” are? Are they indulging in fantasies by playing a role, adopting a persona, or demonstrating more than one “real” self? The complexities and ambiguities inherent in the use of a mask are apparent even in the hard-edged definition *Webster’s New World Dictionary of the American Language* (1957) gives the word: “a covering for the face or part of the face” that serves “to conceal or disguise identity”; “a likeness of a person’s face . . . a sculpted or molded likeness that can identify a character.”

By helping people to become what they desire, in either a positive or negative sense, the mask has always had a magical, symbolic quality. This quality can be traced to cultures in Africa and Oceania where masks symbolized the authority of a particular spirit or power because of the widespread belief that the head was the prime residence of such powers. Essentially protective, these cult objects helped guarantee social order by frightening away interfering spirits. Examples of these types of masks include: an owl mask from Baining used as a protection for children; a fire-spitter mask from the Ivory Coast used to drive away “soul-eating” spirits; a mask from Mali used to ensure the fertility of the soil, an abundance of rain, and good crops; and the Ibibio mask from southwestern Nigeria used to ward off the demon (Elsen, p. 26).

Formally, masks show a relationship between reality and abstraction. Elements of reality are present in all of them—the eyes of the wearer in the owl mask, the features of different animals in the fire-spitter, the antelope’s ears in the mask from Mali, and the features of a human being in the Ibibio mask. None, however, could be said to imitate an actual person, type, or animal. The owl of the natural world has been transformed in the Baining mask into something mysterious, related to tribal symbols; the fire-spitter is a conglomeration of various animals; the antelope can be recognized in the Mali mask only by its ears; and the Ibibio mask is a head based on both a realistic and an abstract concept. By setting the real against the abstract,

including the incongruous, and emphasizing short lines and surprise happenings, these types of masks made their meanings felt. Rather than mimicking reality, they allowed people to exert some control over an environment that they found hostile or, at best, incomprehensible. A particular fear could thus be overcome by wearing a mask even more fearful. The ugly and the grotesque, the real and the unreal—these have become hallmarks of mask iconography, features that remain present even when there is no intention to inspire fear.

Although religious and funerary masks are known from antiquity—having been discovered in Spartan, Carthaginian, and Mycenaean tombs—the mask type that has most clearly persisted throughout the ages, and has had the strongest influence on subsequent artists, derived from the Greek theater. The ancestor of modern mask imagery, of which caricature and cartooning are a part, developed prior to Attic comedy in mimic farce, staged in centers inhabited by the Dorian people. Corinthian vases provide early evidence of the mimes or comics who participated in this early Dorian or Megaron comedy, which was rude in form, popular in appeal, and intended to evoke boisterous merriment. These pagan figures, who ridiculed the legends of the gods, wore masks that appear to have depicted either Dionysus or his demons, thus stressing the mischievous side of an untroubled world. These masked mimes performed a mythological burlesque, in a sense.

In these stock, male, demonic characters lie the roots of one of the most popular characters in art, the clown, originally called *marikas*, a name connected to the Greek word *moros* (the generic term for mimic fool). Of the female characters—Mormo, Akko, and Alphito, visages described by Plutarch as “terrifying masks . . . designed to frighten children and cause terror” (Nicoll, *Harlequin*, p. 28)—lies another popular character in art, the witch. The British School of Athens has unearthed a sixth-century B.C. clay statuette of the witchlike type that persisted into and beyond the medieval period. The statuette is of an old woman with a heavily lined face, hideous jaw, and one or two teeth peering through her mouth (Nicoll, p. 28). In the Berlin Museum is a terra-cotta rendering (no. 7042a) of another famous type: Maison, the comic Megarian cook, symbol of gluttony (Nicoll, p. 29). In addition to the fool and the witch, other early character types include the doctor, the comic thief, and the animal mimic dancer, who impersonated animals by wearing animal masks. In addition to terra-cotta figurines, these masks found their way onto vases such as an amphora in Berlin on which men are disguised as horses (Flickinger, fig. 14), a sixth-century B.C. amphora in the British Museum in London displaying actors with bird masks (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. II, plate XIV), and bronzes such as that of an actor with the head of a rat (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, no. 3682).

The mime dances influenced Attic plays such as Aristophanes' *The Wasps* (produced 422 B.C.), *The Birds* (produced 414 B.C.), and *The Frogs* (produced 405 B.C.). In *The Clouds* (produced 423 B.C.), the chorus wore masks with birdlike features. Doric farce not only influenced the Athenian theater but also provided the basis for the development of types that would outlast the Roman period, show up in the commedia dell'arte of Renaissance Italy, and ultimately find their way into the plastic arts.

Given the small number of actors required to play a myriad of male and female roles in Athenian theater, as well as the vast size of the theater itself, it is no surprise that the mask played a primary role in the actor's attire and was invariably double the size of the performer's face. The mask was the simplest means of giving the illusion of permanency to a favorite type of character and of revealing to the audience something important about that character. Caricaturists would come to rely on this device. In order to manifest the characters with the playwright's intended mood or establish them as a particular type or ethnic affiliation, masks would be cast into well-defined, recognizable shapes. Seen at close range, even the most comic mask had a terrifying look, although practical necessity might explain such grotesqueness: had they not been so crudely fashioned, they would have appeared featureless from a distance. From the medieval period, this grotesque quality came to be associated with humankind's spirit, its sinful soul, with which it was in constant battle.

Julius Pollux, an author of the second century A.D., identified almost 30 classical tragic masks, from representations of extreme old age to the very young, godlike types. The "squalid" wore masks that had downcast eyes or were "pale of face" (Wiles, p. 74). Although each mask was described so that there can be no mistaking the character, masks didn't always restrict themselves to one type of emotion particular to a given character. Menedemus of the new comedy had a raised right eyebrow and a horizontal left one, so that one profile indicated anger, the other calm. The actor playing Menedemus would have to turn his face one way or the other to reveal the emotion he was representing. Each mask was a kind of sign language that the Greek audience had come to know by heart: the unraised eyebrows of the "dark, young man"; the "young man with curled hair" and one wrinkle in his brow; or the "rustic type" with wide lips and a flat nose.

Mime drama existed throughout the Roman period and into the medieval period when it was gradually replaced by a new religious drama, the mystery play. Mime offered a circus type of entertainment, one that would eventually have strong repercussions in the world of modern art. The roots of these repercussions lie in the medieval period, during which religious leaders generally looked down on such popular entertainment. As far back as the fourth century, Roman Catholic Church records repeatedly warned that any person connected with the circus or pantomime could not be received into the Church. Bishops were told that they should not have *bistriones* (actors), buffoons, or acrobats at their dinners. Priests were forbidden to attend such entertainments or to visit places of public spectacle. Such decrees are indicative of the interest demonstrated by laypersons in mimic drama in spite of the threat that the masked mimics posed by revealing the more playful and sinful

side of human nature. In fact, the masks of mime were thought by the Church fathers to hide humankind's purer character. A statement made by St. Jerome (fourth century) addresses this conflict: "For while we were created in God's image and likeness, by reason of our own perversity we hide ourselves behind changing masks. . . . We . . . have a counterfeit mask for every sin in which we are inclined" (Barasch, p. 261).

The Church protest against mimic drama reveals that the idea that man was made in the image of God wasn't always readily accepted. Although the Church spoke of the mask as that which disguised humanity's true, pure nature, the mask instead revealed what the Church would have liked to have kept hidden: humanity's impure, ungodly image. Herein lies the inherent ambiguity of the mask, one that continues to plague artists well into the twentieth century.

During the medieval period, the mask became increasingly associated with evil, sin, and the devil. Satanic clamor and diabolical dress were perpetuated in the performances of the jongleurs, masked dancing mimes who "with hair combed back . . . effeminate in look . . . take on the shape and disguise of a tender girl." These "soft limbed boys" were criticized for their ability to "transform and transfigure their bodies with indecent dance and gesture, indecently unclothing themselves or putting on horrible masks" (Nicoll, *Masks*, p. 138).

Secular entertainment continued throughout the Middle Ages in spite of the Church's condemnation of the mask as an artifice that plays upon and deludes people (Chambers, p. 10). It is no wonder that when the Church took possession of the theater and began to produce religious comedies, the mask became the motif used to personify evil. The religious mystery plays—medleys of mysticism and farce—had a more significant role in medieval life than did the secular, sporadic entertainment of traveling jongleurs. The mask took on a new role but with an old meaning: It depicted a nonhuman.

The story of God necessarily demanded the story of the devil. As opposed to the Scriptures, however, in which the devil, as the embodiment of temptation and darkness, was presented as a serious character, the mystery plays transformed him into a comic type. Satan is brought in for the merriment of the audience in such plays as *The Creation*, *Lucifer's Fall*; the serpent is similarly represented in *The Garden of Eden* and *The Nativity*. In the mystery plays, the devil is not so much evil as he is irresponsible or extravagantly silly, characterizations perhaps reflecting the subconscious wish to reduce one's enemies to the ridiculous so as to reduce their power and to relieve the audience's fear.

Although varied in appearance, the "Devyls Hede," or "the Demones Heed," was always fearsome (Nicoll, *Masks*, p. 190). Some representations of the devil consisted of animal masks with pointed snouts and huge horns—*The Devil Astaroth* (Hermann, fig. 125), or the mask from Sterzing in the Ferdinandeum in Innsbruck, Austria (Hermann, fig. 128)—while others were just plain grotesque. This latter quality could be seen in the devil Belial depicted in a miniature by J. Stainburger V. Sprinzensti in Jacobus Da Teramo's *Ob Jesus das recht hab gehabt, dass er die Holl under Teufel hat beraubt Studien* in the Bibliothek in Salzburg, Austria, with its long, projecting jaw, crooked nose, and wart on the right side of the face.

Warts, used so frequently by painters and caricaturists to satirize the old and ugly, come from a tradition going back to the secular entertainers, who had inherited some of this characterization from the classic mime. Several masks preserved in Innsbruck show warts and resemble what would later become the image of Punch. The humorous manner in which the Church portrayed evil shows the continuation of the satirical tradition that began in the Greek theater, where actor's costumes were padded with material to fill out bellies and buttocks. This heritage is still well mined in present-day caricatures.

Diabolical connotations were also associated with the "mouth of hell." An early example of this icon is a manuscript illumination from the Winchester School's *Psalter of Winchester* (before 1161) in the British Museum in London. The mouth of hell is not technically a mask but is derived from it, characterized by an exaggerated independent head, a predominant mouth, and deformed features. Appropriated by Anglo-Saxon England, the mouth of hell took the shape of the jaws of a devouring beast (*Swallowing Human Figure*, a bronze closing ring at the Church of St. John the Baptist in West Yorkshire). By the seventh century, Gregory the Great had already gathered all the relevant biblical quotations in his *Moralia* and had used the image of a monstrous beast to convey Satan's evil nature. In Gregory's writings, Satan is initially identified as "a Behemoth, or huge land beast, and then as the Leviathan or sea monster, his shape shifting from lion to dragon to whale to bird." Scholar Joyce Galpern notes that this was a "search for an iconography of hell that could be understood by pagan and Christians alike" (Galpern, p. 142).

By the sixteenth century, mask imagery became more ambiguous, neither concealing nor revealing, representative of either evil or virtue. In Annibale Carracci's painting *Hercules at the Crossroads* (circa 1596) at the Museo Nazionale Capodimonte in Naples, Italy, the mask is placed behind *Voluptas* rather than *Virtus*. Agnolo Bronzino does the same in his painting *Exposure of Luxury* (1540s) at the National Gallery in London, where two masks represent *fraude* (deceit) and *gelosia* (jealousy). In this respect, both artists were following the tradition established by Cesare Ripa, the codifier of Renaissance iconography, who in *Iconologica* described *fraude* as "a lady, richly ornamented, and with the mask of a beautiful youth under which is hidden the face of an old woman, deformed and ugly" (Barasch, p. 254).

Other painters, like Raphael in his *Parnassus* (1510–1511, Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican) and Giorgio Vasari in his *Allegorical Portrait of Lorenzo de' Medici*, used the mask in a more classical sense to reveal and identify. In Raphael's *Parnassus*, a delicate mask identifies the Muse who holds it in her hands. The Vasari painting contains four masks. Vasari explained in a letter that the ugly, distorted one represents vice; the one next to a glass vase stands for virtue; while a beautiful one, hanging from the spout of a vessel, almost merges with the face of Lorenzo de' Medici.

The negative connotations of the mask were perpetuated in the Renaissance in works such as Michelangelo's *Tomb of Giuliano de' Medici* (designed 1521, carved 1524–1534) in the Medici Chapel in S. Lorenzo in Florence. To this unusual effigy—there is no inscription, and the effigy has been replaced by two allegorical figures for day and night—Michelangelo added

a leering mask. Behind the shoulder of Night, whose elbow leans on the mask, there is an additional running frieze of tiny, snarling masks. Within this grandiose allegory of princely and papal power, the leering mask can be seen as a symbol of evil or false dreams. This would coincide with Niccolò Machiavelli's *The Prince* (published 1532, written 1513), in which an appeal is made in vain to Lorenzo de' Medici to liberate and unify Italy.

In the Renaissance, both attitudes toward masks—the classical and the medieval—were alive. But the Renaissance brought a new dimension of interaction to what had been two separate and opposed traditions. The medieval mask, concealing and awesome in itself, covered that which was supposedly hideous or terrible. In the Renaissance, the hideous was covered by a mask of beauty so the significance of concealment was inverted—for to remove the mask is, after all, to ruin the illusion. "Truly, to destroy the illusion is to upset the whole play" (Barasch, p. 264).

The link between the medieval period and the present is the Italian *commedia dell'arte*, a comedy of professional players that became active about 1550 or before. The *commedia dell'arte* probably derived from the Atellan farce of Rome, which was an important link between the Greeks and medieval jongleurs and other itinerant entertainers. The Atellan farce emanated from the ancient city of Atella, one of the first places known to have a theater. Like the wandering medieval mimics, the Atellan troupes were itinerant companies that performed in public squares. Since they did not belong to the regular theater, they were looked down upon and not taken seriously, labeled "traveling comedians" instead of "actors."

This early farce—with its flair for the exaggerated, its reversals of sexual roles, its masks and satire—formed the basis of what became known in fourteenth-century France as *imageria populaire*, or *image d'Epinal*. This entertainment manifested itself in children's picture books, comic strips, political caricature, folklore, and the like. Ironically, *image d'Epinal* suffered much the same fate in the minds of contemporary literati and later historians as did the performances of the Atellanae in the minds of the Roman intelligentsia, or the medieval mimics in the minds of Church fathers. Not considered high art, *image d'Epinal* was looked upon as unimportant, unworthy of notice, an attitude that persisted well into the nineteenth century. It was the *commedia dell'arte* that carried this tradition into the modern era.

Comic does not necessarily mean funny, and it is here that the *commedia dell'arte* distinguishes itself from other traditions of mask usage. By revealing humankind's weaknesses, naïveté, deceitfulness, cowardice, and insecurities, the mask of the *commedia dell'arte* allowed the audience to laugh and cry at itself. As George Sand commented:

The *Commedia dell'Arte* is not only a study of the grotesque and facetious . . . but also a portrayal of real characters traced from remote antiquity down to the present day in an uninterrupted tradition of fantastic humor which is in essence quite serious and, one might say, even sad, like every satire which lays bare the spiritual poverty of mankind. (Duchartre, p. 17)

Clown iconography, beginning with the *commedia dell'arte* and the figure of Pantalone, is based on the concept of the trag-

ic-comic hero. Initially, the characterization of Pantalone was always the same: a mean, stingy, garrulous character played with the same darkish brown mask of a hooked nose, straggling gray beard, and a few wisps of hair from under a cap. Pantalone appeared in many roles: the old father, the greedy merchant, the doting husband, the silly guardian, the aged chancellor. Yet, in all these roles, he was to take himself very seriously, a fact that gave the role such a comic touch.

The multidimensional view of Pantalone's humanity was not the only distinctive feature of the *commedia dell'arte*, but it was the way the mask itself was used. The mask was never static, a technique whose roots lay in Greek times in the mask of Menedemus, which had two sides: anger and calm. The *commedia dell'arte* went further by asking its characters to express a wider range of emotions, although they neither wept nor laughed. Its indefinable expressions were full of possibilities. One did not put on a mask, one "played the mask" (Madden, p. 112), to such an extent that roles were not interchangeable. *Commedia dell'arte* confused identities and did not draw a clear distinction between art and life. Actors did not change out of their foolish identities at the end of their performance but were known, both on stage and off, as fools. "He who wore the harlequin mask became a harlequin" (Nicoll, *Harlequin*, p. 41), just as much as he who painted the mask became that mask. The *commedia dell'arte*, in fact, verified what the medieval bishops had feared: the mask is not a disguise, it is a revelation.

Pantalone's usual companion was Dottore, a character known for his doctorlike characteristics. The popularity of Dottore as an object of ridicule—a type developed in early mime as well as in early religious plays—was evident in seventeenth-century engravings (Duchartre, pp. 197–203) and continued into the satirical genre scenes of Jan Steen's seventeenth-century charlatan-doctor paintings, in which Dottore became an actual medical doctor. His original character, that of a jurist from Bologna, Italy, the center of legal studies, is best depicted in Honoré Daumier's nineteenth-century caricatures. Other artists also loved to depict the foolish affectations and academic excesses of this pedantic, hypocritical tyrant, who spoke above the head of his companions even as they jeered openly or behind his back.

Pietro Longhi's painting *Pantalone, Dottore and Arlecchino* (circa 1750) not only captured these excesses but also included another character who was to enjoy wide fame in nineteenth- and twentieth-century art: Arlecchino, better known as Harlequin. Physically, Harlequin is best visualized as being made of rubber. He knew how to dance, jump, and pantomime. Personally, he could be either stupid, forgetful, and buffoonish, or playful, cunning, and wise. An eighteenth-century writer rightly described him as

. . . a mixture of ignorance, naivete, wit, stupidity and grace. He is both a rake and an overgrown boy with occasional gleams of intelligence and his mistakes and clumsiness often have a wayward charm. His acting is patterned on the lithe, agile grace of a young cat, and he has a superficial coarseness which makes his performances all the more amusing. He plays the role of a faithful valet, always patient, credulous and greedy. He is eternally amorous,

and is constantly in difficulties either on his own or on his master's account. (Duchartre, p. 127)

In short, "he is a chameleon, which takes on every colour" (Marmontel, p. 418).

The evolution of Harlequin's personality, from the Renaissance to the nineteenth century, reflects a change in the ratio between his physical and mental spirit. Artists were fascinated by the various personalities reflected in his mask, which gave a strange expression of craftiness, sensuality, and astonishment that was both disturbing and alluring. The potentialities latent in the mask were innumerable, sometimes suggesting a cat, other times a satyr or an African.

The legend of the multifaceted Harlequin, the comic-melancholic clown, derives not only from his suggestive mask but also from his costume. Many sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century engravings show Harlequin in a costume of motley patches that settle into formalized lozenges or triangles by the seventeenth century, when Harlequin becomes a city man, a courtier who has moved from patchwork poverty to order and elegance. Claude Gillot's engravings *The Humours of Harlequin* (Duchartre, p. 35) show these lozenges, and it is the same costume Paul Cézanne and Pablo Picasso will put on their Harlequins (Nicoll, *Harlequin*, p. 5; Arnason, p. 337). The origin of the multipatches and colors is connected to Harlequin's multifaceted personality (Nicoll, *Harlequin*, pp. 6, 25, 68). As one writer noted, he is

a messenger between heaven and earth, or between civilization and the savage world . . . he has special status as a being both superior and inferior to normal humans, closer both to divinity and animality than ordinary mortals; his confusion of role and self, stage and life; his ties with idiocy and with mysticism . . . (Nicoll, *Harlequin*, p. 70)

It is no wonder that so many artists could see so much in Harlequin's character with which to identify.

Much Harlequin iconography resides in the peculiar quality of this figure, who is always searching for his "true" self, unable to separate art from reality, artifice from man. The various depictions of Harlequin types derive from his diverse origins, which can be traced to Dionysian ritual, classical African slave comedy, the trickster god Mercury, and the medieval devil.

From this tradition evolved the figure of Pulcinello—foolish or shrewd, dull or witty—who would appear in art in various contexts. In Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo's *Sherzi di Fantasia* etchings (1750), Pulcinello, in a long beak-nosed mask, sits next to the magus in deep conversation. In this series of etchings there are even intimations of mortality (*A Magus and Other Figures with Punchinello*, Levey, p. 216). In one particular etching, a group of ill-assorted figures scrutinize the effigy of Punchinello on his tombstone. Death is an especially interesting phenomenon: "even for Punchinello there is death, but in death he is still an object of curiosity and wonder" (Levey, pp. 216, 217). Yet, this is but one side of Pulcinello: mellow, calm, and even philosophical in his old age. In *La Vita Di Pulcinella* (1750), Tiepolo shows the other side of Pulcinello, when he was young: the dancer, the clown, the circus performer walking a tightrope (Duchartre, pp. 210–213).

In the clown iconography, however, none was more famous for artifice and disguise than Pierrot, a French invention who provides much imagery for nineteenth-century artists working in France. First brought to light in Molière's play *Don Juan* (1665), Pierrot later became popular in the eighteenth-century artwork of Antoine Watteau. On stage, Pierrot's personality changed from Molière's simple, harmless, and not very intelligent peasant to what was once the figure of Harlequin: a funny, hungry valet, often frustrated in love. In the seventeenth century, this type of figure pleased the French public, which demanded spirit in everything. More importantly, it suited the character of the actor known as Dominique, who transformed Pierrot's personality to suit his own. This was, and is, typical of actors and painters, whose usage of the Pierrot character was often autobiographical. This also seems to have been the case with Watteau, who reinterpreted Pierrot in the eighteenth century under the name of yet another clown, Gilles, in a painting of that title (1718) in the Louvre in Paris. Was Gilles an actor on the French stage whom Watteau decided to call Gilles, or was he another clown in his own right? What was Watteau's relationship to one or both of these clowns? It appears that Pierrot enjoyed great fame and popularity at the Théâtre de la Faire, where he in fact did have a competitor, or possibly a double, named Gilles, whose name can be traced to clown in English. Gilles, in order to satisfy the demands of the public, eventually changed his uncouth, bedraggled appearance to the more attractive aspects of Pierrot, with whom he practically fused into one character.

While Pierrot played his part on the stage, Gilles grew in popularity at parades, which included farces or little comedies full of jokes, gross antics, indecency, and satire. It was during Watteau's lifetime that this light-hearted genre, always presented outdoors and free of charge, received an enormous stimulus by achieving a certain degree of literary respectability through the writings of Thomas Simon Gueulette. Gueulette wrote numerous parades, one of which he starred in himself as Gilles. Watteau's painting, *Gilles*, seems to be connected to Gueulette's series, *L'Education de Gilles*. In the painting, Gilles's unusual size can be explained by Watteau's primary task, which was to attract public attention from afar. The monumentality of the figure was a scheme of composition that Watteau took from the original founder of the theatrical painting genre, Jacques Callot, who used huge figures in his commedia dell'arte renderings. Even though Watteau knew these Callot prints, his painting assumes a wholly different meaning. Callot's figures are soulless ruffians in comparison to Watteau's shy, lonely Gilles—an image that is, as one critic has suggested, if not a self-portrait of the artist, then certainly a self-revelation (Sitwell, pp. 67–68).

Watteau's *Gilles* could just as easily have been called *Pierrot* (as is true of his other paintings of that figure), because for Watteau there was no difference between the two. In paintings, as on the stage, the Pierrot of the comedies and the Gilles of the parades are identical twins. Pierrot was also transformed by Watteau into a moving, almost tragic figure: still victimized but no longer ridiculous, still shy but no longer cowardly, and often deeply musical. Over and again, Watteau honors the Pierrot figure with these attributes, as in *L'Amour du Théâtre Italien* (circa 1716). In Watteau's work, the rigidly posed Pierrot

always stands in front of the zigzag movements of Harlequin. Pierrot was a perfect character for Watteau: one decidedly French in origin, transformed several times, and now transformed again. Through Watteau, the characters of Gilles and Pierrot were transfigured into a dual ancestor for all tragic clowns: the heartbroken Pagliacci and the Pierrots Lunaires of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The nineteenth-century romantics admired Watteau's Pierrot-Gilles, who represented a character, like themselves, who was too sensitive and feeling to survive a rising bourgeois society. Pierrot-Gilles was a stroller, a vagabond who sought the outdoor world of *fêtes champêtres* (country festivals) and hastily constructed, temporary stages in garden settings. His gardens were always Edens, but their theatricality revealed them as an artificial paradise. Pierrot-Gilles was always a gay, joyous musician and songster, but his merriment also appears contrived, artificially maintained, a hint at an underlying melancholy: almost always a symptom of the martyrdom of those who worship art in a crass society.

The romantic image of Pierrot, the suffering clown, experienced further blows from reality in great part because of the physical changes Paris underwent at this time. Street life, with its connection to comedy-farce, the circus, and carnival life in France, was being swallowed up into Georges-Eugène Haussmann's new boulevards. Comedy became more and more bourgeois and more and more pessimistic. Clown dialogues lost the liberating delight of nonsense and the bawdiness, becoming bitter verbal duets of biting satire, degrading parody, and mechanical repetition. Everywhere were images of bondage, enmity, and death.

This fin de siècle atmosphere had an influence on many French artists who were experimenting with various kinds of facial distortions. Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, following the example of Edgar Degas, involved himself with the world of entertainment, like that in the Moulin Rouge, which represented a kind of circus transported from the street into the world of the bourgeois. Toulouse-Lautrec produced a type of theatrical painting in a mime-caricaturist style that he hoped would be accepted as popular culture for the bourgeois spectator. Relying heavily upon cosmetics, distortion, and strong, unnatural lighting, his portraits of the dancers, singers, and Parisian personae attending the Moulin Rouge became a critique of Parisian society. The effect of these frightening masks was not lost on people such as the mother of Yvette Guilbert, who was horrified by the ugliness of the portraits that Toulouse-Lautrec painted of her daughter (*Yvette Guilbert*, 1894).

In Belgium, James Ensor produced a body of work that is an even more concrete example of how artists used the mask to combine personal angst with fin de siècle melancholy. In Ensor's etchings and paintings, the mask takes on the form of a demon, and much of this iconography can be traced to his domineering family, who fostered in him a constricting and humiliating dependence. This biographical element is evident in *Self-Portrait with Masks* (1889). In his *Scandalized Masks* (1883), the biographical element again appears, this time as an old woman in a bespectacled mask, said to be Ensor's grandmother, who invades the space of a lonely drinker, said to be Ensor's expatriate, alcoholic father. Ensor's uses of the mask can be read both formally and metaphysically. In *Scandalized*

Masks, for example, the mask is used realistically in depictions of masked people. His *Haunted Furniture* (1885) exhibits a wider range of mask usage, and therefore a more ambiguous meaning: these are no longer the masks Ensor saw in his mother's shop in Belgium, nor are they masks covering people's faces as in *Scandalized Masks*. Without the actor, they take on a life of their own, nestled in curtain folds, half hidden in moldings, peeping from behind a wardrobe, and materializing in midair. Like some ancient Dorian masks, they aim to invoke fear, as can be seen in the petrified child's face in the painting. Like the medieval mask, they appear unclean, intent upon disturbing orderly thoughts (i.e., the child's), soiling innocent minds, and inflicting fear. Ensor's *The Entry of Christ into Brussels* (1888) is also reminiscent of medieval mystery plays such as *The Coming of Anti-Christ* and *Doomsday*, in which the masked devil had a major role. In *Haunted Furniture*, Ensor has gone a step further. Not only do people replace the devil, but people themselves become masks: autonomous, spectral beings. This transfiguration—the face becomes the mask—means that art no longer imitates life, but the reverse. It is a reversal that can be traced back to the commedia dell'arte tradition, in which characters did not play a role but became a role. ("He who wore the harlequin mask became a harlequin" [Nichol, *Harlequin*, p. 41].)

The religious event originally known as Christ's Entry into Jerusalem became, in *The Entry of Christ into Brussels*, a carnival. The political-religious world became, in Ensor's work, a farce, a symbol of human meanness and stupidity, an exposure of vice and vanity. In more personal terms, Jesus Christ, for whom the crowd appears to have no use, is a symbol of the artist, Ensor, whom the crowd also does not have the ability to understand. Ensor's identification with Christ is further symbolized by a white-faced, hooked-nose Pierrot, who appears in the painting no fewer than seven times: near a family group, wearing a blue hat; in the foreground, over the shoulder of a bishop; upward to the left, whispering obscenities into the ear of a white nun, who pretends to faint at the offense; and with a wry smile, at the lower left margin. In this painting, Pierrot has a double role, as both observer and schemer, that identifies him as a stand-in for the artist. Ensor, like Watteau, frequently used the figure of Pierrot as an alter ego, a lurking demon. He appears in Ensor's paintings *Intrigue*, *Portrait of Old Woman with Masks* and *Self-Portrait with Masks*. In *Skeletons Fighting for Body of a Hanged Man* (1891), Ensor's biting satire on matrimony, Pierrot is part of a greedy crowd, watching a hanging husband—a mere marionette in the hands of his wife—about to be eaten by three different women.

Ensor's deep misanthropy, which lay at the root of his preoccupation with masks, was immediately recognized when his art became known. The French decadent Jean Lorrain ascribed to his hero in *Monsieur de Phocas* (1901) a particular neurosis, "being . . . his insight into the corruption of his fellow men that every face appears to him as a hideous mask." A "homeopathic cure" is offered: "Don't be afraid, the only chance you have to be cured of this obsession with masks is to familiarize yourself with them and to see them day by day. . . . Their imagined ugliness will attenuate your painful awareness of the ugliness of mankind." Ensor's art is used as an example of how this exorcism works. "You will see what a man this Ensor is and what

a marvelous divination he has of the invisible and of the atmosphere created by our vices . . . our vices that turn our faces into masks" (Julian, p. 244).

The broad interpretation of the mask that Ensor made is evident in *The Astonishment of the Mask Wouse* (1889). Here again he indulges in the game of making the viewer guess where art ends and where life begins. More than that, the work questions the very meaning of the mask itself. When someone puts on a mask, is he or she hiding that which is evil or displaying it? *The Astonishment of the Mask Wouse* is, first and foremost, a caricature of an ordinary person, a symbol of bourgeois stupidity. Masks lie on the ground as if having been put to rest in an attic following a carnival. The Mask Wouse, meant to be human, looks much less so than does the grinning specter in the top-right corner. The masks on the floor belie their condition as mere objects by exhibiting a certain nervous animation. They seem possessed by a subliminal life, ever ready to rise and blow their horns. Aware of this, the Mask Wouse is uneasy, even shocked, to the delight of the emerging spirits. The ultimate irony is that she, the bourgeoisie, is more grotesque—and, therefore, more of a mask—than are the quivering, grimacing trappings.

By working with three species of masks—objects, spirits, and caricatures of real people—and analyzing transitions among them, Ensor effectively explores most of the complexities and ambiguities inherent in mask iconography. Ultimately, Ensor's view was pessimistic as his masks are never far from the most foreboding of all masks: the skull, the ultimate symbol of death. The "mask of death" appears more prevalently in his *Evening in Karl Johan Street* (1890), in which ghoulish figures rush toward the spectator in a vacuumlike sweep. (These are the same masks that face the spectator in many antiwar posters in the twentieth century, such as John Steuart Curry's painting *Parade to War* [1938], in which soldiers bearing the faces of death skulls march to the cheers of the crowd in a ticker-tape parade.)

Ensor's work could not have escaped the attention of the young Pablo Picasso, whose arrival in Paris coincided with Ensor's artistic struggles. The connection between the two artists seems apparent, for in 1904 Picasso replaced suicidal artists and blind beggars in his paintings with circus entertainers and wandering acrobats. The figure that will appear over and over again in Picasso's art is Harlequin, who, like the Pierrot figure in the works of Watteau and Ensor, will be reinterpreted to fit the artist's own personal needs.

As opposed to the boisterous, playful Harlequin of the commedia dell'arte, Picasso's Harlequin is silent, still, and contemplative. The thin, rubbery quality of the harlequin's body, which in the past was used for dance and acrobatics, is now inactive, having taken on an emaciated, unmanly look. Out of its traditional place and role, Harlequin becomes a tragic figure who demands our sympathy. Like Ensor, however, Picasso was preoccupied with more than the solemnity of Harlequin. His depiction of him in *The Death of the Harlequin* (1905–1906) is evidence of his ultimate concern: death. The grave mood of this painting is similar to Renaissance entombments and crucifixions. As with Picasso, Ensor, and Watteau, the Harlequin type also served as an alter-ego for Englishman Aubrey Beardsley in his drawing *The Death of Pierrot* (1896). In all of these artists'

works, the mask is no longer used to distort reality but to reveal another dimension of the human character and often the artist's own soul in the process. It is only through the use of a fictional type that he is able to show the feelings that haunted him: alienation, fraternity, jealousy, and love. The once happy-go-lucky Harlequin became, in Picasso's work, a figure of pathos, not because he is a victim, but because he is an agent of his own fate.

The persona of the clown used as a symbol of human suffering has its roots in the romantic tradition. But in Picasso's work, the clown is not just a symbol of the artist's alienation from society, it is much more personal. On one level, Harlequin symbolizes the alienation experienced by many in modern society, much like Toulouse-Lautrec's café and dance-hall personae. Harlequin, joined by Columbine, is a sad bohemian, like the bored and lonely creatures in Picasso's *Family of Saltimbanques* (1905). On the personal level, however, Harlequin is a picture of Picasso himself, unable to sit with the women who had caused the death by suicide of his best friend, Carlos Casagemas. In other paintings, such as *Harlequin's Family* (1905), *The Mother's Toilet*, and *The Wedding of Pierrette*, Harlequin, accompanied by Columbine, is a symbol of the tragic estrangement that Picasso feels from the woman with whom he shares his life. In these paintings, especially *The Wedding of Pierrette*, the so-called Harlequin seems to be more of a Pierrot type in the tradition of Watteau, a type that was revived at the end of the nineteenth century. His melancholia might be explained by his failures with women. It was this clown that Picasso was to identify with Charlie Chaplin. Although much in this painting is different from Picasso's self-portraits in the form of Harlequin, the ultimate meaning, symbolized here by a new set of masks, is still apparent: the melancholy ascetic's rejection of erotic love. The provocative, grotesque appearance of the masks reveals something of the moral and sexual tension that was always part of Picasso's conception.

Although the Harlequin character does not appear in Picasso's *Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907), the work displays the same fear and rejection of erotic love. By shutting his eyes on the last vestige of carnival-theatrical life, as seen on Montmartre, and looking to African and Iberian societies, Picasso hoped to make a final statement on the evil of erotic love. For Picasso, these primitive masks were of much less interest as formal things than as actual spirits. As he stated, "They were magic things . . . intercesseurs, mediators; . . . I too believe that everything is unknown, that everything is an enemy! . . . I understood what the Negroes used their sculpture for" (Rubin, p. 255). Like the young Germans working in Dresden and Berlin during the first decade of the twentieth century who also used masks, Picasso shows that he is having trouble sustaining a human relationship with the women he painted in the *Demoiselles*. A parallel can be drawn between Picasso's *Demoiselles* and Ernst Kirchner's *Girl Under a Japanese Umbrella* (1909), both of which suggested, in effect, a violent sexual attack on the model. Kirchner's assertion over his model is different. Picasso gave an assertive, dominating power to the woman, but not so that she should dominate. The masks are so strong that, as the peoples who use them, Picasso hoped to exorcise that power out of her body. In the *Demoiselles*, Picasso deals not with one personal sexual rela-

tionship, but with the more universal problem of woman as a cursed sexual temptation. The viewer is thus faced with five women, or five masks. This was not an original theme, but it was Picasso's intention to make the final statement about it. The faces he painted are distorted, inhuman masks that are supposed to provoke a fear of the evil spirit within the woman's body. He understood the mask to be a "weapon . . . to help people avoid coming under the influence of the spirits again." Recalling a day in the Trocadero Museum when he first saw such masks, Picasso admitted that the idea of masks in the *Demoiselles* came to him not because of the forms he saw there in the museum, but "because it was my first exorcism painting" (Rubin, p. 55).

The mask has remained a perplexing element in the history of art. Strongly rooted in a theatrical tradition, it has fascinated artists throughout the ages because of its ambiguous possibilities: those who paint the mask, just as those who "play" the mask, are in fact a part of that "disguise." Like painting, the mask will always remain a fascinating subject, because both forms only provide questions, never answers.

See also Automata; Caricature/Cartoon; Comic; Evil Eye

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

Mask of an Old Woman, clay, sixth century B.C.

Maison, *The Megarian Cook*, terra-cotta, Berlin, Germany, Berlin Museum

Medieval

Swallowing Human Figure, bronze closing ring, Adel, West Yorkshire, Church of St. John the Baptist

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Steen, Jan, *The Doctor's Visit*, 1663–1665, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art, John G. Johnson Collection
Schalcken, Godfried, *Visit to the Doctor*, 1669, Germany, private collection

Rosa, Salvator, *La Nenzogna (Philosopher Showing a Mask to Another Person)*, circa 1615, Florence, Italy, Galleria Pitti

Longhi, Pietro, *Pantalone, Dottore and Arlecchino*, circa 1750, Venice, Italy, Museo Civico

Tiepolo, Giovanni Domenico, scenes from *La Vita Di Pulcinella*, 1750, M. Victor Rosenthal Collection

Tiepolo, Giovanni Domenico, *A Magus and Other Figures with Punchinello*, 1750, Washington, D.C., National Gallery, Rosenwald Collection

Watteau, Antoine, *Gilles*, 1718, Paris, Louvre

Watteau, Antoine, *The Italian Comedians*, 1706, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection

Watteau, Antoine, *L'Amour du Théâtre Italien*, circa 1716, Berlin, Germany, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

Lancet, Nicolas, *A Scene at the Théâtre Italien*, Strasbourg, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Nineteenth Century

- Manet, Édouard, *The Old Musician*, oil on canvas, 1862, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Manet, Édouard, *Masked Ball at the Opera*, 1873, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Ensor, James, *Scandalized Masks*, 1883, Brussels, Belgium, Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique
- Ensor, James, *Haunted Furniture*, 1885, Ostend, Belgium, destroyed
- Ensor, James, *The Entry of Christ into Brussels*, 1888, London, collection of Colonel Louis Frank
- Ensor, James, *Self-Portrait with Masks*, 1889, Antwerp, Belgium, private collection
- Ensor, James, *The Astonishment of the Mask Wouse*, 1889, Antwerp, Belgium, Koninklijk Museum Voor Schone Kunsten
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Twentieth Century

- Picasso, Pablo, *The Death of the Harlequin*, 1905–1906, Zervos Collection
- Picasso, Pablo, *Harlequin's Family*, gouache and India ink, 1905, Sam A. Lewisohn Collection
- Picasso, Pablo, *Family of Saltimbanques*, 1905, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Kirchner, Ernst Ludwig, *Girl Under a Japanese Umbrella*, 1909, Düsseldorf, Germany, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen
- Picasso, Pablo, *Demoiselles d'Avignon*, 1907, New York, Museum of Modern Art
- Picasso, Pablo, *Harlequin*, oil on canvas, 1915, New York, Museum of Modern Art
- Nolde, Emil, *Women and Pierrot*, 1917, Düsseldorf, Germany, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen
- Nolde, Emil, *Masks and Dablias*, 1919, Siebull Foundation, Ada and Emil Nolde
- Severini, Gino, *The Two Punchinellos*, oil on canvas, 1922, The Hague, The Netherlands, Haase Gemeentemuseum
- Picasso, Pablo, *Seated Harlequin*, tempera on canvas, 1923, Basel, Switzerland, Kunstmuseum, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung
- Derain, André, *Pierrot and Harlequin*, 1924, private collection
- Picabia, Francis, *The Eclipse*, circa 1927, Brussels, Belgium, Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique
- Hoch, Hannah, *Mother*, collage, 1930, private collection
- Kahlo, Frida, *Girl with Death Mask I*, 1938, private collection
- Kahlo, Frida, *Girl with Death Mask II*, 1938, present location unknown
- Siqueiros, David Alfaro, *Ethnography*, enamel on composition board, 1939, New York, Museum of Modern Art

Kahlo, Frida, *The Mask*, 1945, Mexico, Dolores Olmedo Collection

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MELANCHOLY

Corinne Mandel

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Melancholy:

CLASSICAL

MEDIEVAL

RENAISSANCE TO

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH AND

TWENTIETH CENTURIES



Albrecht Dürer, *Melancholia I*, 1514,
engraving, Washington, D.C., National
Gallery of Art, Rosenwald Collection.
(Courtesy of the National Gallery of Art,
Washington, D.C.)

Old Democritus under a tree,
Sits on a stone with book on knee;
About him hang there many features,
Of Cats, Dogs and such like creatures,
Of which he makes Anatomy,
The seat of black choler to see.
Over his head appears the skie,
And Saturn Lord of Melancholy.

With these words, Robert Burton begins the explanation to the frontispiece of his *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621). The frontispiece represents a kind of visual summa of the nature of the melancholiac, exemplified by Democritus (German philosopher Philipp Melanchthon's and Burton's "fatuously happy" Greek philosopher): jealous, solitary, amatory, hypochondriacal, superstitious, and beset by mania. His attributes, or rather his panaceas, are the borage and hellebore plants. From Burton's characterization, the melancholic state hardly seems an enviable one. It entails living alone on the fringes of society and finding solace in a kind of sardonic laughter, a terrible laughter originally dedicated to the god Saturn. This state can even lead to sterility, as Sigmund Freud explained in 1917:

The distinguishing mental features of melancholia are a profoundly painful dejection, cessation of interest in the outside world, loss of the capacity to love, inhibition of all activity, and a lowering of the self-regarding feelings to a degree that finds utterance in self-reproaches and self-revilings, and culminates in a delusional expectation of punishment. (Freud, pp. 243–258)

And yet, melancholiacs have not only been celebrated in the Western tradition, but countless men and women have also made a concerted effort to attain this state. One might even say that the melancholic disposition has been in vogue among the literati since Greco-Roman times.

Perhaps the quintessential representation of melancholy, to which Burton's Democritus defers, was created in 1514 by Albrecht Dürer. This engraving, *Melancholia I*, shows a wreathed, winged woman with a swarthy complexion seated with her left hand on her cheek, her right hand holding a compass on a closed book, her stare directed away from her work. She is accompanied by a sleeping dog, a studious cupid, and is surrounded by numerous objects: sphere, polyhedron, hammer, nails, saw, plane, pincers, another compass, crucible, bellows or clyster, scales, hourglass, bell, magic square, keys, purse, seven-runged ladder, and grindstone. In the background, a rainbow appears over the water, a comet shoots through the sky, and a bat shows the viewer the engraving's title. Dürer's engraving contains a plethora of symbols connected with the melancholiac, although to this day historians of art have been unable to agree upon a singular meaning that these symbols might col-

lectively convey. What is certain is that the pose of Dürer's winged woman, with her hand on her cheek, is the pose of the melancholiac. Although popularized by Dürer and emulated by numerous artists—from Giambologna to Giorgio de Chirico, Michelangelo to Auguste Rodin—the woman's pose has an ancient pedigree that can be traced as far back as representations of mourners in the funerary processions of ancient Egypt. While such circumstances are manifestly quite different from those of Dürer's winged woman—or Burton's Democritus for that matter—the pose suggests the sorrow and despair that has been attributed to the melancholiac since Greek antiquity.

According to the theory of the humors as first set out by Hippocrates in the fourth century B.C., the human body produces four fluids that affect physiognomy and personality and that are intimately related to the workings of the macrocosm. In the ideal scenario, the four fluids, or humors (blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm), are in perfect accord so that the body is healthy and enjoys equilibrium. However, such a state is rarely, if ever, attained. Of the four humors, by far the most discussed, and the most potentially damaging, is the black bile secreted by the liver; too much black bile makes a person melancholic. According to Theophrastus and Aristotle, if the black bile is cold, then the person is unfaithful, slovenly, dishonest, unhappy, cowardly, and avaricious and has a propensity to indulge in alcohol. The melancholiac affected by cold black bile does not, in other words, excel in human relationships. If the black bile is hot, conversely, then the melancholiac has the enviable potential of separating mind and body, and of becoming a genius. According to Aristotle, "hot" melancholiacs are:

all those . . . eminent in philosophy or politics or poetry or the arts. . . . An example from heroic mythology is Heracles. . . . Among the heroes many others evidently suffered in the same way, and among men of recent times Empedocles, Plato, and Socrates, and numerous other well known men, and also most of the poets.

Socrates' "deity," in other words, not only infused him with wisdom but also enabled the great sage to experience revelation in a manner that later ages would analogize to the Platonic divine "mania" and to the son of God in his earthly manifestation as Jesus Christ.

Because there is said to be an intimate connection between microcosm and macrocosm, melancholy has been related to the autumn season, to the element of earth, to the mineral lead, and with regard to the times of day, to the evening (or sometimes to the night that properly belongs to the phlegmatic). The melancholiac has also been thought of as cold and dry. It is on this account that the planet Saturn, Burton's "Lord of Melancholy," is connected to the melancholiac personality. According to the Babylonian astrological tradition as filtered through such

sources as Servius and the ninth-century Islamic *Picatrix*, the planet Saturn has exceedingly negative influences on humans, hence exacerbating the production of cold black bile in the body. Conversely, the Hellenistic astrological tradition, as adopted by such sages as Macrobius and Boccaccio, holds that Saturn can imbue man with extraordinary faculties of reason and contemplative or metaphysical powers, hence facilitating the “hot” melancholiac’s separation of mind and body.

Whether black bile was ultimately maleficent or beneficent, it was deemed necessary to offset the effects of the black bile and of the melancholiac’s cold and dry saturnine makeup. Accordingly, the diet could be pressed into service. For example, “hot” and “wet” foods like red wine and lamb could be consumed in order to counteract the “cold” condition. One could also seek herbal remedies like Burton’s borage and hellebore and wear watery plants like watercress on one’s head in the manner of Dürer’s melancholic woman, who wears lovage. Even astral magic was used, hence the Jovian talisman in Dürer’s engraving that was said to counteract the maleficent influences of Saturn. Music, above all else, functioned as an excellent antidote to the black bile affecting the melancholiac. This was understood by ancient pagans and Hebrews: in order to purge the demons from Saul, who was verging on insanity, that is to say, melancholy, David played a harp (I Samuel 16:23).

When Christianity adopted the antique theory of the humors, it traced the cause of humankind’s physiological imbalance to Adam’s indiscretion in Eden. The moment that Adam followed Eve and took his fateful bite of the fruit (Genesis 3:1–7), the harmony of humankind’s constitution was forever upset. The lungs, liver, and circulatory system ceased to function optimally, and men and women were subsequently afflicted with the effects of the malfunctions. Dürer’s engraving *Adam and Eve* (1504) indicates this unfortunate state by means of the sanguine rabbit, choleric cat, phlegmatic ox, and melancholic elk. Above all else, Adam became afflicted with the melancholiac’s liver ailment, although he was by no means immune to the ill-effects of the remaining humors. As Hildegard von Bingen explained:

For because Adam knew the good yet did evil by eating the fruit, melancholy welled up within him, and with it the vicissitudes of change, which would not have occurred in man, either in his sleeping or in his waking hours, without the suggestion of the Devil.

Consequently, Adam is often depicted after the fall in the stance of the melancholiac, not at all unlike Joseph at the Nativity, or the penitent Magdalen.

The kind of dejection experienced by Adam—and by Joseph or Mary Magdalen, for that matter—was readily connected to the words of St. Paul by some Christian exegetes: “For godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of: but the sorrow of the world worketh death” (II Corinthians 7:10). Much as the melancholy of Theophrastus is of two types, so the related *tristitia* (sorrow) could function either positively or negatively. When functioning in a good sense, sorrow acts in a way not at all unlike music or talismans, herbs or foodstuffs. That is to say, it is a cathartic that enables the believer to reach the Godhead. It is for this reason that William of Auvergne could view sadness, and specifically

melancholy, as a “useful madness.” As the scholar Noel Brann has shown, William of Auvergne recognized, with the help of Aristotle, that the melancholic personality was the best possible receptor of illumination and divine radiation. Like the Man of Sorrows, or Geertgen tot Sint Jans’s *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness* (circa 1490), melancholiacs are ironically blessed with a kind of sorrow that enables them to achieve an ecstatic union with God.

When sorrow functioned in a negative way, it was known as the “Devil’s bath” and was believed ultimately to lead to evil, as aptly demonstrated in Lucas Cranach’s many depictions of melancholy witches. For some exegetes, sorrow even led to white magic and, worse, to alchemy. This despite protestations to the contrary by the spiritual alchemists, whose very art was begun under Saturn’s sway, and whose end product was mystical union with God. According to the art historian Maurizio Calvesi, the Jovian talisman in Dürer’s *Melancholia I* actually promises the completion of the alchemical opus, and hence revelation. Nevertheless, the solitude and lethargy inherent in a deeply sorrowful or depressed state—a common occurrence for an alchemist—was more often than not viewed as virtually synonymous with acedia, or sloth, one of the seven deadly sins.

Perhaps not surprisingly, sloth is represented through the ages in conjunction with the antique characterization of both the melancholiac and the slow-moving planet Saturn. For an eleventh-century miniaturist whose work appears on a manuscript housed in the Vatican Library, the model of sloth is a recumbent, sleeping figure. For Hieronymus Bosch, in his *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins* (circa 1480–1485), sloth is a seated monk, with his hand on his head and a dog at his feet. In Bosch’s *Temptation of Saint Anthony Triptych* (circa 1505–1510), sloth is the bird with a funnel-shaped crown, wearing a pair of ice skates, accompanied by the inscription *oisuif* or *ouisuy* (idler). For the seventeenth-century artist Jan Vermeer, sloth is a woman with disheveled clothes and her hand on her cheek, seemingly asleep at the table from too much earthly pleasure, particularly of the alcoholic and amorous kinds.

As the apathetic, lovesick maidens of Vermeer’s compatriot Jan Steen demonstrate, however, a sinful melancholiac need not be prone or adopt the typical head-on-hand pose; he or she could merely sit, staring into space, in a manner wholly consonant with the Master F. B.’s positive treatment of the theme in his mid-sixteenth-century engraving *Melancholy*. Such delight in iconographic representations of sloth are not unrelated to such literary depictions as those by Geoffrey Chaucer of Arcite, William Shakespeare of Ophelia or Hamlet, and Charles Baudelaire of the malady of his century.

The Master F. B.’s and Steen’s uses of similar poses, respectively *in bonum* (in good) and *in malum* (in bad), are not confined to the melancholiac who sits staring into space. Around 1590, when Nicholas Hilliard depicted Henry Percy, ninth earl of Northumberland, reclining on the grass with his head on hand, he was hardly denigrating his patron. Hilliard was celebrating the earl’s virtues by drawing on traditional depictions of the reclining planet-god Saturn and, one might add, Christ in *proskynesis* at Gethsemane. Joseph Wright of Derby used a similar pose for his late-eighteenth-century portrait *Sir Brooke Boothby* (1781). Likewise, when Gilbert Stuart represented

William Grant on skates in 1782, he was not comparing the Scottish gentleman to an idler. Far from aids to slovenliness, Grant's skates were the apparatus of the upper-class gentleman, while his folded arms actually identified him as an inspired melancholiac, in keeping with another typical pose represented on Burton's frontispiece. Similarly, the numerous nineteenth-century depictions of sitters with disheveled clothes staring into space celebrate the romantic genius, not the lazy and despondent melancholiac. By the time Édouard Manet represents Baudelaire in such an attitude (1867) accompanied by a bat—the progeny of Dürer's *Melancholia I* and of Francisco Goya's *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters* (circa 1799)—he is complimenting the author, not condemning him.

In order to understand Dürer's *Melancholia I*, Hilliard's *Henry Percy*, Stuart's *Skater*, and the grander notion of the romantic genius, one must consider the fifteenth-century watershed figure of Marsilio Ficino. This Florentine humanist, who syncretized antique and medieval notions, followed the lead of William of Auvergne and raised the melancholiac to the status of a demigod. Ficino attributed the cherished *melancholia artificialis* (the status of artistic genius) to those born under the influence of Saturn and consequently bequeathed the positive virtues of those beset by black bile to later ages. Drawing on the duality originally provided by Theophrastus and filtered through the medieval period, Ficino differentiated “cold” and “hot” saturnine melancholiacs. He did so by deferring to astrology and to the placement of the planets in the heavens at the moment of one's birth. If Saturn were badly aspected, then the child would be beset by cold black bile and consequently live a life overshadowed by darkness and evil. If Saturn were well aspected, then the child would be given the best possible faculties: wisdom and an understanding of theology and divinity. The child, in short, would be able to separate body and soul (or mind).

Stated slightly differently by Henry Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim, the source for Dürer's *Melancholia I*, the bile affecting the melancholiac is either black or white, evil or good. Whereas the black bile is “so depraved and horrible a thing that its violence is said . . . to draw into it, in addition to mania, even wicked demons to lay siege to the human body,” the white bile is a glorious substance, notwithstanding its side effects: “it stirs up a kind of madness which induces in us knowledge and divination, especially if it is aided by some celestial influx, above all Saturn. . . .” In this light, it is little wonder that sixteenth-century Europe saw a veritable “melancholomania,” in which the learned, whether born under Saturn or not, wished to be affected by the unpleasant effects of black (or, for Agrippa, white) bile. Nor is it surprising that later ages would not forget the association between melancholy and genius, or melancholy and madness.

As art historian Frederick Cummings has argued, the model melancholiac for the modern age was Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the “new Democritus,” who was ultimately displaced from the society he recognized as so laden with evil. Rousseau was joined by poets like Alfred, Lord Tennyson, Charles Baudelaire, and Gustave Flaubert and artists like Odilon Redon, Edvard Munch, and Vincent van Gogh. Whereas the Ficinian artist had been an active, “hot” melancholiac, the modern equivalent, although “hot,” would be riddled with the kind of self-doubt that verges on paranoia. Dürer's productive winged genius

would accordingly be transformed by the romantic into the anxious paradigm of modern humankind. During the twentieth century, the mad, melancholic pariah was given a status of cosmic proportions, whether in the person of van Gogh, whose life has been commemorated in literature and on film and whose art fetches the highest market prices, or in the person of Andy Warhol, the self-made guru of the pop artist. Indeed, had modern society rebuked the nineteenth-century glorification of the wholly mad, yet brilliant, artistic genius, Andy Warhol might not have been given a second thought. The traditional melancholic pose of head on hand can't be missed in his *Self-Portrait* (1966).

See also Humors; Madness

Selected Works of Art

Classical

Funerary Procession of Nefer-renpet, High Priest of Memphis, circa 1313 B.C., Memphis, Egypt

The Seer Lamos, 470–256 B.C., East Pediment, Olympia, Greece, Temple of Zeus

Athena Relief, circa 470 B.C., Athens, Greece, Acropolis

Medea and the Two Daughters of Pelias, neo-Attic copy of first century B.C. relief, Vatican, Vatican Museums

Sleeping Ariadne, copy of Hellenistic Pergamene sculpture, second century A.D., Vatican, Vatican Museums

Priam Begging the Body of Hector from Achilles, silver cup, early first century A.D., Copenhagen, Denmark, National Museum

Gemma Augustea, early first century A.D., Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Medieval

John the Evangelist, from *Gospel Book* at Stauronikita on Mount Athos, tenth century, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University, Museum of Art (Cod. 43, fol. 13r)

Gethsemane, from *Dionysius Lectionary* at Mount Athos, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University, Museum of Art (Cod. 587, fol. 66r)

Tournai Artist, *Nativity; Annunciation to Shepherds; John the Baptist Meeting Christ; Baptism of Christ*, ivory relief, tenth century, London, British Museum

Illuminator from Lower Saxony, *Nativity and Ecclesia with Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, late twelfth century, Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art

Cologne Artist, *Nativity with Annunciation to the Shepherds*, ivory relief, twelfth century, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Renaissance to Eighteenth Century

Saturn, fifteenth century, Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André

Masolino, *Crucifixion*, circa 1425, Vatican, Vatican Museums

Botticelli, Sandro, *Adoration of the Magi*, circa 1475, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Tabletop of the Seven Deadly Sins*, circa 1480–1485, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Geertgen tot Sint Jans, *Saint John the Baptist in the Wilderness*, circa 1490, Berlin, Germany, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen

Sansovino, Andrea, *Sforza Monument*, sculpture, 1505–1509, Rome, Santa Maria del Popolo

Raphael, *School of Athens*, 1508, Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura

Dürer, Albrecht, *Melancholia I*, engraving, 1514

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Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, *Melancholy*, 1532, Copenhagen, Denmark, State Museum

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METAMORPHOSIS

Alicia Craig Faxon

The following iconographic narratives, cultures, and motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Metamorphosis:

ACTAEON

APOLLO AND DAPHNE

FLORA

GALATEA AND PYGMALION

NARCISSUS

CORAL

ALCHEMY

THE TRANSFIGURATION

AFRICAN

NATIVE AMERICAN

ABSTRACTION

SYMBOLIC



The Pan Painter, *Artemis Shooting Actaeon*, Attic red-figure krater, side A, circa 470 B.C. James Fund and Special Contribution, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. (Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

The primary definition of metamorphosis is a change of form, shape, structure, or substance or the form resulting from such a change. Secondary meanings can be more general, referring to a marked or complete change of character, appearance, or condition. In biology, metamorphosis is defined as a change of form, structure, or function as a result of development, especially as in the maturation of animal, insect, or plant life; in medicine, a morbid change of form in tissue; and in chemistry, a change causing decomposition. Transmutation is an ascending metamorphosis, as toward a deity. In alchemy, this transmutation goes through ascending stages, both physically and philosophically and both as an endeavor to make gold and as a symbol of salvation.

According to mythologist Joseph Campbell, the most ancient account of metamorphosis is the Sumerian myth of Inanna's descent to the underworld, when she was forced to give up part of her queenly regalia, jewels, and clothing at each of the seven gates leading to the underworld, arriving there stark naked.

In classical times, although there are references to metamorphosis in Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (such as Circe's transformation of Odysseus's men into pigs), the real encyclopedia of changes is Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, written by Publius Ovidius Naso, who was born in Sulmone, Italy, in 43 B.C. and died in exile in A.D. 17. It details three major types of transformations: those of punishment or revenge; those occasioned by love, especially the love of a god for a mortal; and those that describe the metamorphoses of mortals into flower forms.

The metamorphoses of punishment include those of Arachne, Actaeon, and Tiresias, the most dramatic being that of Actaeon. Actaeon was a hunter who came upon the goddess of the hunt, Diana (Artemis in Greece), and her nymphs bathing. In punishment, Diana turned Actaeon into a stag that was eaten by his own hunting dogs (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, book III, ll. 141–250). The punishment of Actaeon was shown as early as 460 B.C. on a red-figure Greek krater by the Pan Painter in which the hounds are devouring the fallen hunter as the standing goddess on the left aims an arrow at him. Here the action is extremely vivid, the dying Actaeon's hand raised in extremis or imploration. Diana is shown fully clothed and armed in her character of huntress goddess. The moral is quite clear: Not only do not look at nude goddesses, but especially do not cause the wrath of an immortal (either a god or a goddess). This transformation scene was popular with later artists such as Titian (whose painting of Actaeon's fate now resides in the National Gallery in London), Joachim Antonisz Wtewael, and Francesco Albani. This scene also inspired many portrayals in Greek vase painting and relief sculpture.

The second type of metamorphosis, that resulting from love, has one of its most dramatic portrayals in Ovid's story of Apollo, the god of sunlight, and Daphne. Daphne, a nymph of

Diana and daughter of the river god Peneius, was pursued by Apollo. When her strength was failing, she called to her father to save her and was transformed into a laurel tree. The moment of metamorphosis is depicted in Gian Lorenzo Bernini's virtuoso sculpture (1622–1625) in the Borghese Gallery in Rome in which the static form of the Apollo Belvedere is transformed into the eagerly pursuing god and the form of Daphne shown visibly changing, her toes beginning to grow roots, bark enclosing her body, and her hair and arms turning into leaves and branches. This scene is also shown in paintings by Antonio del Pollaiuolo in the National Gallery in London and by Paolo Veronese in the Philadelphia Museum of Art in Pennsylvania (among others). This could have been the one described by John Keats in *Ode on a Grecian Urn* (ll. 5–10):

What leaf-fringed legend haunts about the shape
Of deities or mortals, of both,
In Tempe or the dales of Arcady?
What men or gods are these? What maidens loth?
What mad pursuit? What struggles to escape?
What pipes and timbrels? What wild ecstasy?

The third type of metamorphosis detailed by Ovid is the change of mortals into flowers. These transformation scenes were summed up by Nicolas Poussin in his painting *The Realm of Flora* (1630–1631) in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, Germany, in which he shows Clytie, who became a sunflower, gazing at Apollo in the sky; the lovers Smilax and Crocus; Ajax falling on his sword to become a larkspur; Hyacinth turned into that flower; Adonis transformed into an anemone at his death by a boar; and Narcissus gazing at his image in the water. It is interesting to note that the first image of self-reflection was a male, not a female, although a mirror in later iconography became an image of female vanity.

Another type of metamorphosis in Ovid can be seen as a result of love but may equally stand for the transformation wrought by art. This is the myth of Pygmalion and Galatea, in which the sculptor Pygmalion falls in love with the statue of a perfect woman he has created, and Venus brings the statue to life in answer to the sculptor's prayers. There are many versions of this scene, including *Pygmalion and Galatea* (1890) by Jean-Léon Gérôme in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the *Pygmalion Cycle* (1878) by Edward Coley Burne-Jones in the Birmingham City Art Gallery in England. Perhaps most amusing is that by Honoré Daumier in his *Histoire Ancienne* lithographs in *Le Charivari* (December 28, 1842), in which Galatea leans over from her pedestal before the astonished sculptor with the following verse appended:

Oh, triumph of the arts, what surprise,
Great sculptor, when you saw your marble come to life

And with chaste, sweet air, slowly bend down
To ask you for a pinch of snuff!

The most common form of the metamorphosis of Galatea shows her at the moment the marble statue comes to life, as in Gérôme's work in New York. In Burne-Jones's series on the Pygmalion and Galatea story, four panels depict the sculptor in deep thought; the sculptor's perfect marble creation in the statue of Galatea on the right; Galatea turning to flesh embraced by the goddess Venus, in green, who is granting the sculptor's wish that the statue be brought to life; and the clothed sculptor kneeling on the right, holding the hands of the now human Galatea, standing to the left.

The Pygmalion myth has also appeared in literature, most notably in George Bernard Shaw's play *Pygmalion* (1912), the story of a cockney flower seller's transformation into a lady. This can also be seen as an allegory of the power of art to transform both matter and its viewers.

Myths and legends are often used to explain natural phenomena, many of which, as in the case of coral, involve magical transformations. As Perseus returns from his triumph over the Gorgons, bearing the decapitated but still dangerous head of the Medusa, his attention is caught by the sight of the naked Andromeda bound to a rock. Swooping down to rescue her from the dragon that menaces her, he carefully places the Medusa head onto a rock. The head's mysterious power metamorphoses the seaweed surrounding it into coral. The story is told by Ovid:

. . . lest the snake-girt head
Be bruised on the hard shingle, [Perseus] made a bed
Of leaves and spread the soft weed of the sea
Above, and on it placed Medusa's head.
The fresh seaweed, with living spongy cells,
Absorbed the Gorgon's power and at its touch
Hardened, its fronds and branches stiff and strange.
The sea-nymphs tried the magic on more weed
And found to their delight it worked the same,
And sowed the changeling seeds back on the waves.
Coral still keeps that nature; in the air
It hardens what beneath the sea has grown
A swaying plant, above it, turns to stone.
(Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 741-754)

Giorgio Vasari's *Perseus Freeing Andromeda*, painted in 1570 for the Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, Italy, depicts the metamorphosis of coral. The painting presents the main features of the narrative. As the no-longer-threatening dragon expires in the background, the hero, Perseus, with the reins of Pegasus tied to his girdle and the magic mirror at his feet, frees the naked Andromeda. She looks with trepidation at the ugly Gorgon's head at her feet as blood from it turns the seaweed into branches of coral. The sea nymphs sport with this magical metamorphosis, showing the branches of coral to each other. It was a legend that attracted other artists, including Giulio Romano and later Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorraine. Lorraine's *Coast View with Perseus and the Origin of Coral* (circa 1673) in England in the Earl of Leicester Collection in Holkham Hall shows Perseus washing his hands while the sea nymphs dance near the Medusa head.

From the Middle Ages through the nineteenth century, alchemists attempted to transmute base metals into gold and silver. Many illustrations document their efforts to effect this transformation. The alchemist is depicted as a scholar, priest, or philosopher delving into the world's secrets; as a magician or sorcerer, perhaps in league with the devil; or, especially in seventeenth-century Netherlandish paintings, as a charlatan or someone who, attempting to find gold, discovers some other element. A host of illuminated alchemical manuscripts and books, such as that by Elias Ashmole, the founder of the Ashmolean Museum of Oxford University in England, reveal the secrets of the art. In addition, paintings, such as that by Giovanni Stradano in the Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici in the Palazzo Vecchio, document the alchemists' laboratory. Pieter Bruegel the Elder and David Teniers give a satirical view of the alchemist, whereas Joseph Wright of Derby depicts an alchemist's discovery of phosphorus, and Wenzel von Brozik depicts royal attendance at an alchemist's demonstration.

A major Christian example of metamorphosis is the Transfiguration, which occurs in Matthew 17:1-6 and Mark 9:2-4. In this episode in the Gospels, Jesus Christ goes up on a mountain with his disciples "and was transfigured before them: and his face did shine as the sun, and his raiment was white as the light" (Matthew 17:2). Paintings of the Transfiguration usually shown the figure of Christ in the center, standing between the prophets Moses and Elijah, with the apostles Peter, James, and John shown recumbent or kneeling on the ground before them, as in Giovanni Bellini's *The Transfiguration of Christ* (late 1480s) in Naples, Italy. Sometimes, as in Raphael's *The Transfiguration of Christ* (1517), the figure of Christ between Moses and Elijah is shown centrally but raised up in the air while the recumbent disciples shade their eyes from the brilliant vision.

Another biblical example of metamorphosis can be found in I Corinthians (15:42-49), where Paul describes the change of the mortal body into an immortal soul:

So also is the resurrection of the dead. It is sown in corruption; it is raised in incorruption: It is sown in dishonor; it is raised in glory; it is sown in weakness; it is raised in power: It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body. (I Corinthians 15:42-44)

In Japanese mythology, metamorphosis usually involves animals taking human form for some purpose. The plots of these stories often revolve around marriage between humans and animals in human form, such as the story of a man who saved the life of a crane, whereupon the bird turned into a beautiful woman, whom he married.

Metamorphosis in traditional African cultures usually occurs in rites and dances during which the participants wear masks. These groups believe that the wearer of the mask is transformed into the character that the mask represents, be it an animal or a deity. For example, the masked lion dancer becomes a lion in the ceremony, and the wearer of the chiwara mask among the Bapende becomes an antelope in the fertility dance. African art is especially rich in these personifications represented by masks, from spirits of the dead to expressive delineations of animals and birds. A similar metamorphosis also occurred among Native American tribes, especially those

of the northwest coast, where the shaman became the character represented by his mask.

In twentieth-century art, metamorphoses are usually not religious or mythological. Some comment whimsically on the mechanization of forms, as in Raymond Duchamp-Villon's bronze sculpture *The Great Horse* (1914), in which the horse has become an engine with only a hoof, reminding us of the origin of "horsepower." Umberto Boccioni's sculpture *Unique Forms of Continuity in Space* (1913) shows the striding figure of a man whose head has been transformed into a mechanical helmet, reminiscent of a modern train engine, and whose legs displace the air in winglike projections.

For Remedios Varo, the transformations are tongue-in-cheek and surrealistic, as in her painting *Mimesis* (1960), in which the woman seated in a chair is beginning to assume the characteristics of the chair itself, with upholstered face, carved clay hands, and wooden feet, or in *Still Life Reviving* (1963), in which fruit that had been on plates on a table are now orbiting in space around a central candle. For Varo, the context of metamorphosis seems to comment wryly on the unexpectedness of life and to mock its established categories.

See also Apotheosis/Deification; Humors; Masks/Personae; Witchcraft/Sorcery

Selected Works of Art

Actaeon

The Pan Painter, *Artemis Shooting Actaeon*, Attic red-figure krater, 470 B.C., Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

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Narcissus

Dalí, Salvador, *Metamorphosis of Narcissus*, oil on canvas, 1938, London, Tate Gallery

Coral

Vasari, Giorgio, *Perseus Freeing Andromeda*, 1570, Florence, Italy, Palazzo Vecchio, Studiolo of Francesco I de' Medici

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Teniers, David, *The Chemist, His Assistants, and a Prayer*, seventeenth century, engraving after

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The Transfiguration

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Native American

Tlingit Tribe, Chilkat, *Octopus Mask*, wood, nineteenth century, Berlin, Museum für Volkerkunde

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Symbolic

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MIRROR/REFLECTION

Elaine Shefer

The following motifs and periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Mirror/Reflection:

MIRROR AS AID TO THE
ARTIST

MIRROR AS
ILLUSION/REFLECTION

VANITY

MIRROR AS DOCUMENT
MIRRORS AS DIVINATION
RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH AND
EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES
NINETEENTH CENTURY
TWENTIETH CENTURY



Parmigianino, *Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror*, 1524, painting, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum.
(Courtesy of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria, Archivphoto)

Every mirror is false because it repeats something it has not witnessed.

The mirror has a great deal in common with art. Like art, it is an artifice. When you hold a mirror up to reality, you do not see reality but instead see the illusion of reality as it is reflected on a two-dimensional surface. In this sense, a mirror is much like the two-dimensional surface of a painted canvas. And like art, the mirror is full of contradictions. Although it purports to reflect reality, it always reverses its image and cannot, at any given time, show all sides of physical existence. Despite all of its limitations, the mirror allows us to confront our physical and spiritual selves, and some might say this is the same basic, underlying principle of art.

Mirror as Aid to the Artist

Mirrors have a long history as studio props that assist artists in their work. In addition to helping the artist to define dimension, space, and perspective (Albrecht Dürer did several works illustrating this point), the mirror has allowed artists to execute self-portraits. According to Pliny the Younger, Lala of Kyzikos painted a portrait of herself with the help of a mirror; and in a French illuminated manuscript (1402) of Giovanni Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* (*Concerning Famous Women*), there is a miniature of the nun Marcia painting her own portrait with the aid of a mirror. One copy of this manuscript was purchased for Christine de Pisan, who noted that "Marcia created a realistic portrait of herself by looking at herself in a mirror in order that her memory survive her" (Christine de Pisan, *The Book of the City of Ladies*, p. 85; bk. 1.41.3).

The scientific study of the mirror and its usefulness to the artist originated in sixteenth-century Italy. Leon Battista Alberti, who believed that Narcissus was the real inventor of painting, claimed that "things taken from nature are corrected with a mirror" (Alberti, p. 83). Leonardo da Vinci exclaimed that "the mirror, above all, the mirror, should be your teacher" (Leonardo, p. 160). Leonardo recommended the mirror as a model for an art that strove to reach a total reflection:

The painter's mind should be like a mirror, which transforms itself into the color of the thing that it has as its object, and is filled with as many likenesses as there are things placed before it. Therefore, painter, knowing that you cannot be good, if you are not a versatile master in reproducing through your art all the kinds of forms that nature produces—which you will not know how to do if you do not see and represent them in your mind. (Leonard da Vinci, *Treatise*, p. 48, par. 71)

Leonardo believed that a successful artist should initially understand his or her sense of vision as a kind of unselective

mirror held up to nature. The vision of a true artist is more complicated than mere reflection, however. Leonardo was well aware of this and worried about the artist who found himself or herself in a situation of no choice, who was only concerned with the problem of total absorption. At another point in his writings, Leonardo warned the artist:

The painter who draws merely by practice and by eye, without any reason, is like a mirror which copies everything placed in front of it, without being conscious of their existence. (Leonardo da Vinci, *Notebooks*, 1:18, par. 20)

Leonardo urged the artist to be selective, and in this sense he called attention to the basic difference between mirror and artist: the mirror can only reflect the world, while the artist must always invent a new one.

The painter should be solitary and consider what he sees, discussing it with himself, selecting the most excellent parts of the appearance of what he sees, acting as the mirror which transmutes itself into as many colors as exist in the things placed before it. And if he does this he will be like a second nature. (Leonardo da Vinci, *Treatise*, 2:49, par. 72)

Artists like Parmigianino directly explored the properties of the mirror. According to Giorgio Vasari, Parmigianino's *Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror* (1524) was painted with the help of a convex mirror "such as is used by barbers" (Hartt, p. 516). The painting, executed on a spherical or parabolic panel segment, shows how people in the sixteenth century appeared to themselves as they faced a mirror; most mirrors of this period were blown, convex, and spherical in shape. Parmigianino did not use the mirror as an aid to observation in creating his self-portrait; he didn't filter out distortions. Instead, he seems to have substituted his painting for the mirror itself, even using a specially prepared convex panel. It's possible that Parmigianino meant to prove that there is no single "correct" reality, that distortion is as natural as the normal appearance of a thing. In this sense, it is not always a simple matter to interpret mirrored reflections: reflections are not objects themselves, only partial and commonly reversed representations of objects.

Jan Vermeer's *The Music Lesson* (circa 1662–1665) is another example of an artist exploring the very nature of the mirror itself. In this work, a man is attendant on a woman, his pupil, who is standing at a virginal. On the wall behind her, a mirror reflects part of the room and the woman's face, which is slightly turned. The mirror reminds the painting's viewers that Vermeer, like any artist, is dealing only with partialities.

The "real" woman is visible only from the back; her face, held in a different position, is reflected in the mirror; the

picture on the wall is severely cut by the frame; the words inscribed on the virginal are hard to make out . . . and are further interrupted by the figure of the woman. (Alpers, p. 188)

Vermeer's *The Music Lesson* is an example of both the limitations and importance of art. Like the mirror, art can only reveal partialities, yet both are powerful and constant reminders of our own existence.

Mirror as Illusion/Reflection

Conjurers and magicians have long employed mirrors as devices of illusion. With mirrors, it is possible to make objects appear to be present when they are not and to make objects appear to be absent when they are not. From the moment Alice stepped through the looking glass and into Wonderland until the moment she emerged, she found herself in a topsy-turvy world of ambiguity, nonsense, and contradictions: a place where one runs hard to stay in the same place, where one cries out in pain and bleeds before pricking a finger, and where one remembers best the things that happen the week after next.

As artists, writers, and theologians have made clear throughout the ages, the effects of the mirror can be either positive or negative. Negative stories abound from ancient history. Seneca, in describing the luxurious period of the Roman Empire, tells the tale of a rich man who surrounded himself with full-length mirrors that were carved of gold and silver and adorned with jewels:

He had mirrors made of the type in which a finger exceeded the size and thickness of an arm. . . . I will surround myself with mirrors, the type of which renders the size of objects incredible. If it were possible, I would make those sizes real; because it is not possible, I will feast myself on the illusion. Let my lust see more than it consumes and marvel at what it undergoes. (Strem, *Seneca*, p. 117)

The mirror, in this sense, had the inherent properties of deception and illusion—it could flatter, exaggerate, and distort—but could never tell the truth. The mirror, the means by which a person could see a reflection of the self, either materially or figuratively, remained mysterious, awesome, self-delusory, and full of deceit.

In the time of Plato, the mirror's reflection was considered a poor imitation of a real thing. In *The Republic*, Plato sought to distinguish between true forms and images, ultimate truth and illusion. His philosophy was based upon a belief in a pure idea or high truth, an ideal that exists as a human being's ultimate goal, of which all physical existences are only imperfect copies (Guthrie, p. 95). The mirror, with its property of imperfect reflection, was the device with which he chose to convey this concept. While the sun can't be seen directly by humans because it is blinding, Plato pointed out, it can be seen in the mirror, which reflects it somewhat dimly and imperfectly.

The Christian take on this same concept was the Pauline mirror, named after Paul, who in A.D. 54 addressed his disciples: "For now we see through a glass, darkly" (I Corinthians 13:12). Paul reinterpreted this Platonic concept of reality as only a poor reflection of an ideal. Humankind, in Paul's theol-

ogy, may see the glory of God only as in a mirror: dimly, never directly.

As Christianity spread throughout Western Europe, it made powerful figurative use of the mirror to disseminate its teachings. Philosophers and theologians employed the mirror as a metaphor to strengthen the concept of God and ideality, purity, wisdom, morality, and self-knowledge. Positive traits of the mirror began to be emphasized. Dante, in *The Divine Comedy* (circa 1307–1321), wrote of an "inferior" mirror that obeyed the natural law of reflection and a "superior" mirror that received the direct illumination of God (Torti, p. 27). The "good" mirror was the *speculum sine macula*, the "spotless" mirror that came to symbolize the purity of the Virgin Mary. This analogy was strengthened in the thirteenth century by Jacobus de Voragine, who said the glass represented her virginity because

as the sun penetrates glass without violating it, so Mary became a mother without losing her virginity. Lead symbolized her ductility, and the ashen color of the mirror signified her humility. She is called a mirror because of her representation of things, for as all things are reflected from a mirror, so in the blessed Virgin, as in the mirror of God, ought all to see their impurities and spots, and purify them and correct them: for the proud, beholding her humility see their blemishes, the avaricious see theirs in her poverty, the lovers of pleasures, theirs in her virginity. (Richardson, p. 66)

This mirror-as-metaphor theory, which prevailed in Europe for more than 1500 years, was reflected not only in religion, but also in art and morality. Historically this concept—contempt for the world of matter and belief in the liberation of the soul through mystic revelation—found its roots in the theories of the Neoplatonists, who revived Plato's theories in the fourth century A.D. Using the analogy of a chain of being, the Neoplatonists explained the process of creation as one that emanated from God and worked its way down to the lowliest creatures on earth. Figuratively speaking, God's image was reflected sequentially in a chain of mirrors: the first mirror was that of the creation of the human mind, the second the human soul, and each subsequent reflection created life from its highest to lowest forms according to the degeneration of God's reflection. This analogy, because it conformed to Christian doctrine, was further disseminated through the writings of St. Augustine, whose theoretical mirror analogies took the form of a mirror of the soul and a mirror of the mind. The mirror of the soul held, according to St. Augustine, the image of the ideal or archetypal idea. The mirror of the mind, on the other hand, was ambivalent: it reflected the shadow world of the senses and led to additional mirrors that warned of the transience and illusiveness of this world.

The dualism of the mirror was reinforced in the thirteenth-century theories of St. Bonaventura, who spoke of the mirror of divinity, the mirror of creation, and the mirror of God, which were in opposition to the mirror of earthliness, which held material things that possessed no rational soul (Mâle, pp. 23–27). By the end of the thirteenth century, a paradox had developed in the figurative use of the mirror. The material nature of the mirror (as a window into human frailties) contradicted what came to be seen as its spiritual essence, or ideal

reality (the mirror looked at with the soul). A mirror's reflection seemed to have a dual personality: the act of looking into the mirror and the physical object itself had gathered opposing symbolic associations.

This was a very different mirror than was found in the Renaissance, when the artist was no longer anonymous. During the Renaissance, the perfect male form was considered the mirror of the soul, a philosophy popular in Neoplatonist circles, especially in the ideas of Marsilio Ficino, who had translated Plato's writings. Neoplatonism sought to reconcile and combine the philosophy of the ancient Greeks (who also had considered the perfect male nude as the ideal physical form) with the beliefs of the Christian Church. Neoplatonists put great emphasis on the subjective expression of the artist. Such personal expressions found their way into homoerotic male nude artworks such as Donatello's *David* (circa 1430) in the Museo Nazionale in Florence, Italy; Leonardo da Vinci's *St. John the Baptist* (circa 1509–1516) in the Louvre in Paris; Michelangelo's *Victory* (circa 1530–1533) in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence; Jacopo da Pontormo's *Vertumnus and Pomona* (1520–1521) on the left side of the Poggio a Caiano lunette in the Villa Medici; Agnolo Bronzino's *Venus, Cupid, Folly and Time* (circa 1542–1545) in the National Gallery in London; and Caravaggio's *Amore Vincitore* (1598–1589) in the Staatliche Museum in Berlin.

While figurative use of the mirror in worship of the Virgin was widespread during the twelfth century, it was not the only form the mirror took during the medieval period. Concepts of gender roles remained substantially unchanged, but virginity was now able to be exchanged for "truthfulness." This exchange is apparent in Dante's description of Rachel and Leah in his *Il purgatorio* (XXVII) from *The Divine Comedy*, in which Leah, symbol of the active life, looks into the mirror while adorning herself with flowers, while Rachel, representing the contemplative life and recognizing truth, faces the mirror continuously. It was this theme that Dante Gabriel Rossetti depicted in the watercolor *Vision of Rachel and Leah* (1855) in the Tate Gallery in London. In Rossetti's rendering, a fountain of water acts as the mirror into which Leah, working with tendrils of honeysuckle, gazes, while Rachel, dressed in purple, a color Rossetti associated with inactivity and death, stares continuously into the water. Dante's verses read:

That I am Leah: for my brow to weave
A garland for these fair hands unwearied ply.
To please me at the crustal mirror, here
I deck me. But my sister Rachel, she
Before her glass abides the livelong day.
Her radiant eyes beholding, charm'd no less,
Than I with this delightful task. Her joy
In contemplation, as in labour mine.
(*Il purgatorio*, Canto XXVII, lines 97–109)

During the fifteenth century, in addition to virginity and truth, the mirror became linked to prudence and wisdom. In the Tarocchi engravings (circa 1465) there are two faces: the face of a bearded man looking back, symbolizing retrospection and experience, and the face of a young woman looking into a mirror, symbolizing self-knowledge. In Lucca Della Robbia's *Prudentia*, a woman holds a mirror in her right hand, while her left hand grasps a serpent, a symbol of wildness. These same

motifs appear in Hans Baldung Grien's *Prudence* (1529) in Munich, Germany, as well as in a small *Prudentia* engraving in the British Museum in London done by the Italian engraver Giovanni Battista Palumba known as *Master I. B. with the Bird*. The Latin inscription on this print reads: "I weigh the present and link the future with the past." The same motifs appear in Piero Pollaiuolo's *Prudentia* (1470), in which a woman holds a mirror in one hand and a serpent in her other. In the Tarocchi engravings, as well as in the *Prudence* reliefs on the tombs of Pope Sixtus IV and Pope Innocent VIII in St. Peter's in Rome, the serpent takes the form of a little dragon.

Prudentia's most common symbols, the mirror, the bird, and the serpent (sometimes in the form of a dragon), survived until the late nineteenth century. These symbols were known from the Apocrypha and the Bible: "For she [Wisdom] is . . . the unspotted mirror of the power of God, and the image of His goodness" (Wisdom 7:26), and "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye therefore wise as serpents, and harmless as doves" (Matthew 10:16).

Given this established iconography, it is no wonder that many penitents were portrayed with mirrors in their hands. Famous examples include Mary Magdalen in paintings such as Georges de la Tour's *La Madeleine au Miroir* (before 1652) in the André Fabius Collection and Charles Le Brun's *Sainte Madeleine* (before 1690) in the Louvre. The mirror of redemption and purification was not the only one portrayed in the hands of women, however.

Vanity

When early humans viewed their reflections, they identified the duplicate as their spiritual double, or soul. The soul was a sign of immortality, but it was also a reminder of an impending bodily death (the soul leaving the body). The folklore, superstition, and custom that grew out of this idea greatly influenced the iconography of the mirror in literature and art.

Some tales told of covering mirrors or turning them to the wall after a death in the family. There was a belief that a living person's soul, in the form of a reflection in a mirror, could be carried off by the ghost of the deceased, who was said to hover around the house until burial. Some believed that persons who are ill should have their mirrors covered. In times of illness, when the soul is especially apt to take flight, there was thought to be a particular danger of its being ejected from the body by reflection. Other superstitions warned of looking into a mirror in other people's homes. The consequence of breaking a mirror was said to be a broken soul, or seven years bad luck. Such a superstition may have derived from ancient times, when mirrors were so expensive that it often took seven years for an ordinary person to buy another.

The Greek myth of overgazing encapsulated many of these superstitions—individuals were advised that such an indulgence could cause death. In particular, the myth of Narcissus has become the primary source for the theme of *vanitas* (vanity) in art. Narcissus, a beautiful Greek youth, was said to have perceived his image as a real person, with whom he eventually fell in love. He was devastated when he finally recognized the image as his own, yet he couldn't escape from the love it had aroused. He died and changed into a flower. The death of Narcissus, it might be said, was caused by the frustration of an

inordinate love for one's own mirror image. His death might also have been a punishment for an activity more typically associated with women: mirror gazing. Hundreds of Greek caryatid mirrors from 600–430 B.C. have been studied and classified, and almost all of them have female figures for a handle—almost no male Greek supports are known (Congdon, plates 1–97).

Works of art from the sixteenth century through the first decade of the twentieth century—especially those in which women are portrayed gazing into mirrors—represented women almost exclusively as the object of the male spectator's pleasure. The Virgin was replaced by Venus. Nowhere can this be seen better than in the paintings of Tintoretto and Titian, works that ultimately became known under the general name of *Venus at Her Toilette*.

In Tintoretto's *Susannah and the Elders* (1550), viewers of the painting are asked to join a group of elders as they spy on Susannah taking her bath. In another version of the same subject, in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria, the artist added a mirror, thus invoking the ancient Etruscan and Greek associations between the mirror and Venus. By looking at herself in a mirror, Susannah joins the spectators in admiration of her own beauty. This painting was not unlike those of Titian, who depicted similar women under the guise of a mythological context. These "toilette" paintings, with their images of self-preoccupation, moralized about the vanity of women. The hypocrisy of this symbolism, however, has been widely acknowledged only recently. A male artist likely painted a naked woman because he enjoyed looking at her. Yet, when he placed a mirror in her hand and called the painting *Vanity*, he would morally condemn the woman for regarding the very form he had depicted for his own pleasure.

In another sense, mirrors in these paintings helped to uphold the status quo, as they assured viewers that women conceived of themselves, first and foremost, as a "sight." (Berger, p. 51). Although this type of painting was very popular in the eighteenth century, during which time the subjects were often mistresses of French kings, they had been condemned in the sixteenth century for signifying two of the deadly sins: *superbia* (pride), and *luxuria* (lust). An example is Pieter Bruegel the Elder's engraving *Superbia* (before 1569) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which portrays an elaborately dressed woman looking conceitedly into a mirror while accompanied by a peacock, an emblem of the deadly sin of pride. Hieronymus Bosch's *Superbia* (before 1516) in the Prado in Madrid, Spain, makes an even stronger implication: the mirror that reflects the face of the woman is held by a devilish creature, who mockingly wears the same headdress as she.

The mirror as a symbol of vanity did extend beyond portrayals of women, particularly in some fifteenth-century Flemish paintings. In a figurative sense, the convex glass used by Petrus Christus in his *St. Eligius and the Lovers* (1440) gave the artist an opportunity to exhibit his scientific virtuosity: the mirror simulates, on a small curved surface, a greater space than that in which the couple actually sit. Beyond a mere painterly exercise, the mirror exists here as a metaphysical statement. It reflects the couple in the outside world, alludes to the bride's virginity (she appears to be holding a bird, a classic symbol of virginity), and alludes to the evanescent image of the

"world." Furthermore, because it reflects the transitory and delusive treasures that surround the husband, who is a goldsmith, the mirror may be a symbol of vanity. A similar iconography appears in Quentin Massys's painting *The Money Changer and His Wife* (1514). Here Massys clearly contrasts the earthly activities of the money changer with the spiritual activities of his wife, who is preoccupied with the Virgin Mary and Christ Child, who appear in miniature on her open *Livre d'Heures* (Book of Hours). The wife also appears in a mirror as an older woman who turns her face away from a church, painted behind a closed window.

The ambiguity of the mirror's connotations remained a compelling attraction for artists. In Laux Furtenagel's double portrait *Hans Burgkmair and His Wife* (1527), the mirror represents not only *veritas* (truth) and *vanitas*, but also *prudentia* (prudence). Instead of reflecting the couple's faces, it reflects two skulls. The inscription reads "This is what we looked like—in the mirror, however, nothing appeared but that." The mirror's frame reads "Know thyself," a mantra of self-knowledge, which, together with retrospection and foresight, are the connotations of the mirror when in the hands of Prudence. It is not surprising that, to this day, Furtenagel's double portrait has survived most popularly as a picture puzzle.

Mirror imagery in the artwork of nineteenth-century England and France has proven equally as puzzling. Although mirror imagery continued to be gender-related in both England and France, the significance of the mirror differed in the two countries. French associations with the mirror were more often those of vanity, whereas English paintings, in their more religious-moralistic leanings, were more concerned with the mirror as a document.

French associations with the mirror may in part be explained by the role the mirror had played prior to the nineteenth century. Although mirrors were still imported from Venice, Italy, in the seventeenth century, Venetian workers brought their secrets to France, where Jean-Baptiste Colbert started a mirror-making establishment in Paris in 1665. In keeping with the luxurious tastes of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the huge mirror galleries of the palace at Versailles, for example, made walls seem to dissolve. The mirror was a reflection, both materially and figuratively, of the wealth and passions of this period. These eighteenth-century mirrors call to mind Seneca's tale of the Roman who exclaimed, "I will feast myself on the illusion."

Although the general French *joie de vivre* was periodically interrupted by events such as the Franco-Prussian War and the Commune, such realities had little bearing on nineteenth-century art. Artists continued to produce paintings of how they thought the middle-class wished to see itself. Édouard Manet's paintings are both an example and a critique of this phenomenon. A case in point in *Nana* (1876), from Émile Zola's novel of the same name. *Nana* stands in Manet's painting before the perennial mirror while a gentleman caller, barely perceptible at the periphery of the painting, waits for her. However, the image of *Nana*, based on Titian's *Venus at Her Toilette*, is called into question here. *Nana* does not stare into the mirror but looks confidently out at the audience. Standing in her undergarments, in a recognizable Parisian ambiance, she makes no pretense to disguise who she is or, as the waiting gentleman signifies, what she does for a living. As an object of

beauty, a sight to be enjoyed, she is identified by her profession: the selling of services. Her services begin and end with her exterior, her appearance. In this way Manet reminds us of the dangers of the vanity theme, not only as it connects to a historical significance, but also as it relates to a middle-class audience: while they might enjoy this painting, they are at the same time held responsible for its subject. As vanity, it does not criticize Zola's lower-class heroine, who has become such a popular type in middle-class Parisian life, but the middle-class itself, which allowed this lower-class girl to become *the* courtesan of the Second Empire.

In keeping with Manet's propensity to base his paintings on well-known masterpieces—such as his *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (1863) and the *Olympia* (1863)—*Nana* could be linked to vanity paintings of the past such as Jan van Eyck's *Woman at Her Toilette* (fifteenth century) in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Like Manet's *Nana*, the sight of the woman in van Eyck's painting seems to be present expressly for the enjoyment of the male. In *Nana* the man sits to the extreme left of the painting, while in *Woman at Her Toilette* his presence is symbolized by his shoes, which are also positioned to the left of the painting, within view of the spectator.

Consistent with this reading would be Manet's *Bar at the Folies-Bergère* (1881–1882), which again brings together a young girl—probably from the lower class, according to her profession—and a mirror, which occupies the entire background of the painting. This unusually large mirror reflects a world of sociability and diversion in which the girl does not partake. The role she does play is oddly reflected in part of the mirror to her left. A gentleman can be seen talking or flirting with her, a reflection of what one might expect to see facing a woman of her occupation (service). While it is apparent that her job is to assist in providing a “good time” for the middle class, it is also apparent, as reflected in the mirror, that she also has to be ready to satisfy the peculiar whims of her male clients. Interestingly, the reflection of the woman and the gentleman in the mirror has nothing to do with the young girl herself, who is rigidly and symmetrically posed in the center of the painting, gazing at the spectator with extreme ennui. Manet seems to destroy the expected formula of Venus—the woman looking into a mirror as the sexual object of man's enjoyment—by having her turn her back to the mirror. Is that reflection, for Manet, a critique of the historical male-spectator/female-subject in Western art? Is it a criticism of the way we expect this woman to function, both in relation to her profession and to the mirror? Or is Manet, by including the mirror and what we see in it, still treating women as a “sight”? The artist, like the mirror itself, is ambivalent. He seems to be reinforcing Plato's contention that the mirror is, after all, an inferior copy, a poor reflection of reality.

Manet, in this sense, appropriates the function of the mirror. The mirror does not merely absorb reality, but reflects it. The image in the mirror in Manet's painting is not a reflection of the couple in front of our eyes (that is, before the mirror) but a reflection of the artist's image of that couple.

Edgar Degas made ample use of the mirror in his portrayals of women and dancers, both of whom have a strong relationship to the mirror. In the world of ballet, the mirror poses two dangers. A dancer who looks into it for too long may begin to

dance for the mirror rather than the audience. Or a dancer may become too critical of him or herself. In either case, narcissism might destroy the dance. Yet, for the dancer, as for the painter, the mirror is an aid. It is the only “real-time” reflection a dancer has to improve his or her technical line.

Although narcissism is as inherent in women's imagery as it is in ballet, Degas does not emphasize the point. Mirrors are present in his paintings primarily because they're typically present in ballet classrooms, a favorite subject of his. One such example is *Ballet Class* (1878–1890), in which three dancers are absorbed in working out their poses. Not only have they positioned themselves against the mirror, to which they have turned their backs, they don't even look at the ballet master, who is opposite them. In Degas's two versions of *Monsieur Perrot's Dance Class* (1875–1876), the mirror, seen behind the dancers again, reflects the Parisian landscape outside. Even when there is no mirror present, as in *The Rehearsal* (1879), it is still apparent that the dancers Degas portrayed are looking into one. In this painting, three dancers, plus the leg of a fourth, are working out an adagio, their legs held in the difficult *à la seconde* position in the air. The emphasis here is on hard work, unified performance, and musicality, symbolized by the violinist in the foreground and the repetitive rhythms of the three windows behind them. Although these girls were subjected to the attention of the *abonnées*, the gentlemen who had yearly subscriptions to the ballet, and although ballet is a spectacle to be “looked at” just as women have been “looked at” in Western art, Degas downplays the point in these classroom scenes. In these paintings, the mirror functions as a witness, and one senses Degas's sympathy and fascination with this group of hardworking, lower-class girls.

Mirror as Document

In English painting, mirror imagery functioned both as documentary and prophecy. In the former sense, the English were inspired by paintings such as Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Wedding* (*Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami*) (1434). Van Eyck's portrait is well known for its careful portrayal of the interior, nuptial chamber of a Flemish home, in which every detail can be read as having symbolic implications: the chandelier as symbol of the Virgin; its one burning candle, the “marriage candle,” as a symbol of the presence of the deity and the all-seeing wisdom of God; the little carved sculpture of St. Margaret triumphing over the dragon that crowns one post of the armchair as the image of the patron saint of women in expectation of a child; the dog at the feet of the couple as a symbol of fidelity; and the unusual inscription on the wall, *Johannes de Eyck fuit hic* (Johannes de Eyck was here), as not just an ordinary signature, but the testimonial of a witness to a marriage (Baldass, p. 75).

The painting includes a convex mirror in which a miniaturized reversal of the couple and the room is painted. This painting-within-a-painting is enclosed by a notched frame that bears small circular scenes of a gospel narrative, a simulation of painting on tiny glass discs. In this portrait of the Arnolfinis, the mirror's function is to provide information. “The miniaturized chandelier and looking glass . . . can . . . be seen as full scale features of a scribal practice—the notarial sign and the seal, marks regularly employed by notaries and witnesses to

authenticate their works" (Seidel, p. 130). The mirror here does not function as some hidden symbol, but as an overt sign, based on a manipulation of familiar signs that van Eyck's viewers would have understood. In this traditional form of marriage documentation, the mirror functions as an authenticating mark: "the sign, the signature, and the mirror as seal all participate in this material discourse" (Seidel, p. 143). In addition to the mirror's function as surrogate seal, viewers were likely fascinated by the ambiguities of vision that this familiar item provided. (Mirrors were so popular in the fifteenth century that they were enumerated as part of the household furnishings that were included in the dowry.)

The mirror in the Arnolfini portrait was not without its religious quality, however. Seidel notes that documents contemporary with the painting show that mirrors were given to pilgrims journeying to religious shrines, used to capture in the glass reflections of "venerated relics or reliquaries." As "signs" of holiness, these mirrors would then be presented to local churches where their "remembered reflections would bestow testimonial power on a new location." The mirror in the Arnolfini panel brings to the painting a sense of this "remembered sight." This meaning is extended to the roundels.

The tiny roundels with scenes of Christ's Passion that ornament the mirror's frame further secure an association of the depicted object with sacred souvenirs. Painted medallions of a similar kind, in which images are applied to the undersurfaces of discs, enjoyed a revival in late fifteenth-century Italy for the ornamentation of reliquaries.

Seidel concludes that

the glass discs thus extend the association of sacred relics of a particular Italian or Mediterranean kind with Jan's looking glass. And such marking of the mirror as sacred container reinforces its evidentiary status as personal emblem; both relic and seal as tokens of testimony confer the authority of a deep past on what appears in the painting to be present time. (Seidel, p. 144)

Van Eyck again illustrates how the artist, in fact, becomes the mirror.

Jan, very probably through the handling of such an instrument [the mirror] in his studio, has constructed what we see; the spatial effects of the chamber may have been first visualized by Jan with the aid of such a glass. But without Jan's consummate draftsmanship, this painted mirror would not have such potency. Jan flaunts the fact that the power of this glass is of his making by placing his name immediately above it, proclaiming thereby that he is the creator and manipulator of the object, not merely, if indeed at all, the object of its reflections. (Seidel, p. 145)

The complex iconography of van Eyck's mirror—a picture within a picture—took on as much importance for the artist as did the painting up front. By painting the mirror as he did, van Eyck the painter and mirror maker crossed the line from maker of mere illusion to maker of reality itself. In the Arnolfini portrait, the mirror is not just an aid or an item manufactured by a guild (in fifteenth-century Bruges, Belgium, painters and artisans belonged to the same Guild of St. Luke), it is something

much more. In the hands of van Eyck, the mirror is transformed.

The mirror presents the viewer with an assertive appropriation by a painter of a fellow worker's production; the transformation of the mirror's frame and the juxtaposition of Jan's signature with the looking glass subsumes that craft production and subordinates it into the painter's art. Whereas the mirror as seal provides authentication for the signature, from this perspective, it is the signature that validates the mirror. By means of his expert "manufacture" of the reflecting glass, Jan comments on and ennobles his own art. (Seidel, p. 147)

The discs around the mirror again affirm that what we see in the mirror is more important than "reality." In other words, van Eyck has reversed the mirror-reflection roles. As Seidel states:

The miniatures that appear in the roundels share other properties with the mirror and these further intensify the latter's claims to special powers in the painting. Like the mirror's own reflection, the discs purport to reverse the images painted on their undersurfaces in a display of artistic virtuosity. Acknowledgment of the discs' creative origin in a technique of reverse image making links the roundels to seals, which similarly reverse the image of the matrix in the wax of the impression. Thus, as viewers, we are challenged to realize that what we are shown in the frame as well as in the mirror is the reverse of something that we cannot otherwise see either fully or directly. The miniature discs, by mimicking the larger glass, emphasize the "problematic" nature of such production. By showing us more in reflection than we can see in reality, the mirror constructs itself as the more authentic image. (Seidel, p. 144)

An English work greatly indebted to the Arnolfini portrait is Ford Madox Brown's *Take Your Son, Sir* (1857). Here a young woman holds a baby who is surrounded by a circular piece of drapery, the formation of which strongly resembles a uterus and even an umbilical cord. Behind the woman's head is a convex mirror, similar to the one used in the Arnolfini portrait and serving a similar function: to legitimize or sanctify the nuptial chamber of the woman and man reflected in the mirror. It appears that the woman is Emma Hill, who became Brown's second wife, which would make the baby their son, Arthur, born on September 16, 1856. The man in the mirror, with his side-whiskers and his hair parted in the middle, looks like Brown, who provides the connecting link between the name of the painting and the actual subject (as well as a link to the van Eyck portrait, in which the artist also appears in the mirror).

Hill became pregnant at the age of 15, which was the artist's compelling reason to marry her. Given their history, it is not surprising that Brown has employed the mirror as the *speculum sine macula* to equate Emma's condition with that of the Virgin Mary. Brown, as is apparent in the mirror, is the cause of this illegitimate birth; the purity of Emma, however, rather than her downfall, is emphasized by having the mirror raised so high that it becomes a halo for her head. The "eyes" of this mirror (the reflection we see in the mirror), explain the condition of the woman standing before it.

Mirror as Divination

Personal histories were not the only reason for the mirror's role as a sort of guardian of women's virginity. In a society, such as Victorian England, that defined itself in terms of gender differentiation, the mirror played a significant role in signifying woman's place within that scheme, often by looking into the future.

The use of mirrors in divination has an ancient history. The Greeks painted totemic animals on mirrors, and the Etruscans painted entrails. The engraved back of a bronze mirror in the Vatican Museum in Rome (circa 400 B.C.) illustrates an example of the latter. A winged old man, Chalcas, examines a strange object, apparently looking at the liver of a sacrificial animal. He represents a practice that loomed large in the lives of the Etruscans, the search for omens or portents. Divination—the Etruscan belief that the will of the gods manifested itself through signs in the natural world—can be traced back to ancient Mesopotamia as well as Greece, but the practice was most developed in Etruria, located in what is now central Italy. The secrets of this language of signs, especially as they believed to manifest themselves in the liver of sacrificial animals, were not known to all. It was a privilege enjoyed by the priests alone, who wielded enormous power and enjoyed great prestige. These scryers, or diviners, saw images of distant or future events.

On the positive side, divination had a practical function, allowing for the comforts of prediction and revelation. It also allowed people to live out their illusions. Merlin, magician to the court of King Arthur, was said to have once produced a mirror that would show, to those permitted to look into it, anything that pertained to them. Arthur's daughter, Britomart, supposedly saw in it her lover, Sir Artegall. On the down side, however, very few people could have such divining mirrors of their own, and so the power of the *specularii*, or diviners, was restricted to a select group of men on whom the future of the world was believed to depend. These men, associated in ancient times with the gods, were all-powerful. In the medieval period, a battle raged between these "crystal readers" and the Roman Catholic Church. Considered disciples of the devil who saw and heard demons when they looked into the mirror, they were in conflict with established religious doctrine and posed a threat to the authority of the established order. Eventually they were associated with witchcraft.

In art, the Pre-Raphaelites, fascinated as they were with the Medieval period in general and the tale of King Arthur in particular, painted the heroines of this tale in highly suggestive ways. The special magical or witchlike qualities of these heroines can be seen in paintings such as William Morris's *Queen Guenevere* (1857) and Edward Coley Burne-Jones's *The Beguiling of Merlin* (1873–1877).

In nineteenth-century England the depiction of the mirror as divination appears several times in the work of William Holman Hunt. In both his drawing *Lady of Shalott* (1850) and his later painting of the same theme (1889), Hunt goes to great lengths to show what happens to a woman when she leaves her preordained role, that of the mirror-gazer. In Hunt's representations, the mirror is cracked. The reflected image of Sir Lancelot, the agent of the woman's fall, is seen in the mirror, and the woman is entangled in the threads of the material she

had been weaving. Hunt has the woman looking neither into the mirror nor out the window. Instead, he depicts the aftermath, her punishment for leaving the loom and the mirror. Instead of portraying Alfred, Lord Tennyson's lines from his poem, "she left the web, she left the loom," Hunt shows the consequences of her act: "out flew the web . . . the mirror crack'd from side to side; 'the curse is upon me,' cried the Lady of Shalott." The untamed, wild way in which the threads spin around her is a metaphor for the loss of control over her life. By contrast, weaving, an activity in which every thread has its place and which involves hours of mindless repetitive work, would give the woman the illusion—not unlike looking into the mirror—that her life is in order. Here, the narcotic act of weaving has ended, its magical spell has been broken. The mirror is no longer unblemished. Its crack conjures up the ancient superstitions of seven years' bad luck and a loss of virginity. (Both of these connotations had been treated earlier in paintings such as Jean-Baptiste Greuze's *The Broken Mirror*, late eighteenth century). The curse has befallen the lady for having left her work and looked out the window rather than into a mirror that reflects the outside world. All of this and more are encapsulated in the eight roundels encircling the central mirror, an idea that Hunt, like Brown, took from the van Eyck Arnolfini portrait.

The same motifs—the mirror, the undone tapestry, and the shawl knotted around the lady's hips (the knot is an ancient Greek symbol of the "false" virgin, who tried to copy the knotted headdress of the bride)—all appear in Hunt's painting *The Awakening Conscience* (1852). Consistent in his interpretation of his Tennysonian source, Hunt is also concerned in this work with the dereliction of duty. Here Hunt plays with the mirror in order to demonstrate, formally and metaphorically, its endless possibilities. Not unlike Augustus Egg's triptych *Past and Present* (1858) in the Tate Gallery in London, which also centers on mirror imagery, the mirror in *The Awakening Conscience* reveals, in a variety of ways, the woman's adulterous past, her present desperate condition, and her bleak future.

Hunt's painting goes even further than Egg's by using more than one mirror. The mirror into mirror imagery is confusing, both visually and conceptually. In a densely cluttered room, which again includes undone tapestry and a knotted shawl, a young girl tentatively rises from her lover's lap. Behind them is a mirror that, before reflecting the outside world (marked in this instance by a sunlit landscape), first reflects the claustrophobic room, which contains at least two other mirrors. The ambiguity of all these reflections is further enhanced by the open French windows, which, in their pristine clearness, contain their own reflection of the outside landscape. This "house of mirrors," reminiscent of the Neoplatonic concept of a chain of mirrors, makes the woman's "journey" toward redemption—which Hunt wishes to convince us is his concern here—all the more difficult. Although the final window offers purity for the woman, there is a series of impure reflections she has yet to encounter, such as the reflection in the mirror behind her. Ultimately she may reach a "state of nature," her childhood innocence as represented by the sunlit landscape, but even then it will not be in a condition of purity. Like the "false" virgin, with her falsely knotted headdress, this woman, with the same knot around her hips, can only attempt to be pure again. She cannot actually redeem her lost youth.

Hunt's *Lady of Shalott* must have appealed to Elizabeth Siddal, who identified with the theme both as a woman and as an artist. Her drawing *Lady of Shalott* (1853) shows Hunt's influence, but there are striking differences. Although Siddal chose to portray the moment the mirror is broken and the weaving comes apart—some threads appear to be coming out of the loom like electrified wires—the lady is not entangled in them at all. They move in a direction away from her, and she continues to sit at her loom, her head tilted toward the outside window, as if to check what the commotion could be.

There is no hint of her downfall and ultimate death. The confusion and tumult in Hunt's rendering are replaced here by calm, order, and even quiet. Hunt's majestic medieval setting is now a simple interior. The mirror, no longer a central motif, is pushed to the side—barely discernible are its crack and the image of Sir Lancelot—and separated from the lady by the loom. Siddal appears to break the formula of woman-as-mirror-gazer because her woman looks away from the mirror toward the "real" outside world. As opposed to Hunt's rendering, in which we never see the woman look toward the outside world, only the consequences of having looked, Siddal shows us exactly that courageous moment.

Although little is known of Siddal and her work, this drawing demonstrates that she was dependent neither on Tennyson's poem nor on Hunt's work for her inspiration. A closer look at the various motifs employed in the drawing suggests that she may have been familiar with van Eyck's Arnolfini portrait. On the right leg of a chair, she has placed a strange creature resembling, perhaps, a little dragon. Likewise in the van Eyck portrait, there is a little figure of St. Margaret triumphing over a dragon on the post of an armchair. It is known that in the fifteenth century, the serpent sometimes appeared in the form of a small dragon as a symbol of cleverness and wisdom. The bird on the top of the woman's loom may be a direct reference to Siddal herself, whom Dante Gabriel Rossetti called his "dove," or it may be related to medieval iconography, in which women, mirrors, and birds do appear together (Palumba's *Master I. B. With the Bird* and Christus's *St. Eligius and the Lovers*). The Crucifixion shown in the Siddal drawing may also be a link to the Arnolfini portrait, the frame of which dealt with the life of Christ. This combination of motifs demonstrates how Siddal's drawing falls outside the expected formulas of Victorian representations of women and mirrors.

When the loom is seen as a kind of canvas, then Siddal's drawing can symbolize the personal story of her at work as an artist. Her refusal to leave this work, to become entangled in the threads of her loom, would be in keeping with her pride, her sense of self as an independent person. (This quality in her character was confirmed by her refusal to accept an allowance from the art critic and connoisseur John Ruskin for producing a set number of works of art per year.) *Lady of Shalott* appears to be a sort of self-portrait of the artist in her studio. The tapestry hanging on the wall behind her is not unlike paintings accompanying artists at work. This is particularly evident when this drawing is set next to a painting that appeared in Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus*, to which it bears an eerie resemblance. In describing the painting that illustrates Boccaccio's work, Pliny the Younger said that it is a "strange coincidence that the first literary and pictorial documents that refer to mirror self-portraiture [also] refer to women painters."

In this earlier work, a woman looks into a mirror as she paints her face. On the leg of her chair is a strange little dragon, the symbol of cleverness. Siddal's drawing, in the final analysis, might be said to speak of her purity of heart, in spite of the mirror's crack, symbolized by Jesus Christ on the cross; of her fearlessness, symbolized in the woman's gaze out of the window; of her cleverness and commitment to her work, in spite of the tension in her life, perhaps symbolized by her nervous drawing style; and of her ambiguous position as an artist and a woman in Victorian society.

In contrast to Siddal's more personal iconography, Hunt seems to have paid lip service to Victorian society by manufacturing just the type of painting that it had come to expect: the consequences that face a woman who has disobeyed the rules. The difference in construction may perhaps be related to the art market at the time. Siddal's drawing would have had very little opportunity of being seen. Hers was a private, autobiographical "endeavor," in Rossetti's description. Hunt's painting was assured of being hung on the walls of the Royal Academy.

Although the Hunt and Siddal works are examples of the moralistic, religious tone that characterized so much of Victorian narrative paintings, the lighter side of the woman and her mirror seems to have dominated the end of the nineteenth century in England. Painters such as Edward John Poynter and Thomas Armstrong continued with the Rossetti-Charles Swineburne aesthetic of the 1860s: "fleshy," narcissistic women looking into mirrors, such as in Rossetti's *Fazio's Mistress* (1863) in the Tate Gallery, or in his *Morning Music* (1864) in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge. Painters such as Poynter and Armstrong replaced the mirror with its sixteenth-century companion, the peacock, the emblem of the deadly sin of pride, the ultimate symbol of vanity. This is not to say, however, that mirror iconography disappeared. After Manet's *Nana* and *Bar at the Folies-Bergère*, however, it never had quite the same meaning.

Twentieth-century works such as Henri Matisse's *Carmelina* (1903) illustrate this shift in meaning. Here the mirror, placed behind the seated female model, functions to reveal the ubiquitous male presence; in this case Matisse as he paints his model. Joan Miró's *Nude with Mirror* (1919) seems to have been lifted out of the traditional iconography of nudes as an excuse to present the incongruous and even the ludicrous. The humor and fantasy Miró presents in a deadpan manner is reinforced by the way he put this nude together. Holding a mirror at arm's length, she closes her eyes so as not to confront her image, which is indeed strange. None of the parts of her body match. She wears the long braid of a peasant girl. Her body is divided into cubist faceting, flat-color areas, and geometric patterns with sculptural legs.

Given Pablo Picasso's fascination with the problems of "reality" and art—his work in the 1930s, in particular, shows a preoccupation with reexamining the nature of reality rather than being its mere mimic—it comes as no surprise that his *Woman in Front of a Mirror* (1937) goes against all traditional representations of woman and mirror, model and painter. By breaking conventional patterns, Picasso introduces a note of fantasy. Reality and illusion are totally reversed and the painter and the model become surrealist ciphers. The woman, rapt in contemplation of her mirror image, sees not merely a reversed

reflection, but a mystery and a prophecy. In this painting, Picasso seems to have closed the symbolic cycle of mirror meanings.

What had been suggested by Joan Miró and stated by Picasso—the incongruity and lack of communication between girl and mirror—is even more seriously confronted in George Segal's *Girl Putting on Scarab Necklace* (1975). Segal's free-standing nude sculpture is totally modern. The female figure fails to connect with the old world, symbolized here by her scarab necklace and the elegant, outdated floor-length mirror. With her head down, she is removed from the mirror and her reflection in it. Melancholy and apartness have replaced sensuousness and vanity.

If the vanity theme became diluted by the late twentieth century, the meaning Plato had given the mirror in *The Republic* was not. Paintings such as René Magritte's *The Treachery (or Perfidy) of Images* (1928–1929) and *The False Mirror* (1928) show how preoccupied the surrealists were with mirrors and images. Magritte confounds pictorial reality by portraying a meticulously rendered pipe with the attached logo, *Ceci n'est pas une pipe* (This is not a pipe). This sense of misdirection and playfulness is embodied further in *The False Mirror* (1928), which reduces the entire painting to an eye: the eye as a false mirror as it views the white clouds and blue sky of nature. *The False Mirror* introduces the illusionistic device of the landscape that calls attention to itself as a painting, rather than as an imitation of nature. Here Magritte was concerned with an age-old problem in art: real space versus illusionistic space. Reminiscent of such German romantics as Caspar David Friedrich and Jacob Alt, Magritte takes the implications of a view through a window even further in *The Promenades of Euclid* (1955). He depicts a cityscape with a great avenue in abrupt perspective: the avenue becomes a triangle that reiterates the conical shape of an adjacent tower. Playing with illusion and reality, mirrors and reflections, the promenade through the window (which has now replaced the mirror) becomes Euclidean: an illusion and an illusion of semblance, the painted picture as part of a painted picture.

In the second half of the twentieth century the Platonic mirror idea continued in many guises. In works such as Richard Lindner's *119th Division* (1965) and Larry Rivers' *Double Portrait of Birdie* (1955), two images are diametrically opposed, one next to the other on the same picture plane. In his own way, Robert Rauschenberg questions the phenomenon in his *Bed* (1955), as do Jasper Johns and Andy Warhol in their respective works of the 1960s.

Illusion and reality, reflection versus absolute truth, are conflicts as old as art itself, those that have as many outcomes as mirrors do reflections. The photo-realistic paintings of artists like Richard Estes, Ralph Goings, Alex Katz, and Alfred Leslie are evidence of the continued struggle: is the absolute truth attainable or is illusion interesting enough?

See also Dreams/Visions; Female Beauty and Adornment; Masks/Personae; Toilet Scenes; Upside Down; Vanity/Vanitas; Voyeurism

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MISFORTUNE

Fritz Laupichler

The following iconographic narratives and motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Misfortune:

ALLEGORICAL

PROMETHEUS

TANTALUS

THE DELUGE

DESTRUCTION OF CITIES

PLAGUES

SHIPWRECK

AIRPLANE CRASHES



Anthonsiz., Cornelisz (Cornelis Teunissen),
Misfortune, drawing, second quarter of the
 sixteenth century, London, British Museum.
 (Copyright The British Museum)

Misfortune may be defined as the state of bad luck leading to a condition of suffering. The affliction of misfortune often implies previous prosperity or well-being. The spectrum of representations of misfortune in the visual arts includes personification, the sufferings sent by the classical gods and goddesses, adversity as punishment sent by the Christian God the Father, and the profane representation of misfortune in the depictions of catastrophes and accidents.

Misfortune as an allegorical figure has been seldom represented because Fortuna, as a capriciously and arbitrarily acting being distributing good luck and bad luck purely at random, frequently causes misfortunes by her actions. Thus, for a long time it seemed that a separate personification for misfortune was not necessary. Cesare Ripa, who defined Fortuna as well, described Infortunio in *Iconologia* (1603) as a barefooted man in a tan-colored dress with a raven, an empty horn of plenty turned upside down, and the ruins of a house as attributes. In Hans Sebald Beham's copper engraving *Infortunium* (1541), misfortune is represented as a walking woman with wings who is accompanied by a little devil with a crawfish as an attribute. This print is a pendant to the representation *Fortuna*. German painter Martin Pfinzing von Henfenfeld produced a drawing in 1544 after this engraving for his sketchbook, now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg, Germany, that contains studies and sketches from the period (1537–1559). A drawing by Cornelis Teunissen shows the personification of misfortune as a seated woman with one bare breast, holding an eel by the tip of the tail and surrounded by signs of adversity: a broken pot, a perforated cask, a crushed wheel, the ruins of a city, a ship in distress, and dying cattle.

The print *Fortune with Her Sons "Bonheur" and "Malheur"* from Gilles Corrozet's emblem book *Hecaton-graphie* (1540) shows the personification "Malheur" tied to a tree. The commentary to the print explains the scene: "Malheur" (i.e., Misfortune) shall remain fettered and can be freed only from time to time by the free will of man.

Italian engraver Enea Vico, active between 1540 and 1560, published one in a series of emblematic figures, the copper engraving *Infortunium*, which was probably designed by Francesco Salviati. It shows a dressed woman falling down from a balustrade because of a breaking beam. P. van Boons depicts Misfortune as a half-naked woman with a sail in her left hand, sawing through the beam on which she is kneeling (circa 1627). On this beam we also find Abundance, standing on a footstool. The design for this painting was probably copied after a print from Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert, *When Fortune Is Abundant, the Fall Will Be Deeper*.

The emblem books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also show the concept of misfortune as a scorpion prick-

ing a man (Gilles Corrozet, *Hecaton-graphie*, Paris, 1540) and as a ship in distress (Julius Wilhelm Zincgreff, *Emblematum*, Heidelberg, Germany, 1619). Misfortune through one's own fault is shown as a sheep whose wool has been torn out by a brier (Jacob Cats, *Proteus*, Rotterdam, the Netherlands, 1627). Increasing adversity is depicted by the Hydra of Lerna, attacked in vain by the mythological hero Hercules (Joannes Sambucus, *Emblemata*, Antwerpen, Belgium, 1564). The transvaluation of fortune and misfortune as abstract ideas during the Renaissance becomes especially evident in such representations as that of overcoming misfortune by reflection. A man holding a broken wheel in one hand and a wing and a laurel in the other appears, for example, in Sebastián de Orozco Covarrubias's *Emblemas morales*, published in Madrid, Spain, in 1610.

In a broader sense, the misfortunes of the heroes of classical mythology, often brought on by the vengeance of the gods, belong to the subject, too. The most famous examples—the sufferings of Prometheus, Tantalus, and Sisyphus—should be mentioned. Prometheus was punished by Zeus, king of the gods, for helping mankind, especially for his gift of fire. Zeus ordered Prometheus bound to a rock and then sent an eagle or vulture every day to eat his liver. Artists have frequently depicted the binding of Prometheus, usually by Hephaestus (Vulcan), the god of fire and metalworking; Prometheus alone and chained to this rock; and, less frequently, the eagle's gory daily visit.

Tantalus tattled about the actions of the gods, served up his son to them for dinner, and lied about a golden dog. For these sins he was condemned to stand up to his chin in water that he could not reach to drink. He was also tantalized (the word comes from his name) by gorgeous ripe fruit hanging just out of his reach. He is usually depicted with his head just above the water, reaching for the forever-elusive water around him and fruit above him.

Sisyphus's long life was filled with incidents of cunning, duplicity, and lying. When he finally died, the punishment for this misspent life was to roll a giant stone up to the top of a hill, but on reaching the summit the stone inevitably rolled back down, forcing Sisyphus to begin all over again. He is usually depicted engaged in this fruitless task. Sisyphus and Tantalus are often paired with two other mythological wrongdoers, Ixion and Tityus, and painted in a series as the Four Blasphemers, Deceivers, or Condemned Men. Titian and Cornelis Cornelisz van Haarlem both painted such series, but they are now lost and are known only through engravings.

The most prominent example for the theme of adversity in Christian iconography is Job, the great sufferer of the Book of Job in the Old Testament. Job, a rich man from Uz, sitting on a dunghill, humble and God-fearing, resists all the buffets of fate that Satan imposes on him as temptations. Moreover, he

undergoes the derision of his wife and his friends. Beginning in the twelfth century, and especially in late Gothic sculpture, the suffering, bearded Job is shown covered with sores or boils and sitting on a dunghill. As a sign of misfortune and lost prosperity, a crown is often placed at the foot of Job as an attribute. Especially in the first half of the sixteenth century, the representation of Job on the dunghill becomes the typological pattern for Jesus Christ in agony waiting to be crucified.

The Old Testament provides further examples of misfortune sent by God the Father as trial or punishment. As God saw that mankind was bad, He decided to exterminate it—except for Noah and his family—and sent a flood. A rain of fire and sulfur destroyed the sinful cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, and God sent the seven plagues because the pharaoh did not allow the Israelites to leave Egypt. These representations of events from the Bible are the beginning of the iconography of catastrophes and sudden and destructive events.

Representations of the burning cities of Sodom and Gomorrah influenced depictions of the burning cities of Troy, such as Adam Elsheimer's painting *Troy Burning* (circa 1600–1601) in Munich, Germany, and of Rome. Most of the representations of conflagrations—a very frequently represented form of misfortune and catastrophe—derive from the nineteenth century. One of the most remarkable of these is the painting by J. M. W. Turner, *Burning of the Houses of Lords and Commons* (1835), in the Cleveland Museum of Art in Ohio.

The motif of epidemics and their consequences also develops from religious into profane art. The earliest examples of this motif are the representations of the Egyptian plagues. The plague-epidemics in Milan and Venice in 1576 and in Marseilles, France, in 1720–1721 give rise to the production of contemporary profane representations of the subject. Remarkable examples of representations of plagues in modern times are *The Plague in Siena* (before 1905) by Pietro Vanni, *The Plague in Rome* (1869) by Jules Elie Delaunay, and *The Plague in Venice* (1666) by Antonio Zanchi.

The biblical patterns for representations of earthquakes and volcanic eruptions are rare, except in illustrating the Apocalypse, and the iconography of these subjects mainly developed autonomously during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. After the excavation of Pompeii in 1748, the archaeological finds allowed artists, such as the French painter Joseph Franque, to depict its destruction in A.D. 79 with thrilling accuracy. The earthquake of Messina, Sicily, in 1908 provides a twentieth-century example. German expressionist Max Beckmann painted this catastrophe the same year it occurred.

The motif of the deluge as punishment, with Noah's Ark as symbol of the Church, has been changed in the course of time to the representation of a pure seascape in the nineteenth century without the Ark. Most paintings focus on the narrative of Noah, especially the building of the Ark and the gathering of animals. A few painters, however, such as Jan Nagel and Francis Danby, show the destruction of sinful mankind as the waters rise.

Representations of dramatic scenes with ships in distress have appeared, especially in Dutch painting, since the sixteenth century. Without doubt, one of the most impressive of these paintings is *The Raft of the Medusa* (1819) by Théodore

Géricault, in which, although the moment of salvation is depicted, the horrors of a shipwreck and its consequences are shown in all their intensity for the first time in art. Based on actual accounts of the shipwreck and rescue, the painting shows the 15 survivors, a bare remnant of the 150 who left the doomed ship *Medusa* 15 days earlier. In various states of distress, only the black man at the summit of the painting seems to have the strength to hail the ship in the distance.

The greatest sea disaster in the history of seafaring was the sinking of the *Titanic* in 1912. In this year, Max Beckmann produced a monumental painting titled *The Sinking of the Titanic*. It depicts the sinking ship in the background while in the foreground dozens of people in lifeboats and passengers swimming in the water desperately fight against drowning.

German painter Franz Radziwil witnessed a test pilot crash his airplane while still a child. The artist assimilated the experience in his painting *Death Fall of Karl Buchstätter* (1928). The night piece shows the fall as unstoppable catastrophe and brings to mind Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Fall of Icarus* in the Folkwang Museum in Essen, Germany.

Whereas Radziwil shows the moment of the fall itself, American artist Andy Warhol presents the aftermath of a plane crash. As pattern for his painting 129 *Die in Jet (Plane Crash)* (1963), now in the Museum Ludwig in Cologne, Germany, the artist used the front page of a newspaper. With the large format he forcefully transforms the death of 129 unknown air passengers from mere news into a shocking event.

Whether divine retributions, natural disasters, catastrophic accidents, or quirks of fate are to blame, misfortune is a threat known to everyone, something lurking in everyone's future. No one can feel immune to the graphically depicted scenes of misfortune that make up a dramatic part of the world's art.

See also Apocalypse; Betrayal; Destruction of City; Fortune

Selected Works of Art

Allegorical

Vico, Enea, *Infortunium*, copper engraving, 1540–1560,

New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Beham, Hans Sebald, *Infortunium*, copper engraving,

1541

Henfenfeld, Martin Pfinzing von, *Infortuna*, drawing,

1544, Nürnberg, Germany, Germanisches

Nationalmuseum

Anthonisz., Cornelisz (Teunissen, Cornelis), *Misfortune*,

drawing, second quarter of sixteenth century, London,

British Museum

Boons, P. van, *Allegory of Misfortune*, oil painting, circa

1627, Pommersfelden, Germany, Schloss Weissenstein

Prometheus

Garofalo, Benvenuto Tisi da, *The Torture of Prometheus*,

fresco, 1540, Ferrara, Italy, Seminario Arcivescovile

Rubens, Peter Paul, and Frans Synders, *Prometheus Bound*,

painting, 1610–1611, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,

Philadelphia Museum of Art

- Baburen, Dirck van, *Prometheus Being Chained by Vulcan*, painting, 1623, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
 Daumier, Honoré, *Promethean France and the Eagle-Vulture*, lithograph, 1871
 Kokoschka, Oskar, *Prometheus Bound*, from *Prometheus Sage*, triptych, 1950, London, private collection

Tantalus

- Bloemaert, Abraham, *The Punishment of Tantalus*, drawing, early seventeenth century, London, Courtauld Institute
 Goya, Francisco de, *Tantalus*, etching, from *Los Caprichos*, 1797–1798
 Burne-Jones, Edward Coley, *Tantalus*, drawing, late nineteenth century, London, Tate Gallery
 Klinger, Max, *The Story of Tantalus*, bas-relief, from *Beethoven Throne*, 1902, Leipzig, Germany, Museum der Bildenden Künste

The Deluge

- Danby, Francis, *The Deluge*, 1840, London, Tate Gallery
 Nagel, Jan, *The Deluge with the Last Survivors of the Human Race in the Foreground*, early seventeenth century, London, Christie, Manson and Wood

Destruction of Cities

- Elsheimer, Adam, *Troy Burning*, oil painting, circa 1600–1601, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
 Franque, Joseph, *Volcanic Eruption of the Vesuv*, oil painting, 1827, London, Heim Gallery
 Turner, J. M. W., *Burning of the Houses of Lords and Commons*, oil painting, 1835, Cleveland, Ohio, Cleveland Museum of Art
 Beckmann, Max, *The Earthquake of Messina*, oil painting, 1908, St. Louis, Missouri, The St. Louis Art Museum

Plagues

- Zanchi, Antonio, *The Plague in Venice*, oil painting, 1666, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Delaunay, Jules Elie, *The Plague in Rome*, oil painting, 1869, Paris, Louvre
 Vanni, Pietro, *The Plague in Siena*, oil painting, before 1905, Rome, Galleria d'Arte Moderna

Shipwreck

- Géricault, Théodore, *The Raft of the Medusa*, oil painting, 1819, Paris, Louvre
 Beckmann, Max, *The Sinking of the Titanic*, oil painting, 1912, St. Louis, Missouri, The St. Louis Art Museum

Airplane Crashes

- Radziwil, Franz, *Death Fall of Karl Buchstätter*, oil painting, 1928, Essen, Germany, Museum Folkwang
 Warhol, Andy, *129 Die in Jet (Plane Crash)*, acrylic painting, 1963, Cologne, Germany, Museum Ludwig

Further Reading

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MONEY

Edward J. Nygren

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Money:

FIFTEENTH CENTURY

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Victor Dubreuil, *Safe Money*, 1898, oil on canvas, Washington, D.C., Corcoran Gallery of Art, George E. Lemon Fund. (Courtesy of the Corcoran Gallery of Art)

Money is a theme unique to Western art. While most societies have used items of value in exchange for goods and services, only the West has so fully explored the subject of money in art and literature, expressing at times an ambivalence toward, if not a loathing of, something so fundamental to its political systems, economies, and cultures. Minted gold and silver coins were, at one time, the primary form of exchange, valued according to their weight. Money today is primarily symbolic. Its physical form in base metal or paper has little or no intrinsic worth, and its value in commerce now wholly depends upon the backing of governments.

In artistic representations, money has signified a range of ideas and concepts from sinfulness to industry and mortality to good fortune. Money is, in and of itself, neither good nor evil, yet in Western thought, from antiquity to the present, there has been an underlying suspicion of wealth and those who pursue it. “For the love of money is the root of all evil” (I Timothy 6:10) is a view persistent in European and American literature from William Langland’s *Piers Plowman* (circa 1362–1395) and Geoffrey Chaucer’s “Pardoner’s Tale” from *The Canterbury Tales* (1478, written 1385–1400), to Honoré de Balzac’s *Eugénie Grandet* (1833) and Frank Norris’s *McTeague* (1899).

Money as a metaphor for venality and decadence has visual counterparts in both fine and popular art. As a discrete element in pictorial compositions, money made its initial appearance in the Middle Ages. One of the first painted representations of gold occurs in a Flemish illuminated manuscript from the early fourteenth century held in the Bodleian Library in Oxford, England (Shell, fig. 10). A grotesque head, placed at the tail end of a dragon’s body that has transformed into trailing vines, spews gold coins into a bowl held by one of several tendrils. The suggestion here seems to be that money is obscene and originates with the devil. Subsequent artistic renderings of the subject can, in part, be attributed to a response to the growth in capitalism and the secularization of society (Yunck, p. 310).

The pursuit of money was first satirized in the early Middle Ages when Roman Catholic Church reforms addressed clergy venality and indulgence peddling (Yunck, pp. 47, 82). During the first millennium of the Christian period, usury also emerged as a social ill subject to church discipline and secular restrictions. Although criticism of lending money at exorbitant interest rates often took on anti-Semitic overtones, sculptures of men with moneybags on Romanesque churches appear as damned, and therefore Christian, souls (Le Goff, p. 33).

Like usury or avarice, miserliness and profligacy were sins said to lead to damnation. In “The Inferno” in *The Divine Comedy* (1472, written 1307–1321), Dante Alighieri relegates those who are intemperate in their handling of funds to the Fourth Circle of Hell. Miserliness is also one of the subjects

addressed in *Ars Moriendi* (Art of Dying Well, late fifteenth century), a treatise illustrated by the Master E. S. that offers guidance on how to overcome temptation and prepare for death. Hieronymus Bosch took up similar ideas, as did Guyot Marchant in his *Dance Macabre* (1485). Related themes of mortality and the insignificance of worldly wealth were explored by artists such as Hans Holbein the Younger, notably in the *Death and the Rich Man* woodcut he did for *The Dance of Death* series (1538). Later, Bosch, Frans Franken, and other members of their circle painted still lifes of coins and precious goods juxtaposed with scenes of misers on their deathbeds. *Vanitas* paintings from the early seventeenth century and later frequently included evidence of material wealth, such as coins, golden goblets, jewels, and crowns.

Although specie and avarice were only implied in scenes of alchemy, the subject of humans attempting to turn base metal into gold was popular. In compositions by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Adriaen van Ostade, and others, alchemists were often depicted in cluttered and impoverished interiors as the epitome of a futile search for earthly riches.

All representations of money were not, however, associated with sinfulness or mortality. Quentin Massys and Marinus van Reyerswaele were among those sixteenth-century artists who painted bankers, moneylenders, and tax collectors—recurrent business types in an emerging capitalistic world—as personifications of venality. There were also portraits of merchants and businessmen in which gold was used simply as an attribute of their profession or occupation (Yamey, pp. 19–43). In *The Adoration of the Magi* (circa 1450–1460) by the Master E. S., the gold coins in the cup offered to the Christ Child by one of the Eastern kings serve as an acknowledgment of a superior being, as did contemporary depictions of tax money, or a tribute to a ruler.

The corruptive nature of money, however, has attracted greater artistic attention. Venality and avarice, generally considered universal human failings, have been repeatedly treated by succeeding generations of artists and writers since the Middle Ages, and remain major motivating forces in the fiction and films of the modern era. In any given year, several movies and television programs explore the power of money in contemporary life, and the love of money leading to social deviation, moral corruption, or crime. Contemporary fiction, such as Martin Amis’s comic novel *Money* (1984), have also dealt with these or related ideas.

Attitudes toward the materialism of a burgeoning capitalistic Western society are evident in numerous history paintings of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Biblical compositions, such as the scene of Christ driving the money changers from the temple by artists such as Valentin de Boulogne or Bartolomeo

Manfredi, or the calling of St. Matthew by artists such as Caravaggio, Hendrick ter Brugghen, and Tobias Stomer suggest that spiritual concerns should be placed above earthly matters. Subjects like Moses and the golden calf caution against the misguided worship of wealth, while paintings of Judas with his 30 pieces of silver warn of an obsessive love of lucre.

Profane stories drawn from mythology served similar moralizing purposes. Such was the case with the tale of the seduction of Danaë by Jupiter, king of the Roman gods, in the form of a shower of gold. In the Middle Ages, Danaë, whose conception was considered immaculate, was viewed as a prefiguration of Mary. However, later artists, including Titian, Correggio, Orazio Gentileschi, Hendrick Goltzius, and Joachim Wtewael, used the image of gold or coins falling on a voluptuous Danaë to comment on the corruptive power of money and mercenary love. Mercenary love is a subject frequently found in the imagery of the time. For example, in Urs Graf's *Vanitas* (circa 1525), with one hand a woman takes money from a bag of gold in front of an old man who is fondling her. With the other hand the woman gives the money to a young man, presumably her lover. On the table before them lie an array of objects—musical instruments, gambling equipment, cards, food—that speak of worldly pleasures. In the late eighteenth century, Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson also used the Danaë myth in his portrait *Mademoiselle Lange as Danaë* (1799) to satirize the actress's immoral life.

Among other classical tales of disastrous greed popular during the Baroque period were those of Midas, mythological king of Phrygia, and Croesus, the last king of Lydia who reigned in the sixth century B.C. There were allegories of fortune that included cornucopias overflowing with gold and silver that warned against a reliance on chance. *Allegory of Fortune* (circa 1658–1659) by Salvatore Rosa, in which a female figure pours wealth and power from a horn onto the backs of base, and therefore undeserving, animals, is a painting on this theme that also alludes to a specific case of papal nepotism during the reign of Pope Alexander VII.

Money and moral depravity, gold and corruption, earthly treasures and mortality are repeatedly paired in seventeenth-century art. The blind and imprudent pursuit of pleasure, as represented, leads to victimization and brings on financial loss. Lecherous old men and gullible young gentlemen pay a price for their sexual transgressions—procuresses or prostitutes in compositions by Graff, Jan Steen, Johannes Vermeer, and Georges de la Tour easily separate a fool from his money, which they then pass to their accomplices. The unsuspecting, naive youths in works by Caravaggio, Valentin, and Manfredi are robbed or cheated as they have their fortunes told or play cards, and gambling is the cause of degradation and conflict in compositions by Steen and Jacob Matham. Money is frequently shown as the object of desire and the motivation for deceit. Paintings such as *Erysichthon Selling His Daughter* (circa 1677) by Steen present people as commodities that can be bought and sold, as do the ubiquitous images of prostitution and mercenary love. *Vanitas* compositions filled with luxurious items and piles of gold or silver coins express the dreams of the merchant class (Bryson, pp. 126–127) even as they moralize. Such is the case in still lifes by Franken, Jacques de Gheyn, and

Jean de Valdés Leal that address the insignificance of worldly goods when compared with eternity. The mythical Golden Age, a popular subject of the time in which humankind is placed in a pastoral paradise, was pointedly an age without competition for its namesake precious metal.

The growth of the middle classes during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the expansion of trade and commerce, and the onslaught of industrialization brought money to the fore in an increasingly bourgeois Western society shaped by laissez-faire economic policies. Currency continued to appear in images of prostitution and reckless gambling, as in works by William Hogarth and Thomas Rowlandson. As a metaphor for social decadence and moral depravity leading to financial ruin and even death, the accumulation of money could also symbolize the fruit of industry and economy, as it does in genre scenes by George Morland. Gaming was entertainment and a way of life for many levels of society. Cards and coins frequently appear in social satires of the period and were even embroidered on the cloths of gaming tables, emphasizing their illusionary qualities. Money clearly was considered a major objective in society, something everyone from beggar to ruler wanted and tried to acquire. It was a central theme in Daniel Defoe's novel *Moll Flanders* (1722), in which a fallen woman travels life's bumpy road from moral ruin to financial success. Artists in several countries caricatured its corrupting impact on the leaders of governments. Political money was even transmuted into excrement to emphasize its unseemly character. Caricatures in the twentieth century have continued to highlight the corruptive role money plays in the political realm.

In the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, however, society's view of money remained ambivalent. Pursuit of it could be sordid, but ownership ensured independence. Time was equated with money as a measure of labor and productivity during the Industrial Revolution, and this concept was both embraced and parodied in literature and the visual arts. People were encouraged by some, such as Benjamin Franklin, to acquire and save money by whatever means possible. Yet, they were also cautioned against its dehumanizing effects. In an age that produced Karl Marx's view of class struggle and Thorstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions* (1899), money became "the most common theme in nineteenth-century fiction" (Vernon, p. 7). In the novels of Honoré de Balzac, money was equated with power and often associated with the newly rich. The rags-to-riches story became a cliché. In the United States, writers such as Horatio Alger transformed money into an American myth. Money's psycho-sexual significance, evident in paintings of the mythological Danaë as well as in novels such as Norris's *McTeague*, gave rise to the Freudian concept of the "gold complex."

The nineteenth century saw an expansion in industrialization, particularly in the second half of the century. In the United States, monopolies led to the concentration of enormous wealth and power in the hands of a few. In the closing decades, a number of still-life painters began to paint canvases exclusively devoted to the subject of money. Displayed on tabletops, illusionistically tacked on boards, hung together with watches, piled high in vaults and barrels as a sign of wealth and conspicuous consumption, money became a unique subtheme in

American painting. Paper money had been depicted occasionally in the trompe l'oeil compositions of British and continental art of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, but only in the United States was it exploited as a subject unto itself. This undoubtedly had to do with the United States lead in the use of paper money as a viable currency, and with the resultant, rampant counterfeiting. By depicting money, painters in effect artistically counterfeited it. Some were even harassed by the Department of the Treasury for their representations.

American artists also played with the conceit of illusion versus reality. At a time when the idea of wealth was an illusion or dream for most of the population, the reality of how a few made their money and what they did with it became a social concern. During a period marked by labor unrest and deep economic depressions, Franklin's preindustrial, eighteenth-century dictum "time is money" became, in the hands of Ferdinand Danton Jr. and others, the focus of artistic jokes in compositions depicting a bundle of money balancing a pocket watch. The proliferation of money images in American art also coincided with a political debate over whether silver could be used along with gold as a monetary standard to ensure the value of paper currency.

William Harnett is recognized as the first American to isolate a single piece of paper currency and make it the sole subject of a painting. Many of his contemporaries, including John Peto and John Haberle, as well as Danton, followed suit and frequently introduced deceptive, life-size images of money in their works. It was an obscure New York painter, Victor Dubreuil, however, who became obsessed with the subject, almost to the exclusion of everything else. He painted many compositions of barrels overflowing with money, barrels presumably sitting unused in the vault of a millionaire or in a bank. Occasionally, as in *Safe Money* (1898), which depicts a large office safe stuffed with the dividends of a fictional transcontinental railroad monopoly (North South East & West), Dubreuil changed the denominations of the bills to suggest the inflated values placed on the services rendered as well as the excessive profits realized through those inflated prices. Dubreuil's work alluded to criminal activity, perhaps as an acknowledgment of the so-called robber barons, who controlled so much of the nineteenth-century industrial United States. Occasionally his works exhibited paranoid, even anti-Semitic reactions at a time when the belief in an international Jewish financial conspiracy was being aired in the press. A similar fixation with money persisted in the art of Otis Kaye from the early to mid-twentieth century. However, his works, while frequently acknowledging a debt to his nineteenth-century predecessors, had few overt social or political overtones.

In the second half of the twentieth century, several artists, particularly in the United States, introduced money—real, conceptual, or representational—into their compositions (Coller, pp. 19–31). Their works raised issues about the nature and value of money and its connection with society and art. A pop image of one- and two-dollar bills was mechanically reproduced in prints by Andy Warhol in the 1960s and then again in the 1980s. Branda Miller gave major billing to *The Almighty Dollar* in a monumental lightboard on Times Square in New York (1987), perhaps an allusion to the economic dominance of the

United States and the "star" quality of its currency. Artists such as Barton Beneš and Arch Connelly shredded and collaged money and constructed sculptures from bills and coins to exploit money's decorative qualities, illustrate a devalued currency, and comment on its relationship with art. Chris Burden's *Tower of Power* (1985), an installation at the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, Connecticut, is composed of 100 bars of pure gold bullion and examines feelings about money during a period noted for its self-centered materialism. Not coincidentally, Burden tapped into money's visual potential at a time of escalating prices in the art market. In his conceptual piece called *Money* (1969), Robert Morris documented, through correspondence and an interest-bearing certificate of deposit, how money works and assumes, as does art, a life of its own. Among contemporary artists, J. S. G. Boggs has perhaps been the artist most dedicated to the theme in his explorations of the meaning and value of art versus money in modern society. Boggs has created currency, often with his own likeness on the front, and used it in business transactions, documenting from original drawing through receipts and change the entire process that is the work of art. His practices have led to his arrest and prosecution in several countries.

Although the subject of money was addressed in classical literature and its morally corrupting nature was discussed in the Bible, it was not until the Middle Ages that it emerged as a theme in the visual arts. Since the Middle Ages, compositions that exploited the symbolic meanings of money proliferated during periods of cultural and economic change and during periods in which secularism, mercantilism, capitalism, or materialism dominated and introduced inherent social problems. Whether it is a painting by Hieronymus Bosch of a miser on his deathbed being claimed by devils; a political cartoon by James Gillray that satirizes a corrupt politician in Georgian England; Victor Dubreuil's barrels of paper money representing the excessive wealth of America's robber barons; a film by Preston Sturges about a penniless movie director on a voyage of discovery in the United States during the Great Depression; or dollar bills glued to palm trees in Venice, California, by Chris Burden to parody the fantasy of easy money in contemporary America, images of money in art reveal the concerns and values of the societies that produced them. Given the increasing commitment throughout the world to capitalism and the profit motive, a few artists, while dependent themselves on the financial support of patrons and collectors, presumably will continue to be appalled by, as well as fascinated with, the materialism of modern life as they explore further the meaning of money, its effects on society, and its relationship to the arts.

See also Avarice; Damned Souls; Vices/Deadly Sins

Selected Works of Art

Fifteenth Century

Christus, Petrus, *Saint Eligius and the Lovers*, 1449, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection

Master E. S., *The Adoration of the Magi*, circa 1490–1460, engraving, Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago
 Bosch, Hieronymus, *Death of the Miser*, circa 1490–1500, oil on panel, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Sixteenth Century

Massys, Quentin, *Moneylender and His Wife*, 1514, oil on panel, Paris, Louvre
 Lucas van Leyden, *Card Player*, circa 1515, oil on panel, Wiltshire, England, Earl of Pembroke, Wilton House
 Massys, Quentin, *Ill-Matched Lovers*, circa 1515, oil on panel, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Reymerswaele, Marinus van, *Two Tax Gatherers*, 1526, oil on panel, London, National Gallery
 Gossaert, Jan, *Portrait of a Banker*, oil on panel, circa 1530, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Holbein, Hans, the Younger, *Death and the Rich Man*, 1538, woodcut, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
 Reymerswaele, Marinus van, *The Banker and His Wife*, oil on panel, 1539, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Titian, *Danäe*, oil on canvas, 1554, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 El Greco, *Christ Cleansing the Temple*, oil on panel, circa 1570, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Caravaggio, *Calling of St. Matthew*, 1599–1600, oil on canvas, Rome, San Luigi dei Francesi

Seventeenth Century

Goltzius, Hendrick, *Jupiter and Danäe*, 1603, oil on canvas, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum of Art
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 Gentileschi, Orazio, *Danäe*, circa 1621–1622, oil on canvas, Cleveland, Ohio, Cleveland Museum of Art
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MONTHS

Shane Adler

The following periods, motifs, and regions are covered in the discussion of the theme Months:

ANTIQUITY

ARCHITECTURAL CYCLES

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

LOW COUNTRIES, SIXTEENTH
AND SEVENTEENTH
CENTURIES

FRENCH CYCLES,
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY
ALMANACS AND CALENDARS



Octobre.

*L'Automne étale icy ses plus riches trésors,
Et pour nous enrichir fait de nouveaux efforts,
Non contents de donner des fruits en abondance,
Par diverses liqueurs nous montre sa puissance.*

Nicolas Bonnart, after Robert Bonnart, "October," from *Series of the Months*, seventeenth century, print, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. (Courtesy of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris)

The calendar system of measuring developed through the observation of the passage of time in its natural rhythms. By this means, food supplies could be organized using nature's schedule for planting and for preparing for the annual period of dormancy. Most ancient civilizations followed the phases of the moon to regulate the year by counting the days of the rising and setting sun between full moons. The Babylonians and the Sumerians of Mesopotamia, as well as the Chinese, recognized the span of 12 lunar months. Aware of the conflicting number of days distinguishing the lunar and solar cycles, the Mayans of Mexico and Central America developed a complex method of calculating over a prolonged period, superimposing a shorter sacred year on the civil year of 18 months; various symbols aided the calculation. The Greeks looked to the star patterns in the night sky for symbols to denote lunar time and named the constellations that dominated the celestial sphere according to the Earth's rotation. These constellations were called "little animals," or the zodiac. This circle of animals, a constant in the physical world, is still used to represent that particular span of time, but these images are temporary, as they change according to cultural values and record the passage of historic, or manmade, time.

Although the Greeks used the zodiacal creatures to mark time, the human dimension related the meaning of the months. The earliest extant calendar is the continuous narrative frieze now installed on the facade of the church of Hagios Eleutherios in Athens, Greece. This calendar displays the year as a figural sequence of man and zodiac animal. Each month that is personified wears distinctive clothing that is shed as the heat intensifies and then covers itself as protection from the cold. Following the initial, passive personification is another personification (man or god) who presides over a sacred event or feast. Prayers and offerings that the Greeks made to their gods pertained symbolically and actually to the provision of food; this ritual was performed in the belief that a good harvest depended on the humor of the ruling deities.

The Romans counted 10 lunar months because their agricultural calendar ignored the dormant stage of winter. Mars, god of Rome, took his place at the beginning: March. The second king of Rome, Numa Pompilius, added the remaining months and assigned dates to religious festivals. Astronomer-priests maintained this calendar. With a single figure personifying each month, the Roman calendar implied activity through posturing, and objects symbolically referring to characteristic work involved in gathering and producing food indicated the time of year. Allusions to war and peace are evident in calendars that trace the spread of the Roman Empire. The warrior Mars, in helmet and armor, appeared into the ninth century as far afield as Palestine. Simultaneously, the spirit of tranquility, associated with rural life in contemporary poetic description, was embodied in the flower-gatherer of early spring. The suc-

cessively recopied *Chronograph of 354* linked an early pictorial calendar with inscriptions of verse by Filocalus that express delight in the quotidian pleasures of the pastoral and join images to attributes that can be used for recognition: May, collecting blossoms in an elongated basket as "all the wealth of spring," met the reformed March, who became a rusticated shepherd with staff or a man of the soil at a time of renewal, pruning vines or digging into the earth with his tools.

The separate and boxed figures prevalent in mosaic floors or carved wall calendars were readily adapted to manuscript illumination. Medieval Books of Hours, intended for the laity in the daily recitation of prayer, preceded scriptures and opened with pages that listed each of the feast days of the saints by month. Even when illustrated, the months played a minor role in the labors of humans during their allotted terms in the earthly realm. Derived from Roman imagery, these labors were not physical but allegorical. With the corresponding zodiacal sign, they were incorporated into the overall design of a page as mere decorative embellishments. Confined within medallions in the *Peterborough Psalter* (circa 1320) or traveling around the text in historiated borders, as the bas-de-page of the *Luttrell Psalter* (circa 1340) or the heading in the *Belleville Breviary* (circa 1320), these agricultural occupations were an ensemble performed within the religious context. Initially, neither landscape nor nature was indicated except symbolically, and work was not physical but rather a moral obligation. Man himself was a passive allegorical figure representing the virtue of work, God's will, and man's proscribed place. The frozen figures working communally in *Queen Mary's Psalter* (early fourteenth century) are rhythmically organized against a glittering ornamental background enclosed in a Gothic framework. The daily feasts meant that one labored to serve God and celebrate with food provided by the ritual acts of sowing and reaping. Over the course of centuries, the months' representatives became more prominent and gained a sense of movement through active involvement in their labors, just as the briefest suggestion of land flourished and grew into a more realistic rendering of the natural world.

Moreover, these more animated and robust figures appeared when people began to exercise their own will and questioned God's. Striving individualism was first expressed by the inclusion of portraits of those for whom the books were made so that they might be admired for devotion to prayer. Determinism was shown in the actions taken by both laborers and the lords to whom they were bound. Liturgical tracts, with their richly painted pages, were owned by the literate, landholding nobility and urban merchants, for whom agricultural labor was the remote rural idyll of Roman poetry. The twelfth century concurrently saw the widespread use of the Labors of the Peasants motif sculpted on church portals or around holy fountains and greater rigidity in the structure and separation of

classes. Dissension and resistance destabilized the feudal system, culminating in open revolts by the common people; peasants in the country and artisans in the towns vigorously announced their grievances throughout the fourteenth century. The manuscript tradition, with its images of peasants bent to their tasks, reflected the reaction of the nobility. *Très Riches Heures*, begun before 1415 and made for Jean, duc de Berry, depicted the peasants who populated the months as rough and slovenly beings carelessly clad in shoddy garments. These contrast sharply with the richly figured fabric of the clothing of the courtly nobles with its dense patterns of gold, similar to the elaborate backdrops that were a foil to the peasants' activity in more traditional books. Neither idealized nor always industrious, the image of the peasants has been altered, and their human dignity is in question. Furthermore, for the first time, the representation of a month fills an entire page, just as the calendar material does, and is placed before it. And the proud aristocrats themselves command pictorial prominence, replacing the peasants in the foreground of a significant number of pages with their pleasurable and purely secular pursuits, including courtship, hunting, and hawking. The landscape settings are vivid evocations of actual locations, yet this is not God's but the duke's own domain. In the distance, on the horizon between heaven and Earth, are magnificent castles, a different one for each month, with turrets and crenellated towers gracing the skies instead of the spires of cathedral or church.

During the time that elapsed between the commencement of work on *Très Riches Heures* and its completion in 1482–1489, a hall of months, “Sala dei Mesi,” was executed in Ferrara, Italy, for Duke Borso d'Este at his Palazzo Schifanoia. Inserting oneself in the miniatures of a devotional book was a grandiose gesture of self-tribute that was extraordinary in its time. Yet, this public room, enlivened with 12 large, vibrant fresco paintings in which the year revolves around the duke, clearly displayed his pretensions. Moreover, although peasants continued to perform their labors in unison—preparing food for their personal feasts—sacred content was absent from these months. Pagan deities of Olympus, the gods of the ancient world, reasserted themselves as rulers of the heavens, bestowing homage on the duke in a world apparently made for his pleasure. Another large-scale decorative scheme transforming four walls into the year-round indicates the northward movement of the calendar cycle during the Renaissance. The workshop of Bernaert van Orley produced several series borrowing the motifs of traditional laborers. For Emperor Charles V, the artist designed *Hunts of Maximilien* (circa 1525) with the theme of a single month extended to an entire cycle. The variety of settings was provided by the different hunting sites preferred by the emperor's uncle in the forest of Soignes outside Brussels, Belgium. The set, reproduced in tapestries at least three times in the following century by the Gobelins manufactory in France, defined a realm outside time, a realm mandated not by changes in nature's months but by a man's quest for diversion.

The smiling countenance in Simon Bening's calendar pages provided a foundation for the development of Netherlandish landscape art, with its deeply felt sentiment for nature. Bening's picture-book scenes of harmonious contentment and bright color seem to lead directly to the panoramic view of Pieter Bruegel the Elder. Although Bruegel's series of monthly activities was privately commissioned by a well-to-do patron, the

artist's love of the land and respect for all who inhabit that land prevail. Bruegel recognized that life was not idyllic for those who lived by physical labor in the outdoor extremes of heat and cold, and he portrayed men of diligence alongside men who were indolent; some women were slothful, and others he conferred with beauty as a reward for hard work. The land itself was expansive and full of natural grandeur throughout the year; even harsh winter offered graceful abundance, as scenes are picturesque rather than spiritually desolate. Villages were nestled in rolling hills, and an entire community of all types of people was involved in their creation and maintenance. There was also pleasure. Visible in the distance of the January painting *The Hunters in the Snow* (1565) is a frozen pond where the townsfolk have gathered to exhibit their varying skills at ice-skating. In harsh contrast are the villagers and peasants of Cornelis Dusart's engraved cycle of months. With his sardonic, moralistic approach, Dusart depicts not labor but constant and consistent raucous misbehavior and drunken revelry. A cautionary note is added as his loutish skaters speed recklessly toward cracked ice.

The series of prints by Jacques Callot takes, as did that of Bruegel, a high vantage point, or a look downward on the village setting, as from a benevolent god. The months of Callot, however, share that perspective with an onlooker: a standing man on the crest of the hill, a single, parenthetical figure who, like the artist, might be commentator to this particular view of the lives of his fellows. Callot's countryman Jean Mariette saw rural life as pure and charmingly pastoral. Gentle rejoicing marked the village year. Resting gratefully from hard work, comely, nicely dressed peasants enjoy the fruit they have picked or find diversissements in rowing on the lake where clothes are washed or dancing in the fields.

Time and timelessness were explored by Pierre-Antoine Patel II in landscape months painted for the headquarters of the Jesuit order in Paris in 1699. As the year passed in eternal motion and continual change, he revealed ancient monuments fallen into ruin and the creations of nature and man counterpoised and frozen in time like icy winter. Although many artist-engravers still depicted the months as rural labors, their pictorial representation had become a subject for personal exegesis that was completely dissociated from a calendar function.

About a century later, in 1792, the structure of the human environment was dismantled in revolution and a new calendar given to the French nation. Time began again with the year 1, which was divided into 12 months of 3 decades, each of which was named according to natural phenomena of climate and season: for spring, Germinal (germination), Floréal (flowering), and Prairial (meadows). Female figures dressed like Roman goddesses returned the idiom to simple allegory in prints by Louis Lafitte. Ventôse, in a sleeveless chemise and holding a fishing rod and a basket with her catch (the sign of Pisces), clutches the scarf that has been blown from her shoulder by the late winter wind.

The first almanacs were published in China, where the months were represented by deities bearing baskets of flowers appropriately blooming. Widely disseminated in the West after 1500, almanacs were printed on an annual basis, and the calendar was specific to the days and months of real time. The calendar portion, conjoining aspects religious and scientific, maintained its Christian function as a reminder of feast and

holy days and a reinforcer of spiritual authority through prayers and moral instruction in the text. Astronomical and agricultural information required the pictured labors of humans marking the months to be seen in a secular setting. As the forerunners of journals and magazines, the material in these volumes varied according to readership. The volumes intended for peasants usually provided their only source of written information.

By the seventeenth century, innovation appeared in the subject matter of almanac illustrations, which began to reflect the contemporary interests of the wealthy and literate. Concurrently issued were a Parisian calendar, with etched portraits of the French royal family framed as the literal headpiece to each month, and a peasant calendar, such as *Almanach des Bergers* with its rough woodcuts inherited from the medieval tradition and reused unchanged through the eighteenth century. Almanac illustration for the learned public was concerned with immediacy. Daniel Chodowiecki, working in the mid-eighteenth century, created a vast quantity of engravings for German almanacs and calendars by using current events and contemporary literary narratives as well as the latest fashion news. In France, the earlier print cycles of the brothers Bonnard or Pierre Valleran had featured modishly attired aristocratic women as the icons of the months, posed with the symbolic objects indicative of the labors. The association of women with changing fashions according to a monthly schedule was more pronounced and even encouraged in the many almanacs prepared for ladies.

One of these ladies almanacs, *Le Petit Modiste Français, dédié aux Dames* (Paris, Le Fuel, 1822), had 12 colored plates, each of a woman well dressed in clothes suited to the weather, with the only lettering the name of the month. Like other commercial books since the *Livre Commode*, later titled *Almanac du Commerce de Paris*, and the almanacs published by individual merchants as advertisements, it listed addresses for those who sold specialized services and products. In the nineteenth century, the profusion of women's monthly periodicals, aided by this association of fashionable women and the cachet of Paris, used fashion plates to correlate the timely image and the purchase of yet more finery. The months no longer represented male agricultural work but female embellishment.

In the United States, the Brown & Bigelow Company, printers of calendars since 1897, introduced the "calendar girl" as an independent subject in 1904. Thereafter, the appealing image of an attractive young woman was used to promote products through calendar advertising, as did Coca-Cola in 1922. Unlike fashion plates, however, references to time or temperature were gradually eliminated, the most conspicuous example being the bathing suit worn through the course of the year. More significantly, whereas the models initially suggested enjoyment for all who used the advertised merchandise, the calendar girls, by emphasizing attractiveness and thereby attracting attention, themselves became the product. Furthermore, their predecessors' purpose was to provide fashion information to women about their appearance; the pinup is a promotional form intended to entice male viewers to buy in order to look, and what is sold is an attitude.

At present, only those calendars with pictures of landscapes, nature photography, or fine art reproductions show concordance with a time of year or a vision of nature unaltered like a lost paradise. Holidays, the descendants of feast days and

sacred celebrations, are marked by greeting cards marketed in turn year-round. Such cards best illustrate the maxim: If they didn't already exist, holidays would have to be invented. Originating in the mid-nineteenth century with Christmas and soon after with sentiments for sweethearts on St. Valentine's Day, greeting cards were developed by printers of advertising calendars.

The year has been visualized as a circle, ceaselessly revolving in recurring cycles. Familiar themes from Bruegel's village appear in *Anno's Counting Book* for preschoolers, in which each two-page spread is a wordless month bustling with activity. The building of the town progresses from one picture to the next. As the months and the weather change, the town and its population grow. By the year's end, the story, like the town, is completed, a concept not present in the separate occupations conventionalized as the months in art. Only in this book for young children is work a sign of progress that is seen to a logical and satisfying conclusion.

See also Harvesting; Labor/Trades/Occupations; Peasantry; Zodiac

Selected Works of Art

Antiquity

- Hagios Eleutherios (Panagia Gorgopiko)*, frieze, first century B.C., Athens, Greece, Little Metropolitan Church
- Floor Mosaic*, early sixth century, Argos, Israel, Villa of the Falconer
- Mosaic Pavement*, sixth century, Beisan, Israel, El Hamman
- Circular Calendar*, ninth century, Vatican, Vatican Library

Architectural Cycles

- Sculptured Slabs "Porta dei Mesi,"* twelfth century, Ferrara, Italy, Museo del Duomo
- Sculpted Capitals*, twelfth century, Brescia, Italy, Museo Civico, Età Cristiana
- Reliefs on Architrave of Porch*, twelfth century, Verona, Italy, San Zeno
- Reliefs on Archivolts of Portal*, twelfth century, Argenton-le-Château, France, St. Gilles
- Giraldus, *Relief on Tympanum of Portal*, twelfth century, Bourges, France, St. Ursin
- Baptismal Font*, twelfth–thirteenth century, St. Evroult-de-Montfort, France, Church of St. Evroult-de-Montfort

Illuminated Manuscripts

- Mss. Acq. e doni 181*, eleventh century, Florence, Italy, Laurentian Library
- Ms. 614*, twelfth century, Oxford, Bodleian Library
- Queen Mary's Psalter*, early fourteenth century, London, British Museum (Ms. Royal 2B VII)
- Peterborough Psalter*, circa 1320, Cambridge, England, Corpus Christi College (Ms. 53)
- Belleville Breviary*, circa 1325, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
- Luttrell Psalter*, circa 1340, London, British Museum (MS. lat. 10483)

Limbourg Brothers, and Jean Colombe, *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, before 1415, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé (Ms. 65)

Bedford Master, follower of, circa 1430, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery (MS. 285)

Bening, Simon, *Da Costa Hours*, circa 1515, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (M 399)

Bening, Simon, *Heures de Hennessy*, circa 1520–1530, Brussels, Belgium, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique

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Orley, Bernaert van, School of, *The Months of Lucas*, tapestries, circa 1535, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *The Hunters in the Snow*, 1565, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *The Gloomy Day*, 1565, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *The Return of the Herd*, 1565, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Haymaking*, 1565, Prague, Czech Republic, National Gallery

Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *The Harvesters*, 1565, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Engraved Cycles: Cornelis Dusart, Hans Bol, Frederick Bloemaert, Jan van de Velde, Jacob Matham, Jost Amman, Crispijn de Passe, Julius Goltzius, Adriaen Collaert, Jeremias Falck, Peter van der Borch IV

French Cycles, Seventeenth Century

Jacques Callot, Abraham Bosse, Jean Mariette, Jean Bonnard, Nicolas Bonnard, Pierre Valleran, Antoine Trouvain, Pierre-Antoine Patel II

Almanacs and Calendars

Kalendarium, 1499–1512, Augsburg, Germany

Almanach des Bergers, fourteenth–twentieth century, Paris, Liège

Oxford Almanack, 1634–present, Oxford, England

Almanach de la Toilette et la coëffure des dames françaises, 1777–1779, Paris, Chez Desnos

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MUSIC

Yona Pinson

The following iconographic narratives and motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Music:

APOLLO

ORPHEUS

IMMORTALITY

DAVID

PRAISE OF GOD: SACRED
AND CELESTIAL MUSIC

MUSIC: TRANSCIENCE AND
FUTILITY

MUSIC AND LOVE: HARMONY

MUSIC AND LOVE: LUST AND
CORRUPTION

PERSONIFICATIONS OF
MUSIC



Achilles Painter, *A Muse with a Lyre Seated on the Mount Helicon with a Nightingale on the Ground*, circa 440 B.C., red-figured, white-ground lekythos from Attica, Lugano, Switzerland, Von Schoen Collection. (Courtesy Max Hirmer)

Music oft hath such a charm
To make bad good, and good provoke to harm.
(William Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*)

Music has been assigned conflicting attributes from the very beginning of Western culture. Symbolically, this conflict has often split the concept of music into the mythical realm of Orpheus and Apollo's stringed instruments versus the wind instruments of Dionysus/Bacchus, Eros, and Venus. Music in the former sense was thought to represent the sublime, the divine, and relate to Pythagorean measure, reason, and harmony. The latter, contrasting concept of music thought of it as an orgiastic, sensual, low form of expression that evoked bestial passions and stimulated sinfulness. This dichotomous legacy, invested with moral significance, has been emphasized throughout Christian and humanistic thinking.

In the Middle Ages, music was considered part of the quadrivium (the arts of science and measure), a Pythagorean concept championed by the Roman philosopher Boethius and adopted by the fathers of the Roman Catholic Church, as evident in their theological, poetical, and mystical texts. St. Augustine's treatise *De Musica* (fourth century) is related to the quadrivium concept: music signifies measure and symbolizes the harmonious movement of the celestial spheres. St. Augustine also stressed that music without measure—that is, without science—signified corruption. This concept is expressed in church decorations and illuminated manuscripts from the twelfth century on, in which depictions of music relate it to measure and harmony through its personification as one of the liberal arts, as well as its association with the heavenly spheres. Music was, at that time, regarded as the perfect vehicle through which to praise God: the *Gloria in Excelsis* said to be sung by the angels was a symbol of eternity. Musical activity is often on the side of vice rather than virtue, however, as reflected mainly through marginal decorations referring to lust as human folly.

Apollo

Apollo, the Greek and Roman god of music, was said to dwell on Mount Parnassus. He was envisioned as playing a lyre and acted as the personification of music, poetry, learning, and science. In the drawing *Apollo in the Garden of Arts and Science* (before 1605) by Jan van der Straet, Apollo holds a lyre and plectrum and sits in front of Mount Helicon with the Muses around him.

The story of Apollo and Marsyas is told by Ovid (*Metamorphoses*, 6:382–400; *Fasti*, 6:703–708) and Philostratus the Younger (*Imagines*, 2). Marsyas, a satyr who was one of Bacchus's companions, was charmed by the sounds

of the *aulos* (flute), an instrument that Athena/Minerva rejected and upon which she laid a curse. Marsyas, innocent victim of the curse, was challenged by Apollo, who was irritated by the harsh sounds of the flute, to a musical contest of pipe versus lyre. This competition between the noble music of the stringed instrument (lyre) and the low music of the wind instrument (*aulos*) ended, naturally, in the victory of the lyre. As punishment Apollo had Marsyas flayed alive. The contest and Marsyas's punishment are usually depicted as separate scenes. Marsyas typically plays a traditional double-flute, occasionally replaced in Renaissance representations by a syrinx (panpipe). In classical antiquity and the Renaissance, the contest took on a symbolic meaning. The pure, elevated tone of strings was thought to have spiritual, ethical, and intellectual qualities, while the coarse, sensual sound of a wind instrument was related to blind passion and corruption. Thus, Athena's rejection of the *aulos* became an allegorical act of reason.

Apollo Musagetes (Apollo as represented in the act of playing the lyre while accompanied by the Muses) is a classical source of artistic inspiration, as in Dante's *Il paradiso* in *The Divine Comedy* (1472, written 1307–1321), in which the poet addresses Apollo Musagetes and asks him for help. In Raphael's *Parnassus* (1508–1511) in the Stanza della Segnatura in the Vatican, Apollo plays a *lira de braccio* (lyre) while accompanied by the Muses and an assembly of ancient and modern poets.

The *lira de braccio* became an emblem of *Musicae* and *Poesia*, personifications of music and poetry respectively, two of the seven liberal arts. Its seven strings became associated with the cosmological symbolism of music, representative of the seven spheres (Zarlino, *Le istituzioni harmoniche*, Venice, Italy, 1558). Raphael's rendering of Apollo's *lira da braccio* has nine strings, a possible reference to the nine Muses but perhaps also to the nine Greek modes. In playing the nine strings, Apollo was thought to move the Muses: "residing among them he embraces the Universe" (Natalis Comes, *Mithologiae libri decem*, Padua, Italy, 1616).

Nicolas Poussin also used Apollo's sublime music as the source of poetic inspiration in his *Apollo and the Muses* (*Parnassus*) (circa 1632), and his two versions of the *Inspiration of the Poet* (circa 1677) in Hannover, Germany, and the Louvre in Paris. In the Louvre version, Apollo's lyre has no strings—one can only imagine an inner music made by plucking.

The theme of the inspired musician is rather rare in painting. There is an allegorical portrait by Andrea Sacchi (circa 1648) that shows the famous musician and singer Marcantonio Pasqualini crowned by Apollo. The pendant to this is a painting of Marsyas lasciviously playing his bagpipes (in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York).

Orpheus

Like Apollo, Orpheus, the legendary Thracian musician and poet, was said to be endowed with magical and divine powers. Through his music he calmed the ferocious forces on Earth and in Hades by defeating the agents of evil, such as the sirens and the dragon of Colchis, who guarded the Golden Fleece.

The subject of Orpheus charming and calming nature with his music (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10:84–105) became a popular one in Greco-Roman culture: it decorates many floor mosaics, mural paintings (Pompeii, Italy), and art objects. Orpheus is almost always portrayed with a young, beardless, and dreamy face; seated on a rock under a tree; and holding a lyre or a kithara (like a lyre, but larger) and a plectrum. Since the Greco-Roman period, this scene of Orpheus beneath a tree has been imbued with allegorical meanings and used as a symbol of a peaceful, paradisiacal era when wild and tame animals would live side by side (Macrobius, *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis*, II, 3, 7). This messianic motif was adopted by Jewish and early Christian artists to illustrate Isaiah's prophecy that "the wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid" (Isaiah 11:6–9). The symbolic figure of Orpheus can be compared to another messianic musician, King David, as in the Gaza synagogue mosaic and the Dura-Europos wall painting in Syria. Early representations of Jesus Christ as a shepherd sitting among his flock, holding a lyre, derive from the Orphic image, such as the Good Shepherd lunette of the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, Italy.

This concept of peaceful and purifying Orphic music was one set against that of orgiastic, Dionysiac music. In a Jerusalem floor mosaic now in the Archeological Museum in Istanbul, Turkey, the viewer can see Orpheus among wild animals, a centaur, and Pan holding his syrinx. The moralizing legacy of the Orphic myth can be traced first to the writings of Cassiodorus, and later to Ovid's *Moralisée*. It was eventually adopted by Renaissance humanists (Dante, *Il convivio*, II, 1, 3; Marsilio Ficino, *Opera*, 318; Poliziano, *Orpheus*, 1480). The moralistic quality of Orphic music was expressed in many Renaissance works, especially in Neoplatonic circles and at the court of Lorenzo de' Medici. Bertoldo di Giovanni, Lorenzo's court sculptor, made a series of bronze plaques devoted to the Orphic myth (circa 1480) as well as a lyric statuette, now in the Bargello in Florence, Italy, of Orpheus playing a *lira da braccio*, eyes uplifted toward divine inspiration.

When Orpheus descended into Hades to deliver his beloved Eurydice, his music was said to overcome infernal forces and momentarily change the course of time (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10:11–16). Pluto, god of the underworld, and his queen Persephone were charmed by Orpheus's playing. This scene has been portrayed on a *cassone* (a marriage chest for dowry) by Jacopo del Sellaio (fifteenth century), on a plaque (fifteenth century) by Giovanni, and in a drawing (before 1611) by Bartholomaeus Spranger at the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nürnberg, Germany.

During the Renaissance, the scene of Orpheus in the underworld became part of a larger humanist-religious iconographic program. Luca Signorelli's decoration in Orvieto Cathedral in Italy (1500) is dedicated to the Five Last Things, an expression of a reformist tendency and Neoplatonic attitudes. A very inter-

esting mix of Greco-Roman and Christian connotations is thus produced as Orpheus's deliverance of Eurydice is infused with allegorical meanings, as it was in Dante's *Il purgatorio* from *The Divine Comedy* and later by Ficino.

Immortality

Music and immortality have a long association. When played by the Muses as conducted by Apollo Musagetes, music was symbolic of the divine harmony of the spheres. In Greco-Roman theology, this motif was fused with the image of Phoebus (Apollo as the sun-god, center of the universe and source of life). The image of Apollo (or Orpheus) playing his lyre while accompanied by the Muses' music was one of redeeming promise. Sepulchral monuments in late antiquity are often decorated with this motif as a promise of immortality, as on the Roman *Sarcophagus of the Muses* in the Vatican Museum. Sometimes a representation of the purifying music of Apollo's lyre is contrasted with one of Marsyas's lascivious playing, a symbol of the souls that will not rise from Hades, as on the Roman *Sarcophagus of Sidon* in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen, Denmark. Sometimes the Apollonian motif is combined with the image of Orpheus, a human who survived a journey into Hades. The idea that immortality is granted to those who dedicate themselves to the arts of music and poetry was expressed in many funerary monuments of late antiquity.

The ardent Renaissance interest in classical heritage and the concurrent discovery of Roman sarcophagi influenced quattrocento memorial monuments. The tendency to achieve a reconciliation of pagan and Christian doctrines of immortality and redemption can be seen in Ficino's influential work *Theologica Platonica de Immortalitate Animarum* (1480). The allegorical association of the Muses' music with salvation and immortality was also adopted by Filippino Lippi in decorating the Strozzi burial chapel (1497–1502) in Santa Maria Novella in Florence, in which pagan musical symbolism is combined with Christian salvational symbolism. Images of the Muses making music are accompanied by biblical inscriptions that promise eternal life, such as "The gift of God is the water of Life" (John 4:10). The metaphorical figure of Parthenice, related to Mantovano's poem of 1480 celebrating Mary playing a lyre, is modeled on a Muse, who is a pagan promise of immortality. A palm tree stands behind her, as a Christian emblem of triumph over death. With great virtuosity, Filippino combines the ancient doctrine of immortality with a Christian theological concept. The juxtaposition of virtue with the celestial music of the Muses confirms the Christian promise of salvation.

The Renaissance notion of music as a means of overcoming death is therefore inherited from classical theology, although it is sometimes completely transformed into a Christian idiom, such as when angels playing musical instruments accompany the dying or ascending Virgin. This subject is represented in Vittore Carpaccio's *Death of the Virgin* (early sixteenth century) in the Accademia in Venice, Italy; his *The Assumption of the Virgin* (early sixteenth century) in the National Gallery in London; and the Master of St. Lucy's *Mary Queen of Heaven (Assumption)* (late fifteenth century) in the National Gallery of

Art in Washington, D.C. Images of music-making angels symbolic of immortality and specifically related to Christ are seldom found. In the *Missal of Henry of Chichester* (circa 1200), an English illuminated manuscript in the John Rylands Library in Manchester, England (Ms. lat. 24 fol. 12), Christ steps out of a tomb holding the cross pennant of victory over death. He is flanked by angel-musicians, emblems of his immortality, an image that is unique to this iconographic program.

David

King David's music is similarly related to a messianic promise. David the psalmist, first composer of liturgical hymns and sacred music, personified the praise of God. His music was also said to have possessed therapeutic qualities. In the art of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, scenes of David the shepherd playing his harp in a pastoral setting (I Samuel 16) are reminiscent of those of Orpheus charming the animals. In these scenes, David, the anointed and chosen son, incarnates a messianic promise and typifies Christ—God's son as the Good Shepherd. David sometimes plays a psaltery, which refers to Christ's body, while his kithara is related to Christ's Passion (Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XXI:872; Ovid, *Moralisée*, X, 2925–2928). In late antique Judaism, David's harp was endowed with mystic meanings. According to some Talmudic legends, the strings were made out of the gut of the ram sacrificed by Abraham on Mount Moriah; at midnight they vibrated to call the royal psalmist to praise God.

David was the founder of the cult of music and liturgical hymns in the Tabernacle (I Chronicles 15:16ff; 16:7–24; II Chronicles 5:12–13) and devoted himself to God's service: "Seven times a day do I praise thee, because of thy righteous judgments" (Psalm, 119:164). David in praise of God is represented in works such as Jodocus van Winghe's *David Singing God's Praise* (before 1603) in the Episcopal Museum in Haarlem, The Netherlands, and Rembrandt van Rijn's *King David* in the Kaplan Collection in New York. In Pieter de Witte's *David Singing God's Praise* (before 1628) in the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem, David the psalmist orders a congregation of saints to "sing unto the Lord a new song" (Psalm 149:1) and conducts a heavenly choir of angels and saints. In this composition, earthly and heavenly music are metaphorically joined. St. Ambrose compared the psalmist's singing to the harmony of the spheres (Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, XIV, 926) and according to Cassiodorus, celestial melodies were contained in David's music (*Institutiones divinarum et humanarum litterarum*, III). An early twelfth-century Psalter in the Bibliothèque Municipale in Metz, France (Ms. 14, fol. 1, now destroyed) depicted David playing heavenly melodies on his kithara, enthroned with personifications of the seasons and humors, seated within the concentric circles of the cosmos.

David playing his harp before Saul has also been frequently represented in works of art. Through his music, David was said to have delivered the tormented soul of Saul, the rejected king, from the spell of melancholia (I Samuel 16:23). Therapeutic functions have traditionally been ascribed to music, especially in the treatment of melancholy, such as in Johannes de Muris, *Summa Musica* (thirteenth century).

Musical healing has also been assigned moral meaning. John Calvin saw the healing of the tormented soul of King Saul as a victory over diabolical domination. In Rembrandt's *David Before Saul* (1656) in the Mauritshuis, in The Hague, The Netherlands, the delivered king grasps a curtain to wipe away his tears, showing that the music has indeed softened his disturbed spirit.

When the triumphant David returned from his battle with Goliath, the Israelite women came out singing, dancing, and playing music to praise him (I Samuel 18:6–7). This scene is depicted in Hendrick Terbrugghen's *Triumphant David With Singers* in the Raleigh, North Carolina, Museum of Art, and in Poussin's *The Triumph of David* in the Dulwich Picture Gallery in London. In Poussin's *Victorious David* (circa 1627) in the Prado in Madrid, Spain, David is crowned by Victory as the triumphant warrior returns from battle with Goliath's head.

Praise of God: Sacred and Celestial Music

The image of celestial music from heavenly choirs derives from the ancient notion that the Muses' music was symbolic of the harmonious motion of the seven celestial spheres. An early Christian Apocrypha, *Ascension of Isaiah* (first century), describes the seven celestial circles as populated by angelic choirs singing in praise of God. This image later inspired Dante (*Il purgatorio*, XXX, 93). Beginning in the thirteenth century, the motif became associated with Mariological topics. It became widespread and was originally connected to September 6, the birth of the Virgin. At that time, *laudes* were flourishing all over Europe, sung in churches and processions in honor of Mary. Musical angels singing *Gloria* became a popular motif in Italy and the Netherlands in the fifteenth century. Examples of such representations include *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (before 1415) in the Musée Condé in Chantilly, France; Fra Angelico's *Coronation of the Virgin* (1445) in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence; and Robert Campin's *Nativity* (circa 1427) in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Dijon, France. Sometimes heavenly music played by the angels is opposed by bad music inspired by the devil. This dichotomy is expressed in the Annunciation (fol. 16) in Jean Pucelle's *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux* (circa 1325) in the Cloisters at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, in which a choir of angels singing *laudes* is opposed by corrupt, music-making "pseudo-angels," who turn into demons in the marginal decorations.

In *Virgin in Glory* (before 1495), an apocalyptic image (Revelation 12:1–13) attributed to the artist Geertgen tot Sint Jans, the Virgin holds the Christ Child in the middle of an enormous, luminous glory of angels. This shining assembly is composed of a large number of angel-musicians who carry the instruments of the Passion and pennants inscribed *sanctus* (holy). This marvelous visualization of a heavenly angel choir arranged in concentric rings refers to the classical concept of the celestial spheres as it was interpreted in Christian theology. The Christ Child animatedly shaking a pair of bells may be seen as conducting, or even originating, the heavenly music. According to Gregory of Nyssa, God is the prime mover who generated the music of the universe by creating the harmonious

motion of the spheres. Angels playing music in the Virgin's mandorla also suggest her immortality.

The Gloria Christi is also one of the great themes of religious music and painting. Apocalyptic liturgy refers to 24 enthroned elders in the vision of the mystic lamb (Revelation 5:6), and to a celestial choir of angels (Revelation 15). The elders praising the Lord "fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, . . . and they sung a new song" (Revelation 5:8–10). This messianic melody was accompanied by "the voice of many angels round about the throne . . ." (Revelation 5:11) singing the Lord's glory, as in the tympanum of St. Pierre (1136–1153) in Moissac, France, and Hans Memling's *Saint John's Vision; The Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* (1479) in St. John's Hospital in Bruges, Belgium. In another apocalyptic vision, the Dutch illuminated manuscript *The Choir of Seven Angels on the Crystal Sea*, angels stand on a sea of glass and hold the harps of God to celebrate victory over the Beast (Revelation 15:2–4).

In Jan van Eyck's *The Ghent Altarpiece* (completed 1432), a choir of angels sings in a motet while accompanied by organ, harp, and violin. This image of celestial music refers to apocalyptic liturgy but may also be related to the Gloria Dei motif. On the floor, one can distinguish Christ's monogram IHS, the alpha and omega, and the abbreviation of Isaiah's messianic prophecy, AGALA, in glorification of the Lord. This Gloria Dei theme is also the subject of Memling's two *Christ in Glory* paintings—one at the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Strasbourg, France, the other at the Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunst in Antwerp, Belgium—in which the King of Kings is surrounded by singing and playing angels.

Music: Transience and Futility

Transience and futility are two themes associated with music that are amply illustrated in Western paintings. Music, the transient art of sounds, is often associated with time, death, and vanity. In Poussin's allegory *The Dance of Human Life* (1638–1639) in the Wallace Collection in London, a "ballet" is danced to the sound of Father Time's lyre. Two putti, one holding an hourglass and the other blowing bubbles (*homo bulla*), connote transience and futility. In an earlier work, *Phaethon Before Helios* in Berlin-Dahlem, Germany, Poussin expresses vanity and the destructive powers of Time, who blows a wind instrument (Ovid, *Metamorphoses* II, 19ff).

Music-making is symbolically related to death as the triumph of Father Time. This idea is expressed in late medieval and Renaissance allegories, especially north of the Alps, and later in seventeenth-century emblematic still lifes. A drawing in the form of a diptych attributed to Albrecht Dürer in the British Museum in London and a similar later work by Baldung Grien in the Prado show three seductive women playing and singing from a polyphonic score, signifying transience, as they are pursued by a macabre image of Death. Hans Holbein's *Dance of Death Alphabet* in Basel, Switzerland, opens with a musical parade. The Orchestra of Death figures in many German and French prints of the Dance Macabre; a music-making skeleton dragging its victims is another common motif. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

emblems in northern Europe combined music-making, musical instruments, and music books with fading flowers, skulls, hourglasses, wine, bubbles, and other symbols of *Vanitas Vanitatum* as allegories of vanity.

The *Allegory of Transitoriness*, attributed to a pupil of Frans van Mieris and held in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, is composed of a woman pointing to a skull that holds a musical score in its mouth, accompanied by the *homo bulla* and faded flowers motifs. In northern European humanist culture, the idea of vanity was so closely associated with music that it is not surprising to find musical instruments and scores inscribed with pessimistic citations from Ecclesiastes. Dutch seventeenth-century composer Jan Pietersz Swillink signed a canon with the words *Vanitas vanitatum et omnia vanitas* (Vanity, vanity all is vanity). Other musical scores are decorated with additional emblems of vanity such as skulls and flowers.

Musical instruments and books are often integrated into Dutch seventeenth-century *vanitas* portraits or *vanitas* self-portraits. Examples include Gerard Dou's *The Artist in His Studio* in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden, Germany, and Edwaert Colyer's emblematic self-portrait (before 1702) in a private collection in Munich, Germany, in which the painter presents his late wife's portrait to the onlooker. An open score of funerary music is entitled *Memento Mori*, and a piece of paper emerging from a book bears the legend *Vita brevis ars longa* (life is short, art long). The still life on the table combines different *vanitas* emblems, such as a skull, musical instruments, a watch, a pipe, and the artist's palette. Music in *vanitas* allegories is sometimes found in conjunction with emblems that belong to the *Vita Voluptuosa* (life is full of pleasure). On the table before Colyer, a flute lies on a musical score showing a melody by Jacob van Eyck entitled *The Flute of the Garden of Pleasure*.

Music and Love: Harmony

"Love is always in the company of music" according to Giorgio Vasari. Music in visual representations can have one of two meanings when love is also concerned. It can signify sublime love, harmony, and concord. But most often visual references to music are related to the earthly Venus, the Roman goddess of love, or to the personifications Lust and Voluptia (Sensual Pleasure) in both religious and profane themes.

"Music unites—it creates harmony, agreement and love" was inscribed on a seventeenth-century clavichord. In Renaissance and Baroque painting, a musical duet in the form of portraits of couples became a metaphor of love and harmony. In family portraits, music symbolized *concordia* (harmony), especially in northern Baroque painting, as in *The Van Bercheman Family Portrait* by Frans Floris in the Wuyts-Van Campen en Baron Cavoly en Timmermans Museum in Lier, Belgium, which has an inscription on the frame that calls attention to the *concordia* symbolism. Sometimes the music played in family concert scenes is religious. In Abraham van den Tempel's *Portrait of the Family of David Leeuwe* (before 1672) in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the family is about to perform a religious song.

Music and Love: Lust and Corruption

In descriptions of voluptuousness, musical instruments were often used as symbols of love. Sexual significance had been attributed to wind instruments since antiquity, and later to some string instruments as well. Late medieval and Renaissance astrologers believed that musicians of all kinds, together with lovers, were among the “children of Venus.”

During the “psychomachia” of the early Middle Ages, Luxuria (the personification of Luxury) began to inherit Venus’s attributes. In a twelfth-century rendering on a capital in Saint Nicholas Church in La Chaize-le-Vicomte, Vendée, France, she is armed with a mirror and flowers, especially roses, and accompanied by Venus’s children—musicians inciting lascivious passions. In Renaissance “psychomachia” representations, a naked Venus making music, or accompanied by musicians, personifies Voluptia, in opposition to Minerva, who personifies Prudentia (Prudence). This can be seen in Baldung Grien’s *Music and Prudence* in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, and Peter Vischer the Younger’s *Virtue and Voluptia* in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin.

In the *Tabletop of Seven Deadly Sins* (circa 1490), Hieronymus Bosch inserted his *Luxuria* in reversal of the utopian Garden of Love, where music had originally been related to harmony. In *Luxuria*, musical instruments are emblems of lust and diabolical temptation. They become instruments of torture in his *Musical Hell* from *The Garden of Earthly Delights* (early sixteenth century), in which the lustful are tormented and an infernal choir is condemned to sing eternally from the notes inscribed on the posterior of a damned soul half buried under a giant lute-gallows. Bosch adopted a diabolical music-making motif from medieval marginal decorations and made it a dominant element in a world haunted by evil, filled with demons playing musical instruments and inciting lust and blowing shawms to accompany a lovers’ duet (*The Haywain Triptych* in the Prado).

In northern European humanistic writings, music was related to sensual love and folly (Sebastian Brant, *Ship of Fools*, 1497). Erasmus attacked secular music, especially amorous and “lascivious melodies” (*Opera omnia*, VI, col. 731). Bosch was also the forerunner of secular moralist genre painting, which flourished in the Netherlands for two centuries. In his various versions of *Merry Makers*, music-making has a principal role in stimulating lascivious behavior (*Ship of Fools* [circa 1500], *A Concert in an Egg* [before 1516], *Merry Makers in a Carnival Celebration*, *Carnival*, etc.).

In Italian Renaissance and Baroque painting, the corruptive power of music is veiled in more sophisticated mythological references. Musical themes were especially favored in Venice. Titian painted several versions of Venus in the company of a musician. In his *Venus and a Lute Player* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, an admirer plays a serenade before a naked reclining Venus. She holds a suggestive recorder (a “low” instrument), while a *viola da gamba* stands waiting to be played, a motif later adopted by Caravaggio, Jan Vermeer, and many others. In Paolo Veronese’s *Concert*, now in the Palazzo Ducale in Venice, an erotic concert is played by three beautiful young women inspired by Amor—thus “Amor is born from music” and is always “in the company of music.”

In Caravaggio’s *The Concert* (1594) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, three seminude youths are engaged in making music. The musical party has been inspired by Eros, who holds a bunch of grapes in a Bacchic gesture, and it has an allegorical appearance to it. (“Music and wine are associated with the company of Bacchus” [Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, 1603].) In his *Lute Player*, Caravaggio combines hints of homoerotic seduction with vanitas references such as fading flowers and overripe fruits. The lute here becomes an erotic messenger. In a Dutch seventeenth-century emblem book *Neuwe Nederduytsche Gedichten* (1624) in Leiden, The Netherlands, a lute played by a woman symbolizes feminine sexuality. In many Netherlandish compositions of the seventeenth century this image is related to erotic seduction, as in Dirck van Barburen’s *The Procureess* (1622) in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston; Philippe van Dirck’s *Woman Playing the Lute*, a personification of Luxuria in the Mauritshuis in The Hague; and in a large number of “Duet,” “Merry Company,” and brothel scenes, among others.

In Gabriel Rollenhagen’s *Nucleus Emblematum* (1611) in Cologne, Germany, Cupid holds a lute and points at music-making lovers in the background. Temptation through music, the invitation to a “love duet,” was a subject formulated in moralist emblematic literature, a subject that became a common theme in seventeenth-century northern European art (Dirck van Barburen, Jan Molenaer, Jan Steen, Vermeer, and many others). In Jacob Cat’s *Quid non sentit Amor* emblem *Sinne en Minne beelden* (1615), a man playing a lute invites a woman to pick up the second lute and join him in a “love duet.”

Wind instruments had a phallic significance. Pipes, recorders, shawms, and especially bagpipes were related to dissolute life. “When the bagpipe is pumping up one sings better,” says a sixteenth-century Flemish proverb. Since antiquity, wind instruments had also been considered Bacchic attributes. In seventeenth-century iconography, pipe instruments were related to bucolic erotic imagery (Rembrandt’s *Uylenspiegel* [before 1699], for example), which inspired Antoine Watteau’s *L’Indiscret* in the Boymans-van Beuningen Museum in Rotterdam.

Musical divertimenti in secular or semisecular representations are infused with erotic symbolism, denoting corruption and vanity and illustrating a state of sin. Examples of this include many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century scenes of the Prodigal Son in taverns and brothels, Gardens of Love, Fêtes Galants, Mankind Before the Last Judgment, and Mankind Before the Flood. In seventeenth-century Calvinist Dutch society, music was so closely associated with lascivious behavior that brothels were surnamed *musicus*.

Music’s corrupting power is often associated with Eros and Bacchus. In Maerten van Heemskerck’s didactic allegory *Triumph of Bad Music* (mid-sixteenth century) in the Prentenkabinet in Leiden, a triumphal procession opens with a group of male figures singing from a large choir book bound to a satyr’s back, followed by Vices such as Desire (Eros) and Pleasure. Musicae’s car is followed by personifications of Waste of Time, Waste of Money, Sloth, and Foolish Liberality. Drunkenness is drawing Bacchus’s car, while his goblet is being filled by Immoderatio (Appetite), who is followed by Poverty.

Music under the spell of Eros and Bacchus is thus thought to be intended for “ignorant ears,” its results said to be adultery, drunkenness, and misery. Such “bad” music is contrasted in the inscriptions with “good” (harmonious) music in the form of the celestial liturgy.

Personifications of Music

During the Renaissance and Counter-Reformation, St. Cecilia became the patroness of sacred music. She is usually portrayed playing an instrument, most often the organ. The belief that St. Cecilia rejected earthly instruments for heavenly music is presented in some works. In Raphael's *Santa Cecilia* (1513–1514) in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna, the figure of St. Cecilia, inspired by a heavenly angelic choir, is set against the broken musical instruments that she has repudiated, some of which refer to Bacchic motifs.

Musicae, one of the Seven Liberal Arts, is typically portrayed as a woman playing an instrument. According to Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, this should be a woman who holds Apollo's lyre with both hands and has various musical instruments at her feet. Ripa elsewhere describes Musicae tuning an angelica while accompanied by a nightingale, another symbol of music, “for the marvelous effects of his voice.” This image, based on ancient representations of Musicae, influenced Laurent de la Hyre's *Music* (before 1656). But the words of the song on the music score in this painting also associate music with love and wine, Eros and Bacchus, and therefore stress the old dichotomy between the sublime and corrupting characters of music. In Theodor van Thulden's *Allegory of Music* (before 1669) in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts in Brussels, Belgium, an Eros holding the torch of love crowns Musicae with Venus's roses. Historically, this sends us back to a Martianus Capella poem, one of the first medieval formulations of Musicae, in which he describes Musicae leading a procession of gods, poets, and musicians, among them Orpheus, Amor, and Voluptas.

See also Death; Luxury; Margins/Outsiders; Melancholy; Vanity/Vanitas

Selected Works of Art

Apollo

- Raphael, *Apollo and Marsyas*, ceiling fresco, 1508, Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura
 Raphael, *Parnassus*, fresco, 1508–1511, Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura,
 Straet, Jan van der, *Apollo in the Garden of Arts and Sciences*, drawing, before 1605, Haarlem, The Netherlands, Teylers Museum
 Poussin, Nicolas, *Apollo and the Muses (Parnassus)*, circa 1632, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Ribera, Jusepe de, *Apollo and Marsyas*, 1637, Naples, Italy, Museo Nazionale de Martino
 Poussin, Nicolas, *Inspiration of the Poet*, circa 1677, Paris, Louvre; Hannover, Germany

- Moreau, Gustave, *Hesiodus and the Muse*, before 1898, Paris, Musée d'Orsay
 Hugo, Jean, *The Poet and the Muse*, 1923, private collection

Orpheus

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Personifications of Music

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NAKED/NUDE

Kathryn Moore Heleniak

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Naked/Nude:

ANCIENT

CLASSICAL

MEDIEVAL

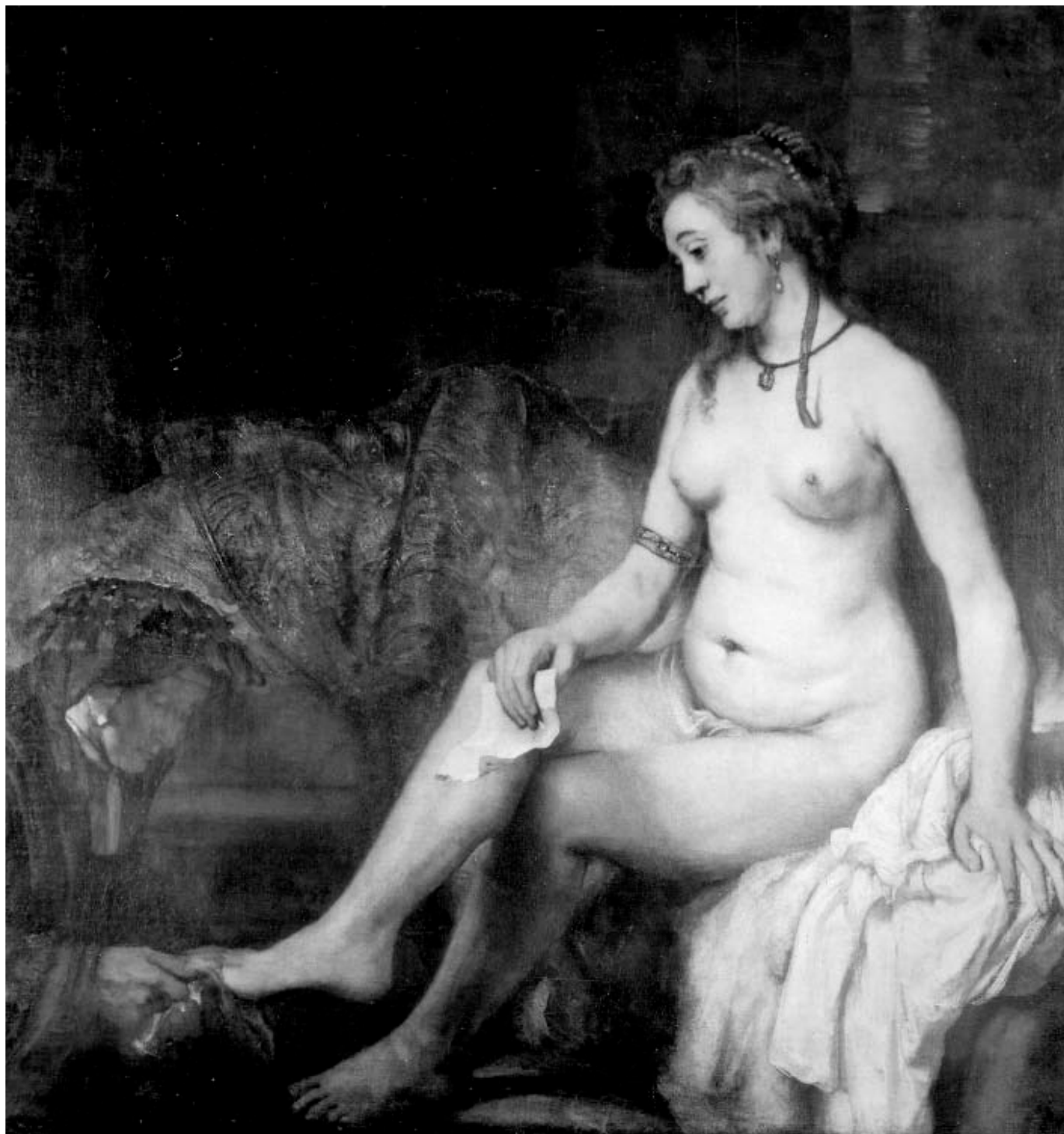
RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Rembrandt van Rijn, *Bathsheba at Her Bath*, 1654, oil on canvas, Paris, Louvre.
(Courtesy of Giraudon/Art Resource,
New York)

The two English words *naked* and *nude* describe the same human condition yet are often imbued with remarkably different meanings in Western art. British art historian Kenneth Clark observed in his influential book *The Nude: A Study in the Ideal Form* (1956), “To be naked is to be deprived of our clothes, the word implies some of the embarrassment most of us feel in that condition.” Whereas the term *nude* calls up not an unclothed real body but an idealized, “balanced, prosperous, and confident body: the body re-formed” (Kenneth Clark, p. 23). In other words, *naked* suggests the real, faulty, imperfect form of a specific individual ordinarily clothed and *nude* the idealized, perfected form of a human body that was never intended to be covered. Nakedness suggests vulnerability, nudity an easy, proud confidence in the human fleshly form. Despite these permutations of meaning, there is no firm demarcation between the terms, and they are often used interchangeably. But whether naked or nude, the unclothed human figure is not, properly speaking, an iconographic category. Rather, male and female nudes appear in numerous iconographic settings—historical, mythological, biblical, allegorical, and pornographic—and in genre scenes of everyday life. Given the enormous scope of the nude in art, and in light of the vast and constantly increasing literature on the subject, this essay simply directs readers to some of the key developments in the appearance of the nude and to the meanings and values attached to its appearance in art.

Many books, exhibitions, and articles have taken up the subject of the nude. Traditional art historical studies have tended to view the nude as an aesthetic object—a marker of “high art.” The fact that ancient Greek artists focused on the nude and that Greek civilization was in turn considered the font of Western culture only enhanced the association of the nude with high art in Western eyes. With the Renaissance and the rise of academic art theory in the fifteenth century, not only was the nude of antiquity revived and revalued but the nude male body became the centerpiece of professional training in the art academies. Thus, serious “Art with a capital A” became intrinsically associated with the study of the nude body and with its appearance in large ambitious works of art (Pevsner, *Academies*). Because until modern times women were excluded from these art academies (except as models in a later period), they were not (with rare exceptions) the creators of these nudes. However, they were often, and increasingly so from the seventeenth century onward, the nude subject favored by male artists.

Recent scholarship has focused on these gender issues. Feminist studies have deconstructed the idea of the neutral “aesthetic” nude, seeing it instead as a field of power politics, of domination and submission, where (until the twentieth century) male artists depicted male and female nudes for male

patrons. The resultant images inevitably embodied or reflected patriarchal values: The active dominant role of men in society was contrasted with the passive role of women, who were depicted as objects of male desire. In his influential essay in *Ways of Seeing* (1972), British critic and writer John Berger stated his belief that women were often depicted as colluding with this role. As Berger observed, “Men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at . . . thus she turns herself into an object—and most particularly an object of vision: a sight” (Berger, p. 47). This voyeuristic sight is inevitably eroticized. Indeed, much of the ambiguity and uneasiness associated with the nude in its various manifestations—its attraction and repulsion for viewers—hovers around its erotic appeal. In a society that associates nudity with the divine, or the spiritual—one thinks of ancient Greece or India, as, for example, the Yakshi figure *Girl Playing with Balls* of the first century B.C. in the National Museum in New Delhi, India—the nude is frank, triumphant, untroubled. In a society that associates nudity with sin, shame, and guilt, or the decadent fleshly world, as it has been historically in the Judeo-Christian context, the nude is fraught with unease, moral reprobation, or suffering. In the modern era, it is seen as a manifestation of social defiance.

The female nude, which has been almost synonymous with “the nude” in modern times, is a late arrival. One finds simplified, unclothed female forms in prehistoric art. These early sculptures are presumably mother-goddesses. Some have a rounded, overblown shape, like the so-called *Venus of Willendorf* (circa 25,000–20,000 B.C.) in the Naturhistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria; others exhibit the simple, stark geometry of Cycladic female idols (circa 2500–1400 B.C.).

With Greek art, one encounters the first real flowering of the nude, and here the male nude predominates as god, hero, or athlete. The Greeks envisioned their male gods as beautiful human figures with strong, muscular, youthful forms, as in *Apollo Belvedere* of the fourth century B.C., known by its Roman copy of the first century B.C. in the Vatican Museums. Nude men in Greek art were tied to the appearance of nude men in Greek life. Public nudity for Greek men was the norm in athletic competitions and in the gymnasium. But even Greek depictions of human suffering were expressed by powerful nude forms with well-developed muscles writhing to express both physical and emotional pain, as in the statue *Marsyas*, a Roman copy of a Pergamene original (third century B.C.) in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy, and the *Laocoön* (circa first or second century A.D.) in the Vatican Museums.

Greek women, whose lives were restricted to the domestic sphere, were clothed in public. Their goddesses conformed to these clothed norms until the fourth century B.C., when

Praxiteles sculpted his famous nude *Aphrodite*. The statue of the goddess of love was displayed in an open shrine on the island of Knidos. A Roman copy can now be seen in the Vatican Museums. This earliest (and thereafter extraordinarily influential) example shows the modest Venus (normally clothed) reaching for her drapery at her bath. Her nudity is circumstantial and momentary—unlike the permanent nude state of male gods. The viewer/voyeur must glimpse her before she restores her covering. The erotic appeal of this statue for male viewers is confirmed by early writings that describe men kissing the statue or leaving more telling stains behind after their visits to the shrine. This first nude Aphrodite/Venus, model to so many variations in ancient and post-Renaissance periods, established one of the most potent images of the female nude: the bather caught unaware, revealing and partially concealing her nude form. In later classical variations, the nude continued to reflect this so-called Venus Pudica pose, seen, for example, in the *Venus de Medici* (circa 150–100 B.C.) in the Louvre, where the figure's arms are used to shield while bringing attention to the breasts and pudendum. This modest pose had a very long afterlife in Western art, having its most famous resurrection in Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* (circa 1480), in the Uffizi Gallery. It migrated into other subjects as well, as can be seen in Giovanni Pisano's modest cardinal virtue, *Temperance* (or *Chastity*, 1300–1310), on the pulpit of the Cathedral of Pisa, or Masaccio's anguished *Eve* (1427) in the Brancacci Chapel in Sta. Maria del Carmine in Florence.

Although Aphrodite/Venus was the principal occasion for the female nude in Greek art, other themes also called for the female nude. Her companions, *The Three Graces*, appeared in the second century B.C. A Roman copy is in the Louvre in Paris. This composition features the elegant intertwining of three female nudes so as to reveal both the front and back views in one "sight." Raphael revived it in the Renaissance period in *The Three Graces* (1504–1505), now in the Musée Condé in Chantilly, France; not surprisingly, it remained a popular motif with male artists and patrons thereafter. In the seventeenth century, Peter Paul Rubens painted a memorable full-bodied example, now in the Prado in Madrid, Spain, with his typical abundant pink flesh. One can even see echoes of the subject without the obvious mythological tag (although surely with an intentional bow to the traditional theme) in the work of the impressionist and postimpressionist generation, as in Pierre-Auguste Renoir's *Large Bathers* (1884–1887) in the Philadelphia Museum of Art in Pennsylvania, Paul Cézanne's *Three Bathers* (1879–1882) in the Musée du Petit-Palais in Paris, and Georges Seurat's *Models* (1886–1888) in the Barnes Foundation in Merion, Pennsylvania.

Less important female characters in Greek mythology—maenads (companions of Dionysus), dryads (wood nymphs), and Nereids (sea nymphs), who embodied "the irrational elements of human nature, the remnants of animal impulse that the Olympian religion had attempted to sublimate or to subdue" (Clark, p. 358)—could also appear nude or near-nude with streaming drapery falling away and displaying their bodies to full effect, as in the fourth-century B.C. *Maenad*, after Skopas, in Dresden, Germany. Nudity also characterized the women (prostitutes?) cavorting with lusty nude male compan-

ions in *Orgy Scene* on an early fifth-century B.C. Attic cup in the Louvre as well as the mythical Amazons, the ferocious female enemies of the Greeks whose public nakedness identified them as barbarians (i.e., uncivilized non-Greeks).

The Romans had little taste for the nude. Occasionally their emperors, once dead, could assume the idealized nude form of a god, as in the *Emperor Trebonianus Gallus* (251–253) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Of course, they engaged in wholesale copying of Greek nude originals, whether in sculpture or painting. The Roman copies played an extremely important role in the Renaissance revival of the antique nude in the fifteenth century by providing material examples of the ideal nude for Renaissance artists to emulate after centuries of its repression in the Middle Ages under the influence of Christian asceticism.

With the rise of Christianity, the nude was initially rejected because of its association with pagan idols. But more important, Christians associated the naked human body with shame, corruption, and sin, as indicated by a reading of the Old Testament. Genesis described Adam and Eve as innocent, unembarrassed nudes in Paradise until Eve yielded to temptation and persuaded Adam to eat the forbidden fruit. Then "the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons" (Genesis 3:7). Ejection from Paradise, mortality, pain in childbirth, and suffering accompanied Adam and Eve's recognition of their nakedness. A bronze relief, *Adam and Eve Reproached by the Lord* (1015), on the doors of the Hildesheim Cathedral, captures the mortification the naked Adam and Eve feel as they cringe and shield their bodies from God's sight (and ours). With their slender, awkward bodies so far removed from the classical ideal, these self-conscious figures exhibit an appropriately medieval abhorrence of human flesh.

Whereas the biblical story of Adam and Eve was one of the few subjects that required nudity in the medieval period (and it would continue to be an important subject for the display of the nude male and female form until modern times), for sheer numbers of nudes in medieval art one turns to the Last Judgment, which remained an important Christian theme through the Baroque period, fading thereafter. Taking up prominent positions on the facades of Romanesque cathedrals to warn Christians of their final reckoning, these scenes featured lumpy men and women, naked and vulnerable, plucked from their graves to be raised into heaven or, more dramatically, to be thrown by monstrous devils into the gaping jaws of hell, as in the *Last Judgment* on the west tympanum of Autun Cathedral in France (circa 1130–1135). The subject appeared in paintings as well with equally gruesome effect, as in Hubert and Jan van Eyck's *Last Judgment* (1425–1430), now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, with its writhing men and women who, naked before God, are the pawns of frightening creatures. This is one of a pair of panels, the other of which depicts the Crucifixion.

The Crucifixion is another important Christian theme that calls for the nude or nearly nude suffering human form, in this case the male form. Like Adam and Eve and the Last Judgment, it is established as an iconographic theme in the early Christian period, as in *The Crucifixion and the Death of Judas* (circa

420–500) in the British Museum in London. The Crucifixion begins to flourish only in the medieval period, however, and it remains a central Christian image up to the modern period. Thomas Eakins's *The Crucifixion* (1880) in the Philadelphia Museum of Art is an outstanding nineteenth-century example. In van Eyck's painting, the crucified Jesus Christ wears a very slight, transparent loincloth (revealing pubic hair and concealing very little of his human anatomy); his nakedness is made more emphatic in contrast to the neighboring two thieves, who sport significant drapery. Christ's nakedness underlines his vulnerability, his self-sacrifice. Art historian Leo Steinberg, in his controversial study *The Sexuality of Christ in Renaissance Art and in Modern Oblivion* (1983), takes up this theme of the previously ignored nakedness (or more commonly near-nakedness) of Christ not only in scenes of his Passion (the Crucifixion, the Flagellation, the Pietà, and the Entombment) but also in scenes of his Baptism and childhood. Steinberg emphasizes that these unclothed images of Christ were consciously introduced to manifest the human side of Christ's nature (the divine being taken for granted), which was made insistent by the depiction of the genital area. His genitalia (revealed or suggested) were a sign of his "manliness," his human nature.

One of the most beautiful examples of the naked Christ appears in the Renaissance in Michelangelo's sculpted *Risen Christ* (1514–1520) in Sta. Maria Sopra Minerva in Rome. Unlike the common, unclothed images of the suffering Christ of the Passion or the depictions of vulnerable, wounded, nearly naked male saints (e.g., innumerable St. Sebastians, beginning in the fifteenth century) whose states of anguished martyrdom reflect Christ's own suffering, this risen Christ is triumphant, muscular, and idealized; he adopts the heroic quality of the Greek gods of antiquity. Michelangelo's Christianized Neoplatonism allowed for his resurrection of the ancient ideal of the beautiful body as an appropriate embodiment of the divine. Moreover, in theological terms, Christ had no need to feel the shame of Adam and Eve's guilt; he was sinless. Indeed, his Crucifixion and Resurrection reopened the gates of Paradise for humanity. His nudity could be seen as a sign of human salvation (although Michelangelo's contemporaries were not comfortable with this nude imagery, as Steinberg argues). Michelangelo was devoted to the male nude in sculptural and painted form. (He is the only artist to warrant his own chapter in Margaret Walters's excellent survey *The Nude Male*, 1978.) The Sistine Chapel in the Vatican is filled with innumerable painted examples: the ceiling (1508–1512) with the mysterious ignudi and the stunning images of Adam (and unusually for him, the beautiful female nude Eve) and the *Last Judgment* (1534–1541) above the altar with its anguished tumbling, hovering nude forms. Renaissance artists such as Michelangelo looked back to ancient sculpture for models of what they might imitate or even surpass.

Donatello and Lorenzo Ghiberti had already revived the beautiful nude of antiquity in the fifteenth century, adapting it to biblical subject matter (although the subjects themselves did not call for the nude). Donatello's *David* (circa 1425–1430) in the Bargello in Florence, with his slender, lithe proportions and easy *contrapposto* stance, recalls the delicacy of Praxitelean sculptural norms, a nude delicacy that makes his conquest of

Goliath (like Florence's own strength against its enemies) all the more miraculous. The nude state of Ghiberti's adolescent Isaac in his relief *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, also in the Bargello, underlines Isaac's vulnerability and makes Abraham's threatened execution of him all the more terrifying.

In the late fifteenth century, Italian artists revived mythological subjects and idealized/classicized nude forms with gusto. This was a more direct way for them to demonstrate their knowledge and admiration of the now-revered antiquity. One thinks of Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* (circa 1480) in the Uffizi Gallery with its central female nude adopting the pose of a classical Venus Pudica (albeit a very decorative, ornamental example). But this was no simple revival of the pagan goddess. Neoplatonic philosophy clothed her in a mystical new Christian meaning as a symbol of the birth of beauty in the mind of humankind. This was quite different from the tense, muscular male nudes in Antonio Pollaiuolo's Hercules canvases for the Medici Palace in Florence (1460). These canvases are now destroyed, but a smaller example, *Hercules and the Hydra*, is now in the Uffizi. Hercules' classical form and mien survived in the Middle Ages as the virtue Fortitude, as in Nicola Pisano's sculpted figure (circa 1260) on the pulpit of the Baptistery of Pisa (much like Temperance assumed the pose of the Venus Pudica on Giovanni Pisano's pulpit of the Cathedral of Pisa noted earlier). In Pollaiuolo's canvases, Hercules returns in his own heroic guise to symbolize the strength of Florence in the face of its enemies. In these and other works, Pollaiuolo displayed his profound understanding of male anatomy. His powerful figures look back to the sculpted figures of Greek warriors and athletes, but they also depended on the careful anatomical study of the human form that was undertaken by Renaissance artists.

Mythological scenes featuring the nude continued to inspire artists during the High Renaissance. Examples include Raphael's *The Judgment of Paris* (before 1520), known through Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving, and his previously mentioned *The Three Graces*; Leonardo da Vinci's now lost *Leda and the Swan* (before 1519); Michelangelo's sculpted adolescent *Bacchus* (circa 1496–1498) in the Bargello; and Correggio's *Jupiter and Io* (circa 1532) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna.

Northern European artists, under the influence of Italy, produced some especially striking examples of mythological scenes featuring the nude as well. Lucas Cranach the Elder painted charming, even fashionable Venuses displaying not only their small doll-like bodies through delicate transparent drapery but also stylish jewelry. An example of this is his *Venus* (1532) in the Städelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt, Germany. No sense of higher philosophical meaning is evident here, nor is any latent Christian puritanism. Albrecht Dürer's depictions of Venus were less successful in adopting a classical ideal; somehow they continued to look like his study of an unclothed hausfrau, like his *Nude* (before 1528) in Bayonne, France. But Dürer's most important contribution to the iconography of the female nude was his woodcut *Draftsman Drawing a Nude* (1525) in the British Museum, which depicts the passive female model and the active male artist: The naked female model reclines while the clothed male artist actively creates art. The female nude is his raw "natural" material. This image recurs with great frequency

in Western art up to the twentieth century (Pablo Picasso did many interpretations of the theme). In a sense, the theme of Pygmalion, so popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is another manifestation of this male fantasy or power. Examples include Étienne-Maurice Falconet's *Pygmalion and Galatea* (1763) in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Maryland, and Edward Coley Burne-Jones's *Pygmalion* series (1879) in the Birmingham Art Gallery in England, in which the male artist molds a female statue that comes to life under his hands (and desire).

Venetian artists are credited with creating the image of the reclining female nude both in nature and in a domestic setting. In the early sixteenth century, Giorgione painted a reclining nude in nature, the *Sleeping Venus*, now in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden. With a rural Italian landscape backdrop, his Venus sleeps peacefully on a bed of soft, glistening fabric. She is both innocent (unaware of any viewers) and sensuous, as her relaxed supine pose allows for a cunning display of her form. This is the perfect view for the voyeur—assumed to be a male viewer. One should not be too quick to deny the appeal of such images to women, however, who were encouraged to identify with Venus, goddess of love and beauty (or with other nude mythological females such as Diana). Isabella d'Este purchased a sculpture of Venus by Antico (Pier Jacopo Alari Bonacolsi), the *Venus Felix* (circa 1519), now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and Madame de Pompadour ordered François Boucher's painting of *The Toilet of Venus* (1751), now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus* also suggests the harmonious confluence of female nude and nature, of woman as sign of fertility and fecundity. In this traditional equation, which is reiterated by many artists into the modern period, women are associated with nature while men are equated with culture—an equation emphatically denied by a contemporary American artist, Barbara Kruger, in a collage that declares, "We won't play nature to your culture" (Warner, p. 325).

Titian moved the reclining Venus into a contemporary interior and opened her eyes in his *Venus of Urbino* (1538) in the Uffizi Gallery. She looks out at the viewer with a steady gaze while her attendants gather in the background. This is the sensuous goddess of love for which the Venetians became famous. These two nudes by Giorgione and Titian became the ultimate models for the many reclining Venuses thereafter. These two artists also left behind the two most mysterious images of the female nude in their "problem paintings," Giorgione's (and/or Titian's?) *Fête Champêtre* (circa 1508) in the Louvre and Titian's *Sacred and Profane Love* (circa 1515) in the Borghese Gallery in Rome. In both, the presence of female nudes being accompanied by contemporary clothed companions has led to problems in interpretation. Certainly, the nudes inhabit lofty allegorical territory. Although theories abound as to their meaning, the nudity of the female figures alerts us to their otherworldly, ideal allegorical associations.

By the sixteenth century, there had already been a long tradition of allegorical nude forms. Nicola Pisano's thirteenth-century sculpted pulpit figure *Fortitude* and Giovanni Pisano's early fourteenth-century figure *Temperance* (or *Chastity*), cited earlier, come to mind. But with the coming of the Renaissance and its

revival of the classical nude, many lofty subjects seemed to call for the nude, including not only virtues but also vices (lust), seasons, times of day, rivers, and continents (especially Africa and America). "Truth," which should conceal nothing, was perhaps the most obvious candidate (Warner, chap. 13, "Nuda Veritas"). One finds countless examples in Western art: Botticelli's depiction of "truth" as a severe female nude in *The Calumny of Apelles* (circa 1497) in the Uffizi Gallery; Gian Lorenzo Bernini's joyous Baroque expression *Truth with an Engaging Smile* (before 1652) in the Borghese Gallery; or, more recently, Gustav Klimt's startling and intentionally shocking version (pubic hair and all) *Nuda Veritas* (1899) in the Theatersammlung der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.

Male and female nudes could serve allegorical ends (e.g., Michelangelo's *Day, Night, Dawn, and Evening*, 1521–1534, in the Medici Chapel in Florence), but female nudes were more prevalent and their numbers increased following the Renaissance. Evidently, one of the most satisfying subjects for male artists and patrons, given its popularity, was the allegory of Vanity, in which a female nude (often identified as Venus) is depicted looking at herself in a mirror. As Berger pointed out, this allowed male artists to associate the sin of vanity with a woman, "thus morally condemning the woman whose nakedness [the artist] had depicted for [his] own pleasure" (p. 51). One of the most memorable examples in seventeenth-century art is Diego Velázquez's *Rokeby Venus* in the National Gallery in London. He portrays his subject from behind as she reclines in a languorous fashion, gazing at the mirror as we in turn gaze at her. Rubens also opts for this back view, although the female nude is now seated, in his interpretation of the same theme, *Venus Before the Mirror* (circa 1616), in the collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein at Vaduz Castle.

Remarkable here are the wildly different proportions given these two idealized figures—Velázquez's Venus is graceful and svelte, Rubens's broad and fleshy, yet they both represent idealized depictions of the female form. The ideal of beauty simply differed for each artist and for each country. Most studies of the nude have observed this phenomenon. Certainly, Clark discusses it in depth in his book, as art historian Anne Hollander does with great perception in *Seeing through Clothes* (1978). Tracking one subject through several centuries (e.g., Eve) reveals the shifting ideals of beauty in different periods and places, something that is more apparent in the female nude than in the male. Even within the relatively narrow geographic area of Northern Europe, the norm for beauty encompasses a wide range, as can be seen in Jan van Eyck's swaying Eve on the *Ghent Altarpiece* (1432) with her smooth, protruding stomach (an erotic zone in the fifteenth century), Albrecht Dürer's sturdy Eve in his engraving of 1504, and Rembrandt van Rijn's soft-fleshed, heavy figure with her furrowed brow offering fruit to a dubious Adam in his etching of 1638. Compare the different proportional norms of Agnolo Bronzino's mannerist Venus in *Venus, Cupid, Folly and Time* (circa 1546) in the National Gallery in London, whose every limb and finger are extended to an impossible degree, with Antoine Watteau's delicate, petite nudes with their short legs and small hands and feet. If one extends the comparison into the twentieth century, "beautiful" female bodies would continue to change over the centuries, dis-

playing hips wide or narrow, stomachs flat or round, breasts small or full, legs short or long, and flesh firm or soft. Although much noted in discussions of the nude, these norms for beauty have little to do with iconography per se, and modern viewers are in danger of missing the deeper meaning of an image if they miss the sensual appeal of a different norm of beauty.

Along with the heavier standard for beauty of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries came new subject matter. The Old Testament themes of Susannah at her bath and of Bathsheba became very popular in the Baroque period. Tintoretto provides an early example from the mid-sixteenth century with his *Susannah and the Elders* (1555–1556) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna. Susannah crouches before her mirror, gazing at her nude form while two old balding men sneak a look at her. As Gil Saunders observes in *The Nude: A New Perspective* (1989), “The woman is clearly blamed for her predicament and presented as an exhibitionist: vain, worldly, narcissistic. . . . If she finds her own beauty so spellbinding, how can the elders be blamed for succumbing to its temptations?” (p. 34). Of course, viewers are also involved in the voyeurism of the old men.

The theme of Bathsheba offered similar possibilities for presentations of the female nude. Both subjects provided a rare opportunity in the Baroque period for a woman to paint the female nude. Artemisia Gentileschi painted many versions of Bathsheba (e.g., one early seventeenth-century version is in the Columbus Gallery of Art in Ohio) as well as Susannah at her bath. Indeed, she seemed to specialize in subjects that required the female nude and complained in letters to a patron of the great expense incurred in obtaining models for her paintings (Ann Sutherland Harris and Linda Nochlin, *Women Artists 1550–1950*, 1978, p. 119). As with other women artists in the premodern period, Artemisia Gentileschi had to depend on male family members for instruction and encouragement. Her father, Orazio Gentileschi, taught her the “male art” of history painting. Certainly, it was overwhelmingly male artists who turned to acceptable biblical subjects that required them to focus on the female nude.

Rubens and Rembrandt also painted scenes of Bathsheba—Rembrandt’s *Bathsheba* (1654) in the Louvre being especially memorable for the tender, melancholy expression of its subject. Through no fault of her own, she attracted the attention of King David, who surreptitiously observed her naked body, precipitating her eventual seduction and the murder of her husband by King David. Bathsheba embodies just one strand of the fatal woman motif, whereby the erotic attractions of the woman prove fatal to others.

Often, as with Bathsheba, the fatal woman is depicted as a nude woman displaying her unclothed body as a temptation to a male companion. Of course, the ultimate fatal woman in this context is Eve, who is seen as enticing Adam into sin and thereby bringing death on all humankind. Other fatal women—Judith (with the head of Holofernes), Salome (with the head of John the Baptist), sirens (and their “cousins,” mermaids)—were often shown nearly nude to underline the role of their erotic appeal in overcoming their male victims. Or, in the case of Edvard Munch’s lithograph *Madonna* (1895), the “new Eve” was turned into a languorous nude who produced a skele-

tal child victim as the product of sexual union. Death and sex and attraction and repulsion are united in these themes and are emphasized in late nineteenth-century examples of the nude femme fatale.

In the nineteenth century, we see the blossoming of the nude without an obvious historical subject attached. It began in the eighteenth century with Watteau’s paintings of female nudes containing only the slightest reference to mythology in the background furnishings and continued with François Le Moyne’s *Bather* (1724), now in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, Russia, and Boucher’s *Mlle. O’Murphy* (mid-eighteenth century) in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, Germany, with its frank display of fleshy buttocks on silk and satin. This in turn was multiplied and given an outdoor setting in Jean-Honoré Fragonard’s scene of tumbling bathers (circa 1765) in the Louvre. All these were painted at a time when many artists continued to draw on more traditional mythological scenes that called for the nude.

At the same time that the female nude was breaking free of mythology, history, and narrative in the eighteenth century, the heroic male nude—staple of the academy—was losing its central position. Although one could still find representative examples of the strong male nude in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (e.g., in neoclassical sculpted portraits, as in Antonio Canova’s depiction of Napoleon as a nude Greek god, 1806, at the Apsley House in London), a “feminized” male nude was replacing the muscular ideal of antiquity and the Renaissance. The baby cupids that proliferated in Boucher’s paintings and Falconet’s sculptures grew into slender, androgynous adolescents in Marie-Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun’s late eighteenth-century *Portrait of Prince Henry Lubomirski* in the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin and in Antonio Canova’s sculpture (1787–1793) and François Gerard’s painting *Cupid and Psyche* (1798), both in the Louvre. Indeed, a crop of passive, feminized male nudes appeared in French paintings in the last years of the eighteenth century—for example, Jacques-Louis David’s *Death of Joseph Bara* (1793) in the Musée Calvet Avignon, France, or Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson’s *Sleep of Endymion* (1791) in the Louvre—representing what Abigail Solomon-Godeau has labeled “male trouble,” a postrevolutionary crisis of masculinity (1993, pp. 286–312). This development coincides with the rise of the genre of the independent female “nude.”

Given its long Counter-Reformation sensibility, Spain seems an unlikely place for an appearance of this new genre, but Francisco de Goya’s life-size *Naked Maja* (circa 1800) in the Prado is an emphatic example. One sees an ordinary, contemporary woman with an individualized face reclining on a non-descript sofa and looking out boldly at the viewer. Examined in the context of its companion, Goya’s *Clothed Maja*, also in the Prado, the naked woman looks even more defiant—more naked than nude—stripped of her clothing. Arms behind her head allowing for the frank display of her full breasts silhouetted against pillows, pubic hair indicated by a dark shadow, eyelids slightly lowered, and a hint of a smile on her face all contribute to the sensual charge of this inviting nude. Nothing hints at a higher meaning; she appears to be simply an alluring and available object of male desire.

In France, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres contributed to this genre with his many odalisques, such as the *Grande Odalisque*

(1814) in the Louvre, with their exotic turbans that nevertheless fail to displace the sophisticated French air of the models. Yet the perfectly smooth flesh of these models removes them from the here and now, placing them on a plane with Ingres's mythological figures, such as *Venus Anadyomene* (1848) in the Musée Condé in Chantilly. In the romantic generation, Eugène Delacroix produced the earthiest female nudes, but he generally confined them to grand historical contexts, frequently featuring a bondage theme, as in *The Massacre at Chios* (1824) and *The Death of Sardanapalus* (1827), both in the Louvre. In these paintings, Delacroix provided a more direct pictorial statement of the powerful male/passive female scenario than the most common bondage subjects, which entailed an armored knight rescuing a nude damsel in distress, as in the many scenes of Perseus rescuing Andromeda or John Everett Millais's *The Errant Knight* (1870) in the Tate Gallery in London. Gustave Courbet, the professed realist, adopted Delacroix's voluptuous figures for a contemporary environment, as in *The Bathers* (circa 1853) in the Musée Faber in Montpellier, France, and *Studio of a Painter* (1854–1855) in the Musée d'Orsay in Paris. He moved into pornography for select male patrons, as in *The Origin of the World* (1866), in a private collection, which depicts the cut-off headless torso of a woman and focuses on a view looking up at the pudendum: the ultimate voyeur's view.

The development of photography in the mid-nineteenth century allowed artists (e.g., Delacroix and Courbet and many others thereafter) to consult photographs of nude figures in place of or to supplement live models in the preparation of their work. This was cheaper and more convenient than employing live models. The professional photographers, usually anonymous, who created these "artist's figures" borrowed conventional poses from painting and sculpture for their photographic nudes, as in the albumen print *Nude Study* (circa 1856–1858), perhaps by a photographer called "Watson" in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London. It was left to scientist Eadweard Muybridge to ignore such conventions in his remarkable series *Animal Locomotion* (1887), which presents nude men and women (among other living beings) captured in lively actions, as in plate 367, *Woman, Kicking*, a collotype in the Museum of Modern Art in New York.

Impressionist painters also took up the nude, usually as generalized female "bathers"; with Pierre-Auguste Renoir the subject became almost obsessional in his later career. But it was Édouard Manet and Edgar Degas who created the modern nude—Manet's defiant prostitute with her pert individual features and bold gaze reclining in her boudoir in *Olympia* (1863), now in the Musée d'Orsay in Paris, which in turn looked back to Titian's *Venus* and Goya's *Maja*, and Degas's generally faceless prostitutes exposing unidealized bodies (perhaps embodying a misogynistic attitude?), who are observed bathing in their domestic interiors, as in *Woman Bathing* (1886) in the Musée d'Orsay. Although poet and art critic Charles Baudelaire had called for such themes as early as 1845 and Degas had seen such scenes in earlier Japanese prints, including Torii Kiyonaga's *Women's Bath* (circa 1780), which he owned, only with Degas's many pastels do we get a sense of real, ordinary women engaged in real, ordinary behavior—not displayed for an intentional viewer but inadvertently observed in the privacy

of their own rooms. They were observed by a male viewer/artist, however, and we are reminded even here of the persistent voyeuristic male gaze—something noted and mocked by Watteau as early as 1721 in *Gersaint's Shopsign* in the Schloss Charlottenburg in Berlin, where a fashionable man is depicted ogling the nude female bathers in a painting displayed for sale in the store while his female companion, unaware of his interest, admires the landscape elements in the work.

The women, probably prostitutes, who served as models for Degas's pastels of bathers present another realistic aspect of his work. Generally speaking, artists' models were recruited from the working class. Men might be laborers or even boxers; women were reduced to modeling for want of employment in respectable working-class occupations, the same condition that drove them to prostitution. Certainly, female models and prostitutes were often one and the same. In 1894 Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec actually took up residence in a house of prostitution; his images of prostitutes, clothed and nude, sometimes boldly engaged in a lesbian embrace, are matter-of-fact records of their mundane existence.

Pablo Picasso returned to the theme of prostitutes in his famous depiction of five female nudes, *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. J.)* (1907), in the Museum of Modern Art in New York, in which, leaving realism far behind, he violently shattered the women into early cubist fragments. Picasso arrived at this original expression after absorbing the lessons of Cézanne, for whom male and female bathers had been a principal preoccupation. But the expressive, unnaturalistic distortion of Picasso's figures came from his study of African art, which served as a guide and inspiration for the abstracted forms in modern Western art.

African art was by no means monolithic. Whereas the art of the Ife and Benin cultures of Nigeria was relatively naturalistic, other African peoples commonly simplified and exaggerated certain anatomical features and often depicted men and women in naked or near-naked states. Like the statues of ancient Greek athletes, this reflected customary undress in their societies. In Africa (and in other non-Western communities), such conditions shocked European colonialists and led to another category of the nude: the "naked Savage" as depicted by European artists, a category that goes back to the seventeenth century, the great age of European exploration. Not surprisingly, the English provided many examples in the nineteenth century, one of the most demeaning being Thomas Rowlandson's watercolor *Broad Grins* (circa 1800) in the Courtauld Institute in London, which depicts a toothy crocodile face to face with a toothy naked African in a frank equation—a reflection of contemporary European pseudoscientific racism that then emphasized the close kinship of Africans with brutes or the animal world. This stance persisted throughout the nineteenth century and is reflected in the derogatory "primitive" label attached to African art by a European colonialist culture.

Much of African art is still shrouded in mystery, as dates and artists are unknown, but we do know that African sculpted nude figures were not simply aesthetic objects but were generally endowed with spiritual powers, for example, for healing or fertility. In addition, they might have multiple identities as gods and/or ancestors. The large wooden figure of a mother and child

of the Bamana people of Mali, created in the nineteenth–twentieth century, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York is a good example. Such sculptures were used in fertility rites. Their exaggerated forms (here enlarged breasts, in others swelling stomachs) related to a woman's role as childbearer.

Such so-called primitive art of Africa, Polynesia, and the Americas (made available to European artists as a by-product of the imperialist mission of colonizers) had a profound impact on modern Western art. Paul Gauguin's painted South Sea islanders, as in *Aha oe Feii?* (What! Are You Jealous?) (1892) in the Pushkin Museum in Moscow; Henri Matisse's simplified nudes cavorting in an imagined paradise, as in *Bonheur de Vivre* (1906) in the Barnes Foundation in Merion, Pennsylvania; the German expressionists' brilliantly colored bathers striding into the north German sea, as in Max Pechstein's *Under the Trees* (1913) in the Detroit Institute of Arts in Michigan; or Ernst Ludwig Kirchner's depiction *A Girl Under a Japanese Umbrella* (1909) in the Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen in Düsseldorf, Germany, with its backdrop of coarsely drawn, wildly dancing figures—all these were created under the impact of a new appreciation for the so-called primitive, a Western myth that often suggested an idyllic innocence free of moral constraints or middle-class concerns.

The twentieth century brought a deluge of nudes despite the arrival of complete abstraction. Photographers began to use the nude figure as a nearly abstract form in some of the most stunning photographs of the early modern period, such as Imogen Cunningham's *Nude* (1932), a practice that continued to flourish in the hands of many artist/photographers throughout the twentieth century. John Colans produced some of the most startling examples, using his own hairy body to create strong formal patterns in his photographs, as in *Self-Portrait* (1895). Nude self-portraits by Munch and Egon Schiele, such as Schiele's watercolor *Self Portrait Crouching* (1912) in the Dr. Eugene A. Solow and Family Collection in Chicago, brought self-revelation (self-flagellation?) to a deeper level and seemed to embody the tremendous anxiety associated with the modern era. Paula Modersohn-Becker's wishful self-portrait in a state of pregnancy (1906) in the Modersohn-Becker Haus, Bottcherstrasse in Bremen, Germany, and Alice Neel's cool, clear nude portraits of pregnant women, as in *Maria* (1964) in the collection of the family, gave attention to a distinctly female condition that had been all but ignored by male artists in earlier periods. The twentieth century also found women artists, now participating in the public production of art in numbers unheard of before, turning the table on male artists by directing their "gaze" on male nudes with ironic results, as in Sylvia Sleigh's *Turkish Bath* (1973).

The Freudian concerns of the mostly male surrealists made the nude, with its inherent sexual associations, an especially apt subject for them. Whether displaced to the street in Paul Delvaux's paintings, as in *The Hands* (1941) in the Claude Spaak Collection in Paris, or transformed into facial features, as in René Magritte's *The Rape* (1934) in the Menil Collection in Houston, Texas, the female nude in surrealist art was intentionally startling and unsettling.

In the late twentieth century, the unclothed figure, male and female, continued to play a central role in artistic expression. Examples include a faceless pinup with the artificial air of a

billboard advertisement in Tom Wesselman's *Great American Nude* series from the pop era; the cool, clinical male and female models in Philip Pearlstein's studio sessions, as in *Male and Female on Red and Purple Drapes* (1968) in the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden in Washington, D.C.; the entwined gay couples engaged in frank sexual acts in Robert Mapplethorpe's stunning photographs; the great unclothed "middle class," who, while naked, are nevertheless mysteriously clothed in ambiguity and unease in Eric Fischl's mundane suburban scenes of the 1980s, such as *Noon Watch* (1983) in the Mathias Brunner Collection in Zurich, Switzerland; and the stripped body of the artist Karen Finley in her politicized performance pieces of the 1990s.

See also Bath/Bathing; Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale; Voyeurism

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

Venus of Willendorf, Paleolithic sculpture, circa

25,000–20,000 B.C., Vienna, Austria, Naturhistorisches Museum

Girl Playing with Balls, Indian Yakshi figure, sculpture, eleventh century, New Delhi, India, National Museum

Classical

Orgy Scene, Attic cup, early fifth century B.C., Paris, Louvre
Skopas, Maenad, sculpture, fourth century B.C., Dresden, Germany

Apollo Belvedere, sculpture, fourth (Greek original) and first century B.C. (Roman copy), Vatican, Vatican Museum

Lysippus, Apoxyomenos, sculpture, fourth century B.C., Vatican, Vatican Museums

Praxiteles, Aphrodite of Knidos, sculpture, fourth century B.C., Vatican, Vatican Museums

Marsyas, sculpture, third century B.C., Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

The Three Graces, sculpture, Roman copy of Greek original, second century B.C., Paris, Louvre

Venus de Medici, marble sculpture, circa 150–100 B.C., Paris, Louvre

Laocoön, Hellenistic sculpture, circa first–second century A.D., Vatican, Vatican Museums

Emperor Trebonianus Gallus, sculpture, 251–253, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Medieval

The Crucifixion and the Death of Judas, sculpture, circa 420–500, London, British Museum

Adam and Eve Reproached by the Lord, sculpture, 1015, Hildesheim, Germany, Cathedral

Last Judgment, west tympanum sculpture, circa 1130–1135, Autun, France, Cathedral

Pisano, Nicola, *Fortitude*, sculpture, circa 1260, Pisa, Italy, Cathedral

Pisano, Giovanni, *Temperance*, sculpture, 1300–1310, Pisa, Italy, Cathedral

Renaissance

Ghiberti, Lorenzo, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, sculpture, fifteenth century, Florence, Italy, Bargello
 Donatello, *David*, sculpture, circa 1425–1430, Florence, Italy, Bargello
 Eyck, Jan and Hubert van, *Last Judgment*, painting, 1425–1430, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Masaccio, *Adam and Eve, Expulsion from Paradise*, painting, 1427, Florence, Italy, Sta. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel
 Eyck, Jan van, *Eve*, painting, *Ghent Altarpiece*, 1432, Ghent, Belgium, Church of St. Bavo
 Pollaiuolo, Antonio, *Hercules and the Hydra*, painting, circa 1460, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Botticelli, *Birth of Venus*, painting, circa 1480, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Michelangelo, *Bacchus*, sculpture, circa 1496–1498, Florence, Italy, Bargello
 Botticelli, *The Calumny of Apelles*, oil on panel, circa 1497, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Giorgione, *Sleeping Venus*, painting, early sixteenth century, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Apollo*, drawing, circa 1501–1503, London, British Museum
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Eve*, engraving, 1504
 Raphael, *The Three Graces*, painting, 1504–1505, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé
 Giorgione (and/or Titian), *Fête Champêtre*, painting, circa 1508, Paris, Louvre
 Michelangelo, ceiling frescoes, 1508–1512, Vatican, Sistine Chapel
 Michelangelo, *Risen Christ*, sculpture, 1514–1520, Rome, Sta. Maria Sopra Minerva
 Titian, *Sacred and Profane Love*, painting, circa 1515, Rome, Borghese Gallery
 Leonardo da Vinci, *Leda and the Swan*, before 1519, lost
 Antico, *Venus Felix*, sculpture, circa 1519, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Raphael, *The Judgment of Paris*, before 1520, lost
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Draftsman Drawing a Nude*, woodcut, 1525, London, British Museum
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Nude (Hausfrau)*, drawing, before 1528, Bayonne, France
 Correggio, *Jupiter and Io*, painting, circa 1532, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Cranach, Lucas the Elder, *Venus*, painting, 1532, Frankfurt, Germany, Städelches Kunstinstitut
 Michelangelo, *Day, Night, Dawn and Evening*, sculptures, 1521–1534, Florence, Italy, San Lorenzo, Medici Chapel
 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, fresco, 1534–1541, Vatican, Sistine Chapel
 Titian, *Venus of Urbino*, painting, 1538, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Bronzino, Agnolo, *Venus, Cupid, Folly and Time*, painting, circa 1546, London, National Gallery

Tintoretto, *Susannah and the Elders*, painting, 1555–1556, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Seventeenth Century

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Three Graces*, painting, early seventeenth century, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Gentileschi, Artemesia, *Bathsheba*, painting, early seventeenth century, Columbus, Ohio, Columbus Gallery of Art
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Venus Before the Mirror*, painting, circa 1616, Liechtenstein, Vaduz Castle, collection of the Prince of Liechtenstein
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Adam and Eve*, etching, 1638
 Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, *Truth with an Engaging Smile*, sculpture, before 1652, Rome, Borghese Gallery
 Velázquez, Diego, *Rokeby Venus*, painting, seventeenth century, London, National Gallery
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Bathsheba*, painting, 1654, Paris, Louvre

Eighteenth Century

Watteau, Antoine, *Gersaint's Shopsign*, painting, 1721, Berlin, Schloss Charlottenburg
 Le Moyne, François, *Bather*, painting, 1724, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage
 Boucher, François, *The Toilet of Venus*, painting, 1751, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Boucher, François, *Mlle. O'Murphy*, painting, mid-eighteenth century, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
 Falconet, Étienne-Maurice, *Pygmalion and Galatea*, sculpture, 1763, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery
 Fragonard, Jean-Honoré, *Bathers*, painting, circa 1765, Paris, Louvre
 Vigée-Lebrun, Marie-Louise-Élisabeth, *Portrait of Prince Henry Lubomirski*, painting, late eighteenth century, Berlin, Germany, Gemäldegalerie
 Kiyonaga, Torii, *Women's Bath*, woodcut, circa 1780
 Canova, Antonio, *Cupid and Psyche*, sculpture, 1787–1793, Paris, Louvre
 Girodet-Trioson, Anne-Louis, *Sleep of Endymion*, painting, 1791, Paris, Louvre
 David, Jacques-Louis, *Death of Joseph Bara*, painting, 1793, Avignon, France, Musée Calvet
 Gérard, François, *Cupid and Psyche*, painting, 1798, Paris, Louvre

Nineteenth Century

Rowlandson, Thomas, *Broad Grins*, watercolor, circa 1800, London, Courtauld Institute
 Goya, Francisco de, *Naked Maja*, painting, circa 1800, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Canova, Antonio, *Napoleon*, sculpture, 1806, London, Apsley House
 Ingres, Jean-Auguste-Dominique, *Grande Odalisque*, painting, 1814, Paris, Louvre
 Delacroix, Eugène, *The Massacre at Chios*, painting, 1824, Paris, Louvre
 Delacroix, Eugène, *The Death of Sardanapalus*, painting, 1827, Paris, Louvre

Ingres, Jean-Auguste-Dominique, *Venus Anadyomene*, painting, 1848, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé
 Courbet, Gustave, *The Bathers*, circa 1853, Montpellier, France, Musée Faber
 Courbet, Gustave, *Studio of a Painter*, painting, 1854–1855, Paris, Musée d'Orsay
 Watson (presumed photographer), *Nude Study*, albumin print, circa 1856–1858, London, Victoria and Albert Museum
 Manet, Édouard, *Olympia*, painting, 1863, Paris, Musée d'Orsay
 Courbet, Gustave, *The Origin of the World*, painting, 1866, private collection
 Millais, John Everett, *The Knight Errant*, painting, 1870, London, Tate Gallery
 Burne-Jones, Edward Coley, *Pygmalion*, painting series, 1879, Birmingham, England, Birmingham Art Gallery
 Cézanne, Paul, *Three Bathers*, painting, 1879–1882, Paris, Musée de Petit-Palais
 Eakins, Thomas, *The Crucifixion*, painting, 1880, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art
 Renoir, Auguste, *Large Bathers*, painting, 1884–1887, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art
 Degas, Edgar, *Women Bathing*, pastel, 1886, Paris, Musée d'Orsay
 Muybridge, Eadweard, *Woman Kicking*, collotype, plate 367, from *Animal Locomotion*, 1887, New York, Museum of Modern Art
 Seurat, Georges, *Models*, painting, 1886–1888, Merion, Pennsylvania, Barnes Foundation
 Gauguin, Paul, *Aha oe Feii? (What! Are You Jealous?)*, painting, 1892, Moscow, Russia, Pushkin Museum
 Munch, Edvard, *Madonna*, lithograph, 1895
 Klimt, Gustav, *Nuda Veritas*, painting, 1899, Vienna, Austria, Theatersammlung der Oesterreichischen Nationalbibliothek
Mother and Child, Bamana sculpture, circa nineteenth–twentieth century, Mali, Africa, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Twentieth Century

Matisse, Henri, *Bonheur de Vivre*, painting, 1906, Merion, Pennsylvania, Barnes Foundation
 Modersohn-Becker, Paula, *Self-Portrait in a State of Pregnancy*, painting, 1906, Bremen, Germany, Bottcherstrasse, Modersohn-Becker Haus
 Picasso, Pablo, *Les Femmes d'Alger (O. J. R. M.)*, painting, 1907, New York, Museum of Modern Art
 Sickert, Walter Richard, *Mornington Crescent Nude*, painting, 1907, private collection
 Pechstein, Max, *Under the Trees*, painting, 1913, Detroit, Michigan, Institute of Arts
 Kirchner, Ernst Ludwig, *A Girl Under a Japanese Umbrella*, painting, 1909, Düsseldorf, Germany, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen
 Schiele, Egon, *Self-Portrait Crouching*, watercolor, 1912, Chicago, Illinois, Dr. Eugene A. Solow and Family Collection

Cunningham, Imogen, *Nude*, photograph, 1932, Berkeley, California, Imogen Cunningham Trust
 Magritte, René, *The Rape*, painting, 1934, Houston, Texas, Menil Collection
 Spencer, Stanley, *Self-Portrait with Patricia Preece*, painting, 1936, Cambridge, England, Cambridge University, Fitzwilliam Museum
 Spencer, Stanley, *The Leg of Mutton Nude*, painting, 1937, London, Tate Gallery
 Delvaux, Paul, *The Hands*, painting, 1941, Paris, Claude Spaak Collection
 Wesselman, Tom, *Great American Nude #57*, collage, 1964, private collection
 Neel, Alice, *Maria*, painting, 1964, collection of the family
 Pearlstein, Philip, *Male and Female on Red and Purple Drapes*, 1968, Washington, D.C., Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Gardens
 Sleigh, Silvia, *Turkish Bath*, painting, 1973
 De Andrea, John, *Woman on Bed*, 1975, New York, O. K. Harris Gallery
 Freud, Lucian, *Naked Portrait with Reflection*, painting, 1980, London, Odette Gilbert Gallery
 Mapplethorpe, Robert, photographs, circa 1980s
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NIGHT

Stephen Lamia

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Night:

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL

RENAISSANCE AND BAROQUE

ROMANTICISM THROUGH
POSTIMPRESSIONISM

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Richard Bosman, *Night Web*, 1993,
Minneapolis, Minnesota, Thimmes
Gallery. (Courtesy of the artist)

The appearance of night in art is frequently, although not exclusively, based on an observation of sequential nocturnal phenomena such as the setting of the sun or the waxing and waning of the moon. Concerned literally with the passage of time, the theme of night may also appear in imaginative reverie and symbolic manifestation.

This essay covers two broad categories: figurative and nonfigurative works of art. In the first group one finds personifications of night from the ancient era through the twentieth century. Figurative art also includes biblical narratives, secular scenes, and allegorical representations whose chronologies span the late Gothic to modern periods. Nonfigurative nocturnes have been dominated chiefly by the landscape, from its earliest sporadic appearance in Baroque Europe through the end of the twentieth century.

Most ancient and medieval works are atemporal in designation. For instance, the plowing of a field carved in an ancient Egyptian relief, a mythological scene painted on a Greek vase, or any number of religious narratives unfolding in fresco on the nave walls of a Romanesque church seldom indicate day or night.

The origin of the iconographic theme night may be attributed to classical representations of Selene, Greek goddess of the moon. In a second-century A.D. sarcophagus depicting the myth of Endymion, Selene steps out of her chariot and approaches a sleeping nude youth. The crescent moon appears as a crown atop her head, and a billowing cloak—a conventional symbol of the heavens—arcs and enframes her upper body. Strikingly similar in disposition is a hauntingly beautiful, standing female figure labeled *nyx* (“night” in Greek) in the miniature of the Prayer of Isaiah from *The Paris Psalter* (circa 900), a tenth-century masterpiece of manuscript illumination from the Macedonian Renaissance. Here the Byzantine artist represents night as a personification whose costume, face, exposed arms, and shoulders are conceived in monochromes of blue. As with her Roman predecessor, this figure also holds aloft the veil of the night sky, this time replete with a pattern of white dots that suggest stars.

The most celebrated instance of the personification of night came from the chisel of Michelangelo and adorns the tomb of Giuliano de’Medici in the Medici Chapel in Florence, Italy. Although this *Night* (1524–1534) lacks the grace of the earlier examples, she possesses a pathos brought on by a time-worn existence, and her fitful posture underscores the sorrow and loss of death. A late eighteenth-century drawing by Asmus Jakob Carstens, a devotee of Michelangelo’s art, carries the personified representation of night into the romantic period. Carstens’s *Night with Her Children, Sleep and Death* (before 1795), based on Hesiod’s *Theogonia* (circa 700 B.C.), includes Nemesis, Fate, and Parcae in addition to the three main figures. An ambitious, although unrealized, project by Philipp Otto

Runge executed in the early nineteenth century, *Four Phases of Day*, includes one very detailed pen and ink drawing titled *Night* (1803). The composition of slumbering children, winged genies, stars, flowers, and the moon is arranged in strict bilateral symmetry around the central figure of Night, a unique and mystical interpretation of the closing hours of day.

In the late Gothic period artists began to take an interest in setting certain religious episodes, especially those from the life of Jesus Christ, in the appropriate time of day according to biblical texts. Thus, an abundance of nocturnal Nativities (Lorenzo Monaco, Gentile da Fabriano, Jean Fouquet, Geertgen tot Sint Jans, Albrecht Altdorfer, Georges de La Tour), Annunciations to and Adorations of Shepherds (Taddeo Gaddi, Correggio, Rembrandt van Rijn), and Adorations of Magi (Boucicaut Master) lent a new dimension of realism and a heightened sense of sacred awe to Infancy cycles. Last Suppers (Pietro Lorenzetti), Arrests of Christ (Jan Joest von Kalkar), and Lamentations (Nicolas Poussin), all set at night, augmented the dramatic tension of scenes of the Passion. On the other hand, Matthias Grünewald’s star-studded nocturnal *Resurrection* panel from the *Isenheim Altarpiece* (1510–1515) presents a luminous and visionary exaltation of death. In a secular, but still reverential, manner twentieth-century artist Georges Rouault retained the nighttime atmosphere in his *Christ in the Suburbs* (1920).

Other biblical narratives employ nocturnal settings of night without Christocentric iconography. These include Ludovico Carracci’s Old Testament painting *Jacob’s Dream* (1605–1608), Hieronymus Bosch’s apocalyptic *Last Judgment* (the 1510 fragment), and the Detroit, Michigan, version of Artemisia Gentileschi’s *Judith and Her Maidservant with the Head of Holofernes* (circa 1625). Gentileschi herself, an artist of international reputation, helped to promote the powerfully dramatic, tenebrist style made famous by the great Baroque master Caravaggio. Georges de La Tour, mentioned above in conjunction with the Nativity of Christ, was the most accomplished French adherent of this seventeenth-century tradition. In works of hagiography such as Piero della Francesca’s *Vision of Constantine* from *The Legend of the True Cross* (1452–1457) fresco program and Raphael’s *The Liberation of St. Peter from Prison* (1513) nocturnal elements such as a dusky tent or a dark cell with flashes of divine or natural light are craftily employed to befit the story.

Artists have often used night settings in secular narratives for the sake of heightening dramatic or emotional content. Both versions of Francisco de Goya’s *Witches’ Sabbath*, as well as his *Executions of the Third of May, 1808* (1814), plunge figures into gloomy, sinister darkness to increase a macabre atmosphere. John Quidor’s *The Money Diggers* (1832), a painting that illustrates one of Washington Irving’s *Tales of a Traveller*, shrouds the excavators of a buried treasure with the

pitch blackness of night. As a result, the ghostly apparition of the owner, barely discernible in the upper right portion of the canvas, surprises the trio of figures as well as the viewer.

On the other hand, charm and enigma simultaneously suffuse the nocturnal imagery of Henri Rousseau's *The Sleeping Gypsy* (1897), Vasily Kandinsky's *Night* (1906–1907), Grant Wood's *The Midnight Ride of Paul Revere* (1931), and even Pablo Picasso's *Night Fishing at Antibes* (1939). Other twentieth-century works utilize night settings to fuel a psychological charge. Edward Hopper's *Night Windows* (1928) and *Nighthawks* (1942) and Alex Katz's *Self-Portrait, Portrait of Frank and Sheila Lima*, and *Hiroshi and Marsha* present discomfiting arrangements of figures in isolated thought set against dark, urban backdrops.

Night as a temporal setting in allegorical works provides visual imagery with a range of moods. Night creates a sense of indefinite mystery in Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving *The Dream of Raphael* (circa 1506), while a more intense Romantic terror results in Goya's *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters* (1799) and *The Colossus* (1808–1812). Night perpetuates a fantastic fin-de-siècle malaise in Ferdinand Hodler's *The Night* (1890), while post-World War I cruelty emanates from the dark of Max Beckmann's *The Night* (1918–1919) and Otto Dix's *Meeting a Madman at Night* (1924), an etching with aquatint and drypoint from his series *Der Krieg*.

The combined figurative and nocturnal elements in romantic and symbolist works of art lend an expressive dimension of eroticism to works such as Henry Fuseli's two versions of *The Nightmare* (1781); quasi-religious tranquillity to works such as Caspar David Friedrich's *Two Men Contemplating the Moon* (1819) and *Moonrise over the Sea* (1822); shadowy ambiguity to works such as Odilon Redon's *L'homme fut solitaire dans un paysage de nuit*, from a portfolio of lithographs entitled *The Night*; and personal, psychological uneasiness in public places to works such as Vincent van Gogh's *The Night Cafe* (1888) and Edvard Munch's *Evening on Karl Johannstrasse* (1892).

Surrealist artists who set figures in nocturnal environments include Max Ernst in *Pietà or Revolution by Night* and *One Night of Love* (1927); Paul Delvaux in *Phases of the Moon* (1939) and *Sleeping Venus* (1944); and Australian artist Max Dupain in *Night with Her Train of Stars and Her Gift of Sleep* (circa 1936). No checklist of surrealist nocturnes, however, would be complete without the inclusion of works by Joan Miró, because themes of the night constitute a major portion of his oeuvre. From the early *Dog Barking at the Moon* (1926), to the works of his *peinture sauvage* (savage painter) period such as *Nocturne* (1938), to the works of his Constellation series such as *The Nightingale's Song at Midnight and Morning Rain* (1940) and *People in the Night Guided by the Phosphorescent Tracks of Snails* (1940), to those belonging to the latter part of his career such as *People in the Night* (1950), Miró had a fondness for nocturnal iconography and, at one point, even stated that one of the most emotional moments of his life was a night flight. His paintings of the night are not dark obliterations populated with shadowy forms but dense, colorful, even bright compositions teeming with life culled from fact, fantasy, and the astral realm.

This survey of figurative night imagery concludes with a work that must be mentioned—if only to exclude it. Rembrandt's group portrait *The Company of Captain Frans*

Banning Cocq (1642), known by its more popular title, *The Night Watch*, is a misnomer.

The second category of night themes dispenses with the human figure altogether or, if it is included at all, diminishes its role to a minor level. Instead, nature becomes resplendent in the form of landscape, seascape, and skyscape—the visual vehicle through which artists render nocturnal imagery.

The earliest examples of independent landscape painting yield very little in the way of the iconography of night. El Greco's *View of Toledo* (circa 1610) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and Jacob van Ruisdael's Dresden, Germany, version of *The Jewish Cemetery* (1655) are premonitions of the grand, nineteenth-century nocturne—the true heyday for this theme.

Caspar David Friedrich, the chief exponent of German romantic painting, used the theme of night to express his deeply rooted religious sentiments. The moon, one motif that appears in almost all of Friedrich's night paintings, was for him a symbol of divine light, specifically of Jesus Christ. The small companion pieces *Moonlit Night on the Shore of the Baltic Sea* and *Moonlit Night with Ships on the Baltic Sea* both contain his favorite pictorial references to the transition from life to death—land, sea, ships, moonlight. Identical imagery recurs in the later *Sea Piece by Moonlight* and *Sea Shore with the Rising Moon* (1835–1837). In other night works, however, Friedrich's forms are more idiosyncratic: in *The Cross at Rügen*, a memorial painting for a deceased friend, an anchor emphasizes the hope of resurrection; in *Picture in Remembrance of Johann Emmanuel Bremer*, a gate symbolizes the transition between life and death; in *Greifswald in Moonlight* (1816–1817), the artist transforms his hometown into an earthly paradise; and in *The Temple of Juno at Agrigentum*, the ruins of the Greek temple symbolize death and decay. The moon illuminates objects in the darkness of night in all of these works. Yet the moon does not simply define forms in Friedrich's canvases, it also symbolizes Christ and the resurrection of the spirit after death. Carl Gustav Carus (*Gothic Church and Treetops in the Moonlight*) and Ernst Ferdinand Oehme (*Moonlit Night on the Gulf of Salerno*), younger artists who worked in Friedrich's circle, employ nocturnal imagery to present a similar spiritual content.

English painter Samuel Palmer also imbued nocturnal landscapes (*Moonlit Landscape*, 1829–1830; *Coming from Evening Church; Harvest Moon*) with deep religious significance. Figures, although clearly visible, do not dominate the painted surface but merge, like a dense patchwork, with trees, Gothic spires, and the moon. Another English painter, Atkinson Grimshaw, a contemporary of James Abbott McNeill Whistler, takes an emphatically more realistic approach to nighttime landscapes. His *Scarborough Lights* (1877) is an inviting view of a sparkling harbor, twinkling lamps dispersed among such forms as a bridge, ships, and various buildings.

French artist Jean-François Millet literally lifts the spectator off the ground to witness a comet-streaked, star-studded skyscape in *The Starry Night* (1850–1851), a work that may have inspired the lesser-known of van Gogh's two versions of the same theme.

Nocturnal imagery from the early career of Piet Mondrian shows a distinct persistence of romanticism, as if it had filtered down through the century directly from Friedrich. However, as has been pointed out, Mondrian's *Ships in the Moonlight*

(1890), *Mill by the Moonlight*, *Summer Night* (circa 1907), and *Trees on the Gein by Moonlight* owe as much to the native, seventeenth-century Dutch tradition of topographical landscape painting as they do to the more *au courant*, nineteenth-century romantic interpretations of night.

American artists of the early romantic era, such as Washington Allston (*Moonlit Landscape*, 1819) and later Ralph Blakelock (*Diana's Mirror*, circa 1880–1890), Albert Pinkham Ryder (*Moonlight Marine*, circa 1870–1890), and the tonalist George Inness (*Moonlight*, *Tarpon Springs*, 1892), exhibited a strong interest in nocturnal motifs. They transformed their moody, dark landscapes into mysterious, ethereal, elusive, and contemplative expanses.

Although the artists of the impressionist generation were mostly concerned with daylight effects on material form, a few, such as Camille Pissarro (*Evening on the Boulevard Montmartre*, 1897) and the Americans John Singer Sargent (*Luxembourg Gardens at Night*, 1879), Childe Hassam (*Fifth Avenue Nocturne*), Winslow Homer (*Kissing the Moon*), and Ernest Lawson (*Spring Night*, *Harlem River*) ventured into the darker territory of night.

The most persuasive and experimental of all the impressionists who mined this seductive theme, however, was American expatriate James Abbott McNeill Whistler. Throughout the 1870s Whistler—actually only marginally affiliated with the impressionist movement—pursued tonal rather than formal equivalents in painting and even titled the group of canvases he produced in this decade after the musical term *nocturne*. All of these landscapes unfold during the nighttime hours and many, such as *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* (1874), are so loosely painted as to anticipate the abstract innovations of many twentieth-century artists. Indeed it was this very work that critic John Ruskin vituperously attacked as “a pot of paint flung in the public’s face,” inciting Whistler’s lawsuit. Other paintings included in the series, such as *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: Bognor*, *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge* (1872–1875), and *Nocturne in Gray and Gold: Chelsea Snow* (1878), retain the vestiges of discernible, identifiable imagery, although it is the sensation of color tones that dominates the viewer’s visual experience.

Nocturnal themes attracted two very important artists of the post-impressionist period, each of whom utilized it for different ends. Van Gogh translated the iconography of night into both a curiously sensory and a uniquely spiritual expression. His *The Cafe Terrace on the Place du Forum, Arles, at Night* (1888) shows his interest in combining the artificial light of a gas jet lamp with the natural illumination of glimmering stars. In other canvases, however, such as the two versions of *The Starry Night* (1889) and *Road with Cypresses and Stars*, animated landscapes and intensely glowing celestial bodies that pulsate in writhing, undulating skies communicate a powerfully expressive, otherworldly message. In a missive written to his brother Theo (letter #543, September 1888) van Gogh stated, “That does not prevent me from having a terrible need of shall I say the word?—of religion. Then I go out at night to paint the stars.” Van Gogh was referring to the earlier of the two *The Starry Night* paintings, the one that may have been inspired by Millet in which two minuscule figures in the right foreground are seemingly less lifelike than the energetic astral bodies in the

sky above. The slightly later second version galvanizes the stars and moon into the heightened crescendo of a quasi-apocalyptic vision—the human figures are dispensed with altogether.

On the other hand, Munch initially took an impressionist tact on nocturnal landscape imagery in works such as *Banks of the Seine at Night*. Later he replaced it with broader, flatter brushwork and a psychological content that can only be described as desolate and bleak. Examples of this approach include his *Starry Night* (1893), *White Night* (1901), and *Coast at Aasgaard*.

The early twentieth century witnessed the continuity of night themes under a variety of visual identities and stylistic manifestations, typical of the era’s widening pluralistic modes. These include the frankly realistic urban landscapes of the Ash Can School artists, such as George Luks’s *Armistice Night* (1918) and John Sloan’s *The City from Greenwich Village* (1922), as well as the initial forays into abstraction executed by their contemporaries in the United States and abroad. Examples of these works include Georgia O’Keeffe’s *New York Night* (1928–1929), Arthur Dove’s *Moon* (1935), and Paul Klee’s *The Departure of the Boats* (1927) and *Fire at Full Moon* (1933).

Surrealist artists, as already noted in the figurative subcategory, displayed a strong affinity for nocturnal imagery. Even in the realm of pure landscape Max Ernst continued to favor the haunting moodiness of the night. In several of his “forest” works (1925–1927), such as *The Great Forest* and *Vision Induced by the Nocturnal Aspect of Porte Saint-Denis*, the combined techniques of frottage (rubbing) and grattage (scraping) yield forms that strongly suggest dense, vertically aligned tree trunks set against dark “skies,” with a hovering white circle to indicate the moon. Roberto Matta presents even more abstract intangibles in his *Invasion of the Night* (1941), while René Magritte’s often reproduced *The Empire of Light II* depicts a disquieting, quixotic streetscape that exists in both day and night.

Although less imagistically oriented, a number of abstract expressionist artists explored nocturnal evocations within their personal, established aesthetic. Arshile Gorky (study for *Nighttime, Enigma, and Nostalgia*) and William Baziotes (*Night Figure*, No. 1), for example, painted biomorphic shapes on dark grounds. Bradley Walker Tomlin (*Tension by Moonlight*, 1948) and Mark Tobey (*Awakening Night*, 1949) employed their hallmark calligraphic symbols on black backdrops, and Adolph Gottlieb displayed the power of simplified forms defined through bold, gestural strokes in his *Blue at Night* (1957).

Roy Lichtenstein’s *Moonlight* (1967) carries the iconography of night into the generation of the pop artists, although the theme is less common during this period than in previous eras. However, more recent movements, especially photo-realism, or new realism, reinvested nocturnal imagery with vigorous, individualized interpretations. For instance, Paul Rickert’s *Fog at the Station* is redolent of melancholy and loneliness in its sepia-toned depiction of a fog-shrouded parking lot at a commuter railway stop late at night. April Gornik’s *Pulling Moon*, on the other hand, shows the splendid life of nature that exists wholly and majestically independent of any person whatsoever.

Alex Katz, already encountered in the section on figurative nocturnes, excludes the human figure in several of his paintings

with amazingly strong results. *Luna Park*, an early work, shows a view out a window onto a body of water, a Munch-like path of moonlight shining vertically on its surface. By contrast, his later urban nocturnes of the 1980s, referred to as his “pure” night paintings, verge on the abstract. They are almost totally black save for the scattered rectangular specks of white that imply the florescent “night lights” left burning in Manhattan office towers. Some of these “pure” nocturnes, such as *Quarter Moon* (1987) and *Night I*, retain vestigial references to nature, if only in title. Others, however, such as *Varick* (1988) and *Hudson* (1988), more emphatically relate the midnight hours to the urban environment by citing specific street names.

Discussion of the night theme closes with the early 1990s new realist paintings by Richard Bosman and his “Nocturne” series (1993). These huge works, which include *Study for Meteor*, *Canis Major/Canis Minor*, *Moonlight*, *Navigator*, and *Night Web*, present the visual wonder of a star-studded, blue-black field complete with identifiable constellations and the moon. By their very scale, these works invite the viewer to enter a limitless space and to participate with the artist as he discovers and experiences harmony, mystery, beauty, and awe.

The iconography of night is rich in its variances and unpredictable in its manifestations. The subcategory of figurative scenes unfolds with imposing personifications of night during the ancient, Byzantine, and Renaissance periods. These archetypes waned—although never totally disappeared—in favor of more temporally conceived settings. However, no expected pattern prevailed as that temporality was, at first, based upon written biblical description. Later, nocturnal imagery became informed by the conditions characteristic of the modern world: mystery, terror, eroticism, malaise, isolation, and all psychological states of mind. Finally, in the second subcategory, unpopulated scenes, the range of formal possibilities extended from dark brooding landscapes or interiors to sparkling vistas of night skies that may or may not have contained terrestrial objects as visual reference points. In paintings that lack such detail, the celestial expanse offers the miraculous possibility of contemplating and exploring infinity.

See also Dawn/Dawning; Nightmare; Sleep/Sleeping

Selected Works of Art

Ancient and Medieval

Sarcophagus with the Myth of Endymion, second century

A.D., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Prayer of Isaiah in The Paris Psalter, circa A.D. 900, Paris (B.N., cod. gr.139, fol. 435v)

Gaddi, Taddeo, *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, after 1328, Florence, Italy, Sta. Croce, Baroncelli Chapel

Limbouurg Brothers, *Christ in Gethsemane*, from *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, before 1415, Chantilly, Musée Condé (fol. 142v)

Lorenzo Monaco, *Nativity*, predella of *The Coronation of the Virgin*, 1414, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Gentile da Fabriano, *Nativity*, predella of the *Strozzi Altarpiece*, 1423, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Renaissance and Baroque

Piero della Francesca, *Vision of Constantine*, from *The Legend of the True Cross*, circa 1452–1457, Arezzo, Italy, St. Francesco

Geertgen tot Sint Jans, *Night Nativity*, circa 1480, London, National Gallery

Kalkar, Jan Joest von, *Arrest of Christ*, 1505, Kalkar, Nikolaikirche

Raimondi, Marcantonio, *The Dream of Raphael*, engraving, circa 1506, London, British Museum

Raphael, *The Liberation of St. Peter from Prison*, 1513, Vatican, Stanza de Heliodoro

Michelangelo, *Night*, statue on the tomb of Giuliano de' Medici, 1524–1534, Florence, Italy, San Lorenzo, Medici Chapel

Correggio, *Adoration of the Shepherds (Holy Night)*, 1522, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Carracci, Ludovico, *Jacob's Dream*, 1605–1608, Bologna, Italy, Pinacoteca

Gentileschi, Artemisia, *Judith and Her Maidservant with the Head of Holofernes*, circa 1625, Detroit, Michigan, Detroit Institute of Arts

La Tour, Georges de, *The Newborn*, circa 1630, Rennes, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Ruisdael, Jacob van, *The Jewish Cemetery*, circa 1655, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Romanticism through Postimpressionism

Fuseli, Henry, *The Nightmare*, 1781, Detroit, Michigan, Detroit Institute of Arts

Carstens, Asmus Jakob, *Night with Her Children, Sleep and Death*, black and white chalk on beige, 1795, Weimar, Germany, Schlossmuseum

Goya, Francisco de, *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters*, etching, 1799

Runge, Philipp Otto, *Night*, 1803, Hamburg, Germany, Kunsthalle

Goya, Francisco de, *The Colossus*, 1808–1812, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

Goya, Francisco de, *Executions of the Third of May*, 1808, 1814, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Friedrich, Caspar David, *Greifswald in Moonlight*, 1816–1817, Oslo, Norway, Nasjonalgalerie

Allston, Washington, *Moonlit Landscape*, 1819, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Friedrich, Caspar David, *Two Men Contemplating the Moon*, 1819, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Friedrich, Caspar David, *Moonrise over the Sea*, 1822, Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Palmer, Samuel, *Moonlit Landscape*, 1829–1830, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Art Museum

Quidor, John, *The Money Diggers*, 1832, Brooklyn, New York, The Brooklyn Museum

Friedrich, Caspar David, *Sea Shore with the Rising Moon*, 1835–1837, Dresden, Germany, Staatliche Kunstsammlung

Millet, Jean-François, *The Starry Night*, 1850–1851, New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Art Gallery

Ryder, Albert Pinkham, *Moonlight Marine*, circa 1870–1890, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

- Whistler, James Abbot McNeill, *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge*, 1872–1875, London, Tate Gallery
- Whistler, James Abbot McNeill, *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket*, 1874, Detroit, Michigan, Detroit Institute of Arts
- Grimshaw, Atkinson, *Scarborough Lights*, circa 1877, Scarborough, England, Art Gallery
- Whistler, James Abbot McNeill, *Nocturne in Gray and Gold: Chelsea Snow*, 1878, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum
- Sargent, John Singer, *Luxembourg Gardens at Night*, 1879, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Johnson Collection
- Blakelock, Ralph, *Diana's Mirror*, circa 1880–1890, Akron, Ohio, Akron Museum of Art
- Gogh, Vincent van, *The Cafe Terrace on the Place du Forum, Arles at Night*, 1888, Otterloo, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller
- Gogh, Vincent van, *The Night Cafe*, 1888, New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University Art Gallery
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NIGHTMARE

Petra ten-Doesschate Chu

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Nightmare:

RENAISSANCE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Henry Fuseli, *The Nightmare*, 1781, oil on canvas, Detroit, Michigan, Detroit Institute of Arts, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Bert L. Smokler and Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence A. Fleischman. (Courtesy of the Detroit Institute of Arts, 1955)

The word *nightmare* is derived from *maere*, an Old English term referring to an erotic night visitor of a monstrous nature whose visits are experienced by its victims as bad dreams. A similar creature, called *mara*, appears in Teutonic folklore (cf. the German *Nachtmär* and the French *cauchemar*). Many stories from Old English and Teutonic folklore tell of infants fathered by *maeres*. Perhaps the most famous among them is Merlin, the character from the Arthurian legend. *The Conception of Merlin*, represented in a French Gothic manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, shows a diabolical monster seated on a sleeping woman's chest.

The Old English and Teutonic *maere* or *mara* had their counterparts in classical antiquity. An ephialtes (Greek) or incubus (Latin) likewise brought bad dreams, usually of a sexual nature. Their identities could range from a deity to a demon, from the reincarnated ghost of a dead person to a goat-like animal or deformed human being.

During the Renaissance, Swiss physician-chemist Paracelsus (Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim) turned folk belief into pseudoscience by integrating incubi and their female counterparts, succubi, into a classification system of monstrous creatures. Thus, they found their place between nymphs, sylphs, pygmies, salamanders, and other exotic and imaginary creatures. The male incubi caused women's nightmares, the female succubi those of men.

It is interesting to note that, from ancient times, bad dreams were related to sexuality. This seems to anticipate Sigmund Freud's theory that dreams have their origins in sexual fears, conflicts, and repression.

Henry Fuseli's painting *The Nightmare* (1782), which is known in numerous versions and copies, illustrates Paracelsus's ideas, as it shows an incubus seated on the chest of a young sleeping girl, causing her to breathe with difficulty. In most versions of the painting its effect—simultaneously terrorizing and erotic—is enhanced by the presence, behind a parted curtain, of a white horse (a mare?) with flared nostrils and wide-open eyes. Fuseli's painting operates on three different levels of reality (or, if one prefers, unreality) in that it shows the dreamer, the mythical creature causing the dream, and the dream vision combined in a single image.

A small number of other images that similarly combine dreamers and their nightmares readily come to mind, the best known of which is probably Francisco de Goya's *The Dream of Reason Produces Monsters* (1799). Here an artist (no doubt Goya) has dozed off in his studio and is attacked by a swarm of owls and bats. On the ground, a huge catlike creature may represent the demon who has caused the dream. Odilon Redon's lithograph *Marguerite Haunted by Specters* is another example of a figure haunted by animalistic monsters, although here the dreamer is not reclining but appears to be sleepwalk-

ing (a condition modern researchers have found not to be REM sleep, or a dream-conducive state). Paul Gauguin's *The Loss of Virginity* (1890–1891) is in the incubus tradition, as it shows a young naked girl about to be kissed by a fox. The same artist's *The Spirit of the Dead Watches* (1892) illustrates the close affinity between nightmares and *pavor nocturnus*, or night anxiety. The painting shows a young girl lying on a bed, rigid with fear, just as she has turned away from a dark witchlike creature behind her. In Ferdinand Hodler's *Night* (1890), which represents a landscape with sleeping couples and individuals, the central male figure is haunted by a succubus, completely covered by a black cloth, who crouches down over the lower part of his naked body. Eroticism and *pavor nocturnus* are combined here in an image that powerfully expresses the close connection between *eros* and *thanatos*.

More problematic than these images is Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving *The Dream of Raphael* (circa 1507–1508). The title of the print, which is probably apocryphal, implies that this is Raphael's dream vision. However, recent research has shown that Marcantonio's print is probably a copy of a lost work by Giorgione, which may have represented the dream of Hecuba, who, also represented in other Renaissance works (e.g., in a fresco by Giulio Romano in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua, Italy), was the mother of Paris. Shortly before Paris was born, Hecuba dreamed that she gave birth to a torch that set the city of Troy on fire (Ovid, *Heroides*, xvi, 44ff). Art historian G. F. Hartlaub, who first ventured this interpretation of Marcantonio's print, suggests that one of the two sleeping women in the print is Hecuba, the other being the image of herself that she sees in her dream—a nightmare that includes a city catching fire in the background and several monstrous creatures in the foreground.

The list of works combining dreamers and their nightmares may be expanded if we add to it the frightening visions of both saints and sinners. Among the former are the temptation of St. Anthony (depicted by artists like Martin Schongauer, Hieronymus Bosch, Matthias Grünewald, and James Ensor) and the apocalyptic vision of St. John (Hans Memling); among the latter is the gruesome vision of Salome, who, dancing before her father and his guests, sees the decapitated head of John the Baptist hovering in the air (Gustave Moreau). It is noteworthy that in these works the dreamers are rarely depicted asleep. They seem wide awake, although possibly in a hallucinatory state.

So far we have assumed that the monstrous visions of these dreamers truly represent nightmare experiences. On initial consideration, nothing would seem further from the truth. The nightmare visions presented in these works are artfully composed images inspired by a variety of literary descriptions and visual imagery found in folklore, hagiography, botanical and

zoological prints, alchemical and other occult texts and images, and so on. Dream experts, starting with Sigmund Freud, have demonstrated that, on waking, only a “dramatized” part of a dream is remembered (Freud called it the “manifest” as opposed to the forgotten, or “latent,” content), and even that part is generally long on generalities and short on detail. Moreover, dream researchers since Freud have shown that dreams are generally gray and only rarely chromatic, whereas dream and nightmare imagery in paintings often tends to be brightly colored.

Much of the imagery (by Hieronymus Bosch, Pieter Bruegel the Elder, Hans Baldung Grien, David Teniers, Francisco de Goya, and others) that has been called “nightmarish” appears on close study to be highly complex regarding its derivation. From a purely formalist point of view, however, much of it consists of the mixture of parts of different creatures. Albrecht Dürer once remarked, “If a person wants to create the stuff that dreams are made of, let him freely mix all sorts of creatures.” Dürer’s line has been related to a famous verse from Horace’s *Art of Poetry* (Epistola II, 3) that reads (in the translation of John G. Hawthorne):

Should a painter join a human head
And horse’s neck, add limbs from every beast
And cover them with multi-colored feathers
So that a lovely woman at the top
Ends in a black and ugly mermaid’s tail
When you saw this, my friends, wouldn’t you laugh?
Believe me, Pisos, such will a book
Where idle fancies, like a sick man’s dreams
Are fashioned without unity of head or foot.

To paraphrase Horace’s words, imagery that is produced by “idle fancies,” or by the free play of the imagination unrestricted by aesthetic rules and reason, is monstrous and can be compared with only one aspect of human experience: the nightmare (“a sick man’s dreams”). In art bound by classical rules, unbridled imagination is not encouraged, nor, for that matter, is it found in art that obeys the tenets of naturalism. But in periods when “anticlassicism” and “antinaturalism” predominate—the Middle Ages or the romantic, symbolist, and surrealist periods—free imagination is seen as the highest faculty an artist can possess.

If, with Sigmund Freud, we believe that dreams and free association (one of the key elements of imagination) “dredge” up repressed thoughts and images from the subconscious, then the connection between dreams and fantastic imagery becomes pertinent. That was certainly the way the surrealists saw it, as stated by the movement’s leader, André Breton: “Surrealism rests in the belief in the superior reality of certain forms of association neglected heretofore; in the omnipotence of the dream and in the disinterested play of thought.” Much surrealist imagery has a dreamlike, even nightmarish quality, and the same may be said for the work of many of their symbolist predecessors, such as Arnold Böcklin, Jean Delville, James Ensor, Alfred Kubin, Max Klinger, Odilon Redon, and Félicien Rops. Often these artists specify the importance of the dream for their work by including the words *dream* or *night* in their titles (e.g., Alfred Kubin’s graphic albums *Traumgroteske* [1908–1910, Grotesque Dream] and *Traumwelt* [1922, Dream World]). The

word *nightmare*, however, is rarely encountered in symbolist and surrealist titles.

In conclusion, we may perhaps posit that although nightmarish imagery in art is not derived from nightmares per se, it is possible that nightmares and fantastic imagery have some shared roots in the subconscious mind.

See also Dreams/Visions; Sleep/Sleeping; Witchcraft/Sorcery

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OFFERING

Erika Cruikshank-Dodd

The following motifs and cultures are covered in the discussion of the theme Offering:

DIONYSIAC

JEWISH

CHRISTIAN

SACRIFICE OF CAIN AND
ABEL

MUSLIM

GENRE PAINTING



The Fruit and the Knife, eighth century
A.D., mosaic, Khirbet el-Mafjar, Jordan.
(Courtesy of the author)

When Cain and Abel, sons of Adam and Eve, brought their offerings to God, God was said to have preferred Abel's sacrifice of an animal to the fruit of the field offered by Cain. According to Genesis 4, Cain became jealous and killed his brother. However, the unhappy demise of Abel and the inheritance of a terrible curse by the descendants of Cain did not put an end to the offering of the fruit of the field. On the first day of Sukkoth, a Jewish harvest festival that commemorates the temporary shelters used by the Jews during their wandering in the wilderness, Leviticus commanded the Jews to take "the boughs of goodly trees, branches of palm trees, and the boughs of thick trees, and willows of the brook . . ." (Leviticus 23:40). Considered in mythological terms, the inherent conflict that lies between these two kinds of offerings suggests the struggle between the herdsman, or wandering shepherd, and the settled farmer. According to fourteenth-century Arab historian Ibn Khaldun, this struggle has been repeated throughout history and has been the source of the rise and decay of civilizations. The difference between these two types of offerings illustrates a chapter in the developing consciousness of humankind.

The two different kinds of religious sacrifice, the "offering made by fire," as the Bible calls it, and the "fruit of the land," are distinguished in early Jewish history and ritual. The former is considered separately in this encyclopedia in the essay Sacrifice. This essay is concerned with offerings such as Cain's, the sacrifice of the fruit of the land, but it is evident that the distinction between the two kinds of offerings was not always so precise.

There was no distinction made between the two kinds of offerings in the early civilizations of Egypt and Mesopotamia where offerings of slaves, animals, fruits of the field, and precious objects were presented to the pharaoh, or to God, or to whomever was in authority. Later, in the classical world, offerings to cajole or appease the gods were either private, such as the conventional burning of incense or the sacrifice of an animal, or were great public ceremonies that sought the assurance of victory in war or games, or were in thanks thereof. It was not until the cult of Dionysus, the god of wine, captivated the Mediterranean world with its promise of renewal and reward that a wider vocabulary of offerings with specific symbolic connotations developed.

Offerings to Dionysus were typically from the harvest gathering, in particular the grape. By the first century A.D., the vine and grape cluster had not only become a part of Dionysian harvest celebrations, they also adorned all forms of art in the Mediterranean world and became the single most ubiquitous motif in sculpture, painting, and minor decoration from England to India. The vine motif has survived, sometimes with specific connotations, in Christian art and unconsciously in Islamic art and Indian textiles. The offering of the grape and

the cultivation of the vine were associated with the expectation of spring, renewal, and rebirth, and to the grape icon were added other rewards of the harvest, such as wheat, poppy seeds, pomegranates, and other fruity delights. For Christians, Jews, and Muslims, these fruits preserved their original pagan meaning and continued to symbolize hope for rebirth and the expectation of a life after death. Pictures of the harvest gathering—garlands of fruit, grapes, fruit-bearing trees, and other rewards of the harvest season—were chosen to adorn the sarcophagi of the later Hellenistic period, during which they conveyed a symbolic message of renewal and rebirth connected with a future life in paradise.

The development of this symbolic meaning for the offering was enormously influential and may be illustrated through a discussion of only one fruit, the ethrog (a type of citrus fruit), one of the early Dionysiac symbols of renewal and rebirth. The ethrog, along with other harvest fruits from this period, belonged to a symbolic language that was eventually understood, interpreted intelligently, and assimilated by cultures that were different in many other respects. It was almost as common as the grape vine and had an equally long and productive history.

In the first centuries of the Christian era, there were several varieties of this fruit with shapes that differed in their representations. The original ethrog was *citrus medica*, a citrus fruit with a thick, lumpy, yellow skin that resembles a lemon but is about four times larger, has a thicker skin, and is sweeter than the garden variety of lemon. It seems to have preceded the orange and the lemon and to have come into the Near East from India as early as the third century B.C. As a symbol of bounty and goodness, *citrus medica* became prominent among the offerings made to Dionysus and eventually assumed wider associations understood by Jews, Christians, and Muslims. Even in Jewish tradition today the ethrog is firmly embedded in the religious festival of the Feast of the Tabernacles, or Sukkoth, the feast of harvest and thanksgiving. It also survives in Muslim and Christian folk tradition.

One of the earliest representations of a "paradise garden," or an idyllic pagan landscape, are the magnificent gardens painted in the Villa of Livia in Prima Porta in Rome (first century B.C.). The frescoes portray trees laden with ethrogs. The ethrog is also carved among the grape vines and bunches of fruit that adorn the cornices and the door jambs of temples in Palmyra, Syria, and Petra, Jordan (first and second centuries A.D.). A third-century painted pagan tomb, at one time in the National Museum of Beirut, Lebanon, is decorated with swaths of fruited garlands, hung with ethrogs. Ethrogs also adorn garlands surrounding the moon goddess Artemis on mosaics in a villa (third century A.D.) in Chah Bahar, Iran, the home town of the Roman emperor Philip the Arabian. These mosaics are presently in the museum at Soueida, but in a mosaic still located in Chah Bahar, ethrogs are carried, along with pomegran-

ates, by the bountiful Ge, or Earth. In the later Hellenistic pavement mosaics of Apamea, Syria (third century A.D.), ethrogs are frequent ornaments.

In spite of the warnings in the Old Testament, by the second century B.C. the Jews had adopted many pagan ideas. Visions of plenty, represented by the ethrog, became a precious symbol of the Jewish harvest. As early as 136 B.C., the ethrog was formally represented on coins during the reign of Simon Maccabaeus, and in the following centuries, contemporary with the followers of Dionysus, it was liberally represented on the walls and mosaic floors of synagogues, in ornamental carvings for the synagogue, on tombs, and on coins. Ethrogs are among several Dionysiac motifs decorating the walls of the third-century synagogue of Dura-Europos, Syria. According to Jewish tradition, the ethrog was the forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden. An ethrog in a dream was also regarded as an omen that one was "precious before his maker." If a pregnant woman bit into an ethrog, it was said she would bear a male child.

Thus the ethrog acquired symbolic associations with a life after death long before the rise of the formal Christian church. What is more, in the Jewish synagogue, the ethrog also acquired associations with the other kind of sacrifice, the "sacrifice by fire." On the left side of the niche in the synagogue at Dura-Europos, the ethrog is painted prominently beside the ancient symbols of the menorah and the lulab, whereas on the right of the niche, balancing the Jewish symbols, Abraham stands holding a knife beside the altar, his son Isaac upon it. Below the altar, a ram is portrayed caught in a thicket, and in the upper corner Abraham's wife Sarah stands in a tent. This may be the earliest documented example of an ethrog depicted in association with the sacrifice of Isaac. Art historian Erwin Ramsdell Goodenough has shown that eventually the knife alone, or in a group of three, replaced the pictorial version of this scene. In this capacity the knife stood for circumcision or a symbolic child sacrifice, such as the sacrifice of Isaac. The association of an ethrog with a knife then resolved the ancient quarrel between Cain and Abel.

The vision of paradise and a future life after death was very real to early Christians, and paradise was the central theme in the decoration of their churches. Like the vine, the pomegranate, and other symbols of earthly abundance, ethrogs in *rinceaux* (ethrog trees) commonly adorn the mosaic pavements of fifth- and sixth-century churches in Israel; Lebanon; the ancient Syrian regions of Hauran and Jebel ed Druze; Aleppo, Syria; and Amman, Jordan, among others. In the National Museum of Damascus in Syria, the beautiful paradise mosaic from Um Hartain (sixth century A.D.) is planted with ethrog trees. In several of these mosaics the trees are depicted beside scenes of animals and sacrificial altars, as in the sixth-century mosaics of Khirbet el-Mukhayyat on Mount Nebo (Pisgah) in Jordan.

By the middle of the fifth century A.D., iconoclastic ideas were spreading among Jews and Christians throughout Syria and Palestine, and the replacement of the figural depiction of the sacrifice of Isaac with the symbol of the knife was a response to this movement. This image is less common in early Christian art, although it was used to decorate church pavements. It occurs among the fruit in the acanthus scrolls on a church pavement in Apamea, Syria; in the churches of Madeba in nearby Ma'in, Jordan; and in churches on Mount Nebo (Pisgah). In the latter example, the fruit is in a bowl, accompanied by one or

two knives. It appears that the symbol of the fruit and the knife was also understood by early Christians and—consciously or not—carried with it the theme of the sacrifice by fire along with the sacrifice of the fruit of the land.

The sacrifice of Isaac was particularly significant in early Christian iconography as it was regarded as a prefiguration of the Crucifixion. The language used to describe the sacrifice of Isaac acquired new, specifically Christian, meaning, just as the New Testament reinterpreted the Old Testament. While Jews had once insisted that the sacrifice by fire was preferable to the pagan sacrifice of the fruit of the field, Christians began to insist that the sacrifice of Isaac signified not the chosen descendants of Jacob, but the risen Christ.

The first Muslims decorated their buildings using an artistic vocabulary common to all three religions. The vine and the grape, as well as other fruits of abundance, appear in Omayyad mosaics to represent the rewards of the future life in paradise. The ethrog appears in abundance in garlands and on trees in the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock (seventh century A.D.) in Jerusalem and on the trees heavily laden on the facade of the prayer hall in the Omayyad Mosque (eighth century A.D.) in Damascus, Syria. Ethrogs in garlands and in baskets of fruit lavishly decorate the arches of the courtyard, appear in the soffits, and appear in the vaults of the Omayyad Mosque.

The only striking difference between these and other contemporary Jewish or Christian mosaics is that the landscapes were not filled with any breath of life nor with other symbolic imagery, such as the Christian fish or cross or the Jewish menorah or lulab. The only specifically Muslim vocabulary in these mosaics lies in their inscriptions and in their lack of figural representation. Iconoclasm as understood by early Islam firmly applied to the decoration of the mosque where the habitations of the next world were indicated, but figural restrictions did not apply outside the precincts of the mosque—in Omayyad palaces, figural decoration was as prolific as it was in contemporary Byzantine art.

On the floor of the main hall of the baths in the Omayyad palace at Khirbet el-Mafjar, near Jericho, Jordan (eighth century A.D.), there is a large geometric mosaic with no obvious representational designs, a floor pattern that conforms to the patterns on contemporary Christian and Jewish iconoclast pavements. However, at the head of the room before the throne is a single panel that portrays an ethrog with a knife. Because there is no other representational mosaic in the room, this mosaic can be attributed special meaning. If, like other mosaics of the same period, it is supposed to represent the sacrifice of Isaac, it assumes a specifically Muslim context in its palace location.

From the beginning of Islam, Muslims understood Abraham to be the founder of the Ka'aba and the first Muslim. Celebration of the Adha, the feast of the sacrifice, is the most significant feast and the most profound ritual occasion in Islam. The Prophet Muhammad proclaimed Abraham to be the "representative of the absolute primitive religion from which Judaism and Christianity have diverged and to which Islam has returned." The fruit and the knife represented in the panel of the Omayyad palace bath hall would presumably convey to both Christians and Jews in Palestine the original authority of Islam.

The meaning of the offering panel at Khirbet el-Mafjar is complicated by another story that connects the ethrog with

paradise: the story of Yusuf (Joseph) as told in the Koran and in later traditions. The story of Yusuf in the Koran is virtually identical with the story of Joseph in the Bible except for the addition of a few incidents. The neighbors of Zuleika, Potiphar's wife, were said to have gossiped about her and criticized her for her open love of the slave Yusuf. In order to exonerate herself, she invited the local ladies to visit her and, at a chosen moment, she summoned Yusuf, who appeared before them to serve them. At the sight of his beauty, the ladies cut their hands with the knives they were using to cut their fruit. Zuleika was promptly justified, an example of a lover of truth, beauty, and the divine. Yusuf was seen as an example of purity, resistance to temptation, and divine beauty. A story later arose that, before the birth of Yusuf, a tree stood outside the house in the garden of Yakub (Jacob). This tree produced a twig on the occasion of the birth of each of Jacob's sons. The tree already had 11 twigs when, on the occasion of Yusuf's birth, it did not produce a twelfth twig. Yakub prayed to God, whereupon the angel Gabriel descended from paradise and brought a twig that surpassed all the others by blossoming and bearing fruit. The Surah of Yusuf became associated with purity, beauty, justice, and with the heir to a new dynasty, the hope of future generations.

The Surah of Yusuf and the traditions connected with it would not be so attractive in the context of paradise imagery were it not for the associations already connecting the fruit of paradise with the Garden of Eden in Jewish tradition. Jewish tradition also carried the belief that the appearance of an ethrog in a dream meant that one was precious before his or her maker (as was Jacob, the father of the 12 tribes of Israel) and was associated with the birth of a male child (Joseph). For Jews, the story of Joseph and Zuleika was embellished—the fifth-century *Midrash Tanhuma* specifically states that Zuleika gave her guests citrons and knives. Islamic tradition inherited much of Jewish tradition, and this story is no exception.

Whereas the main court of the Khirbet el-Mafjar palace is properly decorated with spiritual symbols conveyed by nonfigurative motifs, the entrance to the bath hall has representations of voluptuous dancers displaying the physical delights of paradise. Separation of physical delights from spiritual pleasures is difficult in Islam, for the divine is always one, both in this world and the next. For Islam, however, the pleasures of the next world are a taste, or a reflection, of the pleasures of the next, so that in their placement at the doors of the hall the dancers anticipate the pleasures of the bath.

The bath is both a literal and symbolic cleansing agent, and water's attendant symbolism can be traced back to the first ancient bathing rituals. The position of an ethrog tree beside water in a garden stems from a long tradition that can be traced back at least to first-century B.C. Persia. A courtyard with a pool and the fruit of paradise are thought to be an earthly reflection of paradise, "the gardens underneath which rivers flow." This imagery still lives on in Arab folklore: in the gardens of the Middle East—in Damascus, Beirut, and Aleppo—the *kibbad* (ethrog) is traditionally planted beside the courtyard *birket* (pool) in everything from ordinary homes to great palaces. Six ethrog trees were planted around the swimming pool of the United States Embassy in Damascus.

Thus the image of the ethrog with the knife in the main bath hall of the Khirbet el-Mafjar palace was traditional, but along

with general associations of paradise it carried other, strictly contemporary, connotations. The placement of the panel before the throne indicated who owned the palace. The person identified by the fruit and the knife was in a position of authority, at the head of an earthly paradise that lay between this world of equals and the first Muslim. In the context of the sacrifice of Abraham and the story of Joseph, the mosaic of the fruit and the knife in the Khirbet el-Mafjar palace could be read by all who entered the hall—by Christians, Muslims, and Jews—as a proclamation of faith to the People of the Book, an announcement of the glories of future generations attributed to the person who sat on the throne, and an affirmation of the all-embracing unity of Islam.

The ethrog is only one of several offerings from the fruit of the field with a long and varied history. Although these fruits preserved something of their original symbolic content over time, their interpretations became broadened, modified, or vague. Other motifs from the repertoire of Dionysus, such as shafts of wheat, the ivy leaf, or the grape vine, have a similar history and have persisted through different cultures to this day. While the sacrificial knife connected with ethrogs dropped out of our symbolic vocabulary altogether, the same fruit that was once enjoyed by the nymphs of Dionysus still lives on in the Feast of the Tabernacles, on the pear tree at Christmas, and by the pool in the courtyard of an Arab house.

See also Abundance; Honor/Honoring; Logos/Word; Sacrifice

Selected Works of Art

Dionysiac

Frescoes, first century B.C., Rome, Prima Porta, Villa of Livia

Sculpture on temples, first and second centuries A.D., Palmyra, Syria, and Petra, Jordan

Pagan tomb, third century, Beirut, Lebanon, National Museum

Villa mosaics, third century, Chah Bahar, Iran, now in Soueida, Iran, Museum

Mosaics and acanthus scrolls, third century, Apamea, Syria

Jewish

Coins of Simon Maccabaeus, second century B.C.

Mosaics, second century A.D., Capernaum, ancient Palestine, Synagogue

Wall decorations, second century A.D., Dura-Europos, Syria, Synagogue

Stone relief, first–fourth century A.D., Ostia, Italy

Menorah stem on a bone plaque from Bet She'an, Israel, Department of Antiquities and Museums

Jewish cenotaphs depicting the sacrifice of Abraham

Christian

Mosaics, sixth century, Khirbet el-Mukhayyat, Mount Nebo (Pisgah), Jordan, Church of Saints Lot and Procopius

Mosaics, sixth century, Khirbet el-Mukhayyat, Mount Nebo (Pisgah), Jordan, Chapel of the Priest John

Mosaics, sixth century, Madaba Baptistry

Paradise mosaics, sixth century, from Um Hartain, Damascus, Syria, National Museum of Damascus
Mary and Sergius, mosaics, early seventh century, Jerash, Jordan, Church of Elijah
 Mosaics, eighth century, Ma'in, Jordan, churches of Madeba

Sacrifice of Cain and Abel

Sacrifices of Cain and Abel, bronze bas-relief, 1015, Hildesheim, Germany, Cathedral

Sacrifice of Cain and Abel, fresco, circa 1200, Sigena Monastery, Chapter House

Eyck, Jan and Hubert van, *Cain and Abel: Sacrifice and Murder*, panels over Adam and Eve in the *Ghent Altarpiece*, 1432, Ghent, Belgium, St. Bavo

Albertinelli, Mariotto, *The Sacrifice of Cain and Abel*, circa 1510, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum

Byzantine School, *Story of Cain and Abel*, fresco, sixteenth century, Mount Athos, Greece, The Laura, Refectory

Vernet, Claude-Joseph, *Cain and Abel Bringing Their Sacrifice*, before 1789, Sacramento, California, Crocker Art Gallery

Millais, John Everett, *The Rejection of Cain's Sacrifice*, before 1896, Birmingham, England, Art Gallery

Muslim

Mosaics, seventh century A.D., Jerusalem, Dome of the Rock
 Facade of the prayer hall, eighth century A.D., Damascus, Syria, Omayyad Mosque

The Fruit and the Knife, mosaic, eighth century A.D., Khirbet el-Mafjar, Jordan

Genre Painting

Monticelli, Adolphe, *The Offering*, oil on panel, circa 1865, Los Angeles, Los Angeles County Museum

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ORDER/CHAOS

Paul Grimley Kuntz
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The following iconographic narratives and motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Order/Chaos:

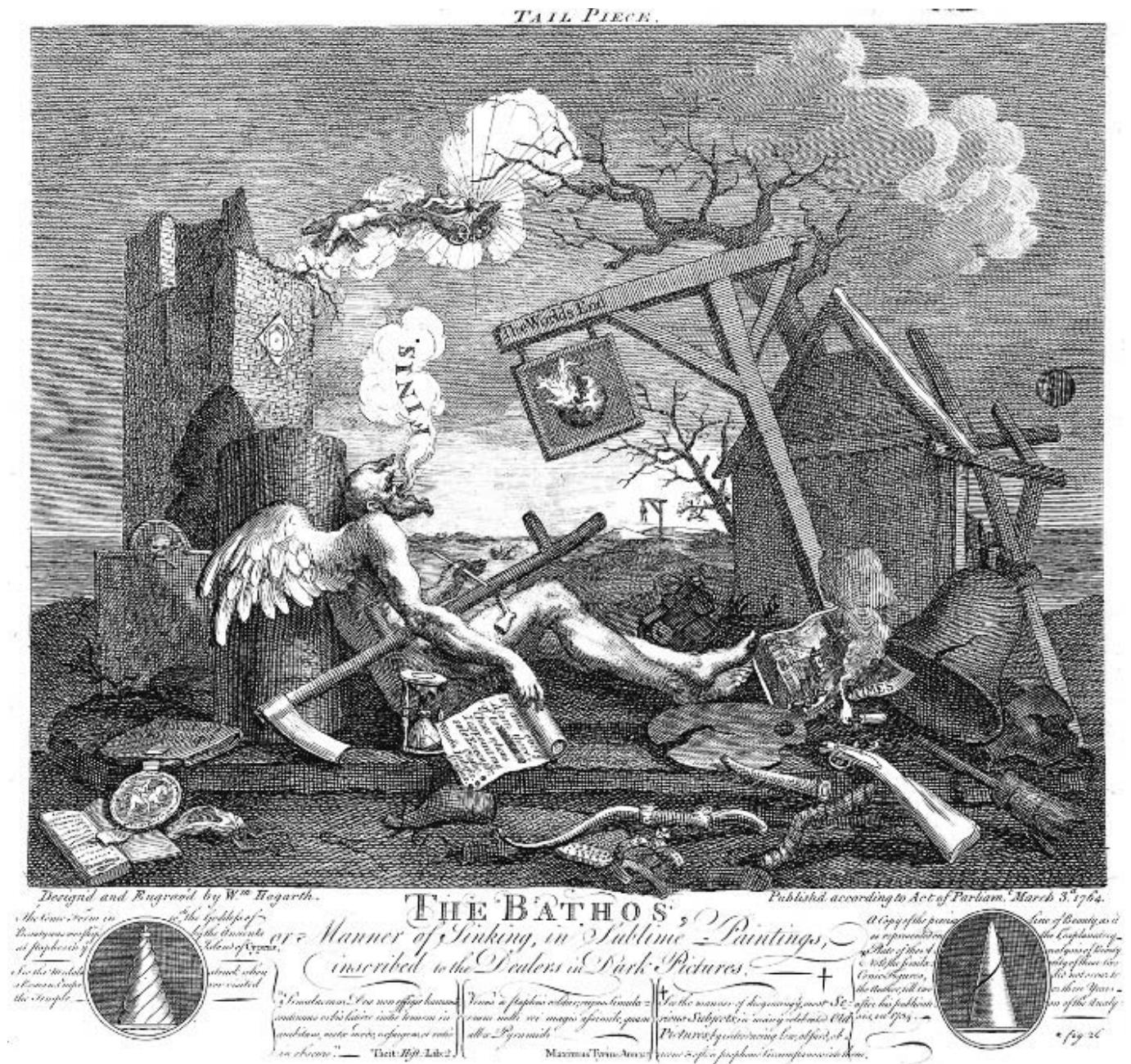
CREATION OUT OF CHAOS:
IN THE BEGINNING . . .

THE LAST JUDGMENT

APOCALYPTIC FEAR AND
MILLENARIAN HOPE

ORDER OUT OF CHAOS:
ARTIST AS CREATOR

MORAL ORDER



William Hogarth, *Tailpiece, or the Bathos*, April 1764, engraving, New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University, Lewis Walpole Library. (Courtesy of the Print Collection, Lewis Walpole Library, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut)

The traditional view is that chaos was the primordial state out of which God brought order to the cosmos. Creation was ordered into a hierarchy in which each element had its place, and human beings were at the summit. Chaos, still existing in this ordered hierarchy, would finally be rectified at the ordered division of the Last Judgment. Artists who use symbols of chance, lack of constant regularity, monsters, calamities, catastrophes, and irreversible decay call attention to what had been overlooked or believed transcended in the traditional view. Modernity revolts against this traditional understanding of the cosmos.

If this outline contrasting traditional and modern symbols seems too abstract and philosophical and seems to omit the vividly concrete works of art, compare Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel with the final etching and engraving of William Hogarth. In the frescoes, the all-encompassing scope is from Creation to the Last Judgment, from the beginning to the end of time. In a most beautiful creation, God places Adam and Eve only slightly lower than the angels and Himself. But they disobey and are driven out of paradise. The rest of the biblical story is of the righteous who were saved, as Noah from the flood, but again fell and disobeyed God. The prophets and sibyls warn of temptations and try to save the people until the divine Son of God, Jesus Christ, gives his life to ransom all peoples. The story has an ending, when, at the end of time, the righteous ascend and are lifted by titanic angels into heaven, and the wicked descend and are pulled by devils into the abyss. Thus, there is an overall design, and evil is finally overcome. We can foresee the final reordering of the human actors in this divine drama according to the cosmic judge.

Hogarth reflects ordinary life in London during the eighteenth century, as seen in the crowded streets, homes, shops, and courts. Hogarth is famous for two sequences: the *Rake's Progress* and the *Harlot's Progress*. "Progress" is retrograde. As for the cosmic vision, it survives only in his print of a sermon, in which the few persons in church fall asleep.

People strive to satisfy their ordinary natural needs. People get money and sexual satisfaction, and those who succeed are pompous and contemptuous of those who fail. Critics find the results summed up in Hogarth's final etching, *Tailpiece, or the Bathos* (1764). Hogarth mocks the sublime in painting. The scene is outside what was once a tavern, called The World's End, and the signpost leans (its symbol is the world in flames). Winged Time is exhausted and leans against a crumbling tower. Time's scythe is broken, and he has just written his last will. He bequeaths, "All and every Atom thereof to chaos whom I appoint my sole Executor." The witnesses who signed are the Three Fates. Everything is broken: the bow, the crown, the rifle, and the palette. The bell is cracked and fallen from the tower, and its clock is without hands. The tree is dead, and the gravestone has a skull and crossed bones. The source of light, the sun god Apollo, is dead in his chariot, which is drawn by collaps-

ing horses going into the clouds. A century earlier, John Donne, dean of St. Paul's in London, had foreseen a new world view and lamented in *An Anatomie of the World*:

'Tis all in peeces, all cohaerence gone.

All just supply, and all relation.

Hogarth presents profound symbols of disorder, as Michelangelo elaborates a vision from the first ordering (separating light from dark) to the last reordering in the hierarchical levels of the best, good, bad, and worst of us.

Just how much portrayals of the Last Judgment have changed over the years can be seen even more forcefully when turning to the twentieth century. Although few modern artists depict the Last Judgment literally, many use its icon in new contexts, usually that of war. Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* is one excellent example, as is Otto Dix's triptych *War*. Dix's central panel shows a "chaotic landscape of desecration" (McGreevy, p. 79), littered with corpses and ruins, where the only living figure is dehumanized by gas mask and helmet. Inspired by World War I, Dix's apocalyptic vision shows humanity destroying itself. If Hogarth embodies Donne's image of "all cohaerence gone," Dix's painting renders the lines of Irish author William Butler Yeats's description from *The Second Coming*: "Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world."

Although Hogarth's depiction of entropy seems tame next to Dix's cry of utter despair, both use images of chaos. Michelangelo's world had a perfect, divine order that allowed him to show a purposeful history of humanity. Hogarth, his faith perhaps undermined by new scientific advances, saw an impersonal universe winding down without a final purpose. Dix, who lived through the horrors of World War I, was deeply pessimistic. Where Hogarth was stripped of religion's ordering power, Dix's cynicism forces him to transform the Last Judgment into a vision of destruction that humanity inflicts on itself. Hogarth's world lacks a reassuring order, whereas Dix's world has gone mad.

Creation Out of Chaos: In the Beginning . . .

The Western vision of order coming out of disorder is constructed, in various proportions, from the Hebraic faith in a creator God and from Hellenic views. Some philosophers, such as Plato (in his *Timaeus*), require a Demiurge who shapes a world out of elements or, as Aristotle put it (in his *Metaphysics*), a being who thinks about thought. The biblical view is anthropomorphic and thus more appropriate to visual art. The story from Genesis began with an original nothing or utter waste, sometimes still called *tohubohu*, but *chaos*, from the Greek poet Hesiod, is the common name. The famous line from Hesiod was quoted by both Plato and Aristotle: "First was chaos and endless night, but then broad-breasted earth" (*Theogony*). Chaos acquired the biblical meaning of "without

form and void.” Thus, one should not be surprised that when the creation from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* was pictured, “God or Kindlier Nature” appears less like Jupiter than like Christ (Heninger, p. 15).

There are deep paradoxes in trying to visualize the invisible, to represent and imagine the condition before there was space and form. We can respect one artist, Mykola Shramchenko, who knew his Bible in Hebrew and who believed in the prohibition against making an image of the divine because it tempts people to worship what they have found in the material world or have themselves made. The artist inscribed the words “In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth” but left the page utterly blank. Pictures begin with Adam and Eve. The paradox of presenting an invisible creator with an unvisualizable chaos has a second solution, namely, to use the unpronounceable four Hebrew letters, too sacred to be uttered, and to inscribe *YHWH* on a cloud (in the English Bible, the name of God is Jehovah). Similarly, we have examples where these four Greek letters are inscribed: *XAOΣ* (Henkel and Schöne, fig. 1).

Rather than using the verbal to confess the inability to devise a visual symbol, one can take seriously the Hebrew connotation of *tohu va bohu*, the trackless waste or boundless ocean, and to picture turbulent water (although of course there was not yet any water or other matter). Chaos is, according to etymologists, “a yawning gap,” or as one translator says, “chasm” in English. In the nineteenth century, John Martin used this meaning in *The Bridge over Chaos*.

Medieval artists devised three common solutions to symbolize chaos. The first takes the word *form* in a Euclidian sense. The perfect shape was a circle, a closed figure, with every point of its circumference equidistant from a center. Therefore, a cloud, with an indefinite, irregular wavy contour, was in this sense formless, a shapeless glob of whatever. This image does well when coupled with the divine architect with a compass, which is well known through William Blake’s *God Creating the Universe*, or *Ancient of Days*, although it was a medieval tradition (Blunt, pp. 71–87). The modern word *gas* is derived from *chaos*. Gas cannot be cubical, spherical, or cylindrical. Obviously, the question of form makes sense only of solids.

Another solution is to think of the “elements,” as they were called, of the physical universe. They are, from Greek physics, earth, water, air, and fire, and they belong in this sequence from bottom to top. Naturally, a rock sinks, air rises above water, and flames go even higher. If this is the natural order, then the artist defies nature by mixing them symbolically. This is most clearly done in a symbol of chaos devised by Robert Fludd in 1617 in his *Utriusque Cosmi Historia*: “The chaos of elements at the beginning of the creation of the world.”

This may seem naive because it is a concept of element (outdated by our chemistry) that was defined by Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier in the French Enlightenment. However, even now some very sophisticated physicists, in their cosmology, refer to a “primordial soup,” for soup is simply neither liquid nor solid but both—a liquid of varying thickness with bits of various sizes floating around in it.

A third solution is to follow Moses and Hesiod in thinking of cosmos as a world in which there is light, which is, after all, a necessity for our perceiving separate things. Thus, darkness is the symbol of chaos, for we cannot distinguish one thing from another, and God utters the words that begin cosmos, “Let there be light” (Genesis 1:3). In Joseph Haydn’s oratorio *The*

Creation (1798), this commandment, sung majestically, transforms the cacophony that precedes it into music.

By no means have all the solutions been exhausted in this tradition of bringing cosmos out of chaos. In 1990, Egai Fernandez, a Philippine artist, exhibited *Creation* in the Gallery Genesis in Manila, Philippines. In a circular frame with gaseous background is a baby whose right hand shows the outline of a dove, which can be read as the spirit moving on the face of the deep and as the hope for peace (Takenaka and O’Grady, pp. 16–17).

The biblical ordering of Creation is a sequence of six “days.” During this period, there is a transition from the most general conditions, light and dark, to the summit of earthly creations, man and woman, who share characteristics with the animals but are with “spirit” or “soul” in God’s image. God “breathed into [Adam’s] nostrils the breath of life” (Genesis 2:7).

“In the Beginning” (Genesis 1–2:4)

The tradition of picturing God bringing order out of chaos can be followed in illuminated Bibles and, when Bibles were printed, in woodblocks. One medieval convention, later appropriated by William Blake, is to show the Lord of Creation as a geometer with a compass and, when the central point is fixed in the *tohubohu* of a world to be shaped, God as the cosmic architect.

Two very different sequences of the days of Creation occur in mosaic in the atrium of St. Mark’s Basilica in Venice, Italy, and in one of the four marble pilasters on the facade of the Cathedral of Orvieto, Italy, both from the high Middle Ages (thirteenth century). A cupola of St. Mark’s shows the six days of creation in six segments of the inner of three rings. These concentric circles are divided by inscriptions from the biblical story. In the first scene, the dove hovers over the swirling waters; in the second, Christ commands the yellow and white spherical sun and blue moon to shoot their rays into the darkness. The Earth also is a sphere, and angels celebrate the separation of dry land from water. With plants and animals, the mosaicist shows a love of the variety of living forms. The climax is man formed from the dust and a court scene in which the Sabbath is hallowed. The Creation continues in the second circle. The Creator, breathing his breath into Adam, is pictured as a little man with butterfly wings entering Adam. Adam is set in paradise; names the animals; and is given a helpmate, Eve. By stages, the viewer’s eye moves into the outer circle of the Temptation, Fall, and Expulsion. The embracing vision is that human history has cosmic significance (Demus, vol. 2, text and plates).

Presentation of the days of Creation is not uncommon in medieval mosaics and sculpture (Réau). A most remarkable and influential sequence is depicted on the first of four marble pilasters of the Cathedral of Orvieto. The sculpture, attributed to Lorenzo Maitani, is, in its tree-and-branches organization, related to the *lignum vitae* (tree of life) tradition, as in the north doors of the Hildesheim Cathedral in Germany. This is quite different from the Byzantine tradition of St. Mark’s. Each of four piers has the bottom row of scenes beginning the story, with five panels on either side of a vinelike tree. The branchlike arms of leaves and fruit divide the levels. The Lord of Creation is Christ presiding over a landscape with trees and birds perched ready to fly. The dove represents the Spirit, and the hand from on high represents God the Father. Thus, the three

persons of the Holy Trinity participate in the Creation. The sculptor pictures the animals as four-footed mammals and arranges them from the smallest to the tallest (a camel) in regular sequence. The Christlike creator in a third panel, the sixth day of Creation, bends over the sleeping Adam. The rest of the scenes, witnessed by heavenly messengers, as in the mosaics of St. Mark's, are of the Fall and Expulsion and the violence of Cain's murder of his brother. The second panel shows the prophets foretelling the coming of a Savior, the third his redeeming sacrifice, and the fourth the end of time—the Last Judgment (Carli; Norton).

The most famous sequence of days of Creation is from the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel in the Vatican. The Renaissance tended to revert to the earlier representation of the Creator as a white-bearded patriarch, distinctly God the Father rather than God the Son. Michelangelo compresses five days into three panels, and, as in the whole tradition (except for some of the most recent), it is the sixth day of creation, the creation of man and woman, that is the climax of the first week. God the Creator, able with His mighty arms to separate light from darkness, able by His word to bring worlds into being and to divide earth from water, shares His power with humanity. The stupendous painting of the naked youthful Adam, his outstretched hand almost touched by the finger of God, is the most familiar visualization of human dignity. No need any longer for a little winged soul, for Adam is almost as large as the Father, and no need of any story of Eve drawn from Adam's side. A most intelligent and beautiful Eve is in the embrace of God. She glances admiringly, even amorously, at her male counterpart. He has been created for her, as well as she for him.

Among other great visualizations of the Creator's acts are those of Raphael, also in the Vatican. The sixteenth-century painters bring out as never before the contrast between God visualized as above and outside of creation and pictured as within nature. Lucas Cranach the Elder shows the Father, emitting rays of light, above the outer spheres of stars and planets in *Creation of the Animals*. His arms are outstretched in blessing the Earth with humans at the center. However, Tintoretto, in his painting of the same title, shows the Creator soaring above the fish and monsters of the deep; he is with the birds. The great event requires a god who is himself active (Valcanover and Pignatti, pl. 9).

The most frequently reproduced symbol of God creating the cosmos is Blake's print *Ancient of Days*. The long white hair and beard float in the high wind, and the kneeling figure is set against a sunlike spherical source of light. The left arm of the Creator stretches down, holding a wide compass. The paradox, in Blake's case, is that the compass (used in medieval illustrations probably to ascribe to the cosmic mind the source of form, such as the circle) was also a symbol of a world laid out mathematically. Blake preferred the biblical vision to that of Newton's mathematical physics, and it is curious that a symbol precious to the Enlightenment and used by Masonic lodges should be best known in its depiction by this prophet of the romantic revolt (Bindman and Toomey, pl. 655). Blake also followed the text of the English Bible very closely to visualize each of the six days of Creation. But in the marginal panels there is this expression of joy: "When the morning stars sang together and all the Sons of God shouted for joy."

Blake, who probably knew the Bible available to him (the King James English version of 1611) better than any other

artist, coupled the six days of Creation with this text. This is the fourteenth plate of his *Book of Job* (London, 1825). In contrast to human misery is the glory of God's Creation. Throughout his book, Blake selects the texts that contrast the weakness of humanity to the beauty of the creator's work. Five human figures below are on their knees. In the middle with arms outstretched, blessing them and all creation, is the creator, and above four angels lift their arms and sing praises.

The six days of Creation are three vignettes in the left- and right-hand margins. "Let there be light," with *light* written in the midst of a sunburst; "Let there be firmament," with a sphere so designated; and finally, on the left-hand side, "Let the waters be gathered together into one place" is symbolized by the sea, and "Let the Dry Land appear" is the contoured series of mountains rising above. On the right-hand side, "And God made Two Great Lights" has a large central earth with other spheres, "Sun" and "Moon." "Let the Waters bring forth abundantly" shows a sea monster appearing from the ocean and birds flying in the air while "Let the Earth bring forth cattle and creeping things and beasts" shows prominently a cow, a lion, and so on. But the main theme is human weakness in the cosmos and in a world that humanity could not make and cannot control. The text is from Job: "Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion?" (Job 38:31) (Bindman and Toomey, pl. 619).

Exactly a century later (1926), one of the most original and popular of twentieth-century graphic artists, M. C. Escher, presented an exhibit in Venice that included his *Six Days of Creation*. A great bird flies over the surface of a sphere on the first day. It is not a dove representing the Spirit, and neither God the Father nor God the Son appears. With boldness the wild waters, massive land, and thunderclouds separate. Plants flourish, and all kinds of animals appear, among them a duck-billed platypus! Finally, instead of a bleak, hilly Earth comes the luxuriant garden. Adam and Eve, standing close together, backs toward the viewer, enjoy a spectacular view of a sea with islands under an overarching palm tree. They are black, although Eve has flowing blonde hair. Perhaps Eden has become a tropical island, a Tahiti, but it is home, with a cat and mouse, a dog, a rabbit, and a cow (Bool and Kist, pp. 104–109). Earlier, in 1921, Escher had cut a paradise in wood with a fierce tiger and lion. Between the couple holding hands sits a grinning monkey. Escher adds to the tree of knowledge an owl with outstretched wings (Bool and Kist, p. 69).

Photographer Ernst Haas linked his reading of the text of Genesis 1–2 with photographs of the elements, the seasons, and the creatures. The first edition of *The Creation* (1971) was so popular that when it sold out, the artist prepared a revised edition (1983). The significant change is that, because the book had circulated worldwide, Haas wanted to avoid the parochialism of quoting only the Old Testament story:

For the text I considered choosing creation myths from each continent, but I soon decided against that and selected only these words and sentences that had inspired me even before the first edition. (Haas, p. 8)

The photographer had spent many years in India and loved the powerful words of the Hindu text *Rig-Veda*. The other text is from the *Tao-te Ching* of Lao-tzu, which Haas carries with him on his travels. Hymn 129 of book X of the *Rig-Veda* is not anthropomorphic as is the Hebrew myth. The Taoist adoration

of the "Eternal Tao" is to celebrate "The Mother of All Things" (Haas, p. 21). The Creation may rightly be claimed for the female. Haas knew and might have quoted from Babylonian or Egyptian scriptures or from stories of the Creation by peoples without scripture, such as Native Americans (Haas, pp. 13–14). The theme is universal, but strong distinctions are made.

The photographer's interest is in the elements. In addition to earth, water, air, and fire, the alchemists induced him to consider sulfur the fifth element, and in Yellowstone Park he photographed the fantastic forms in the sulfur pits. When these and other photographs were assembled and viewed while listening to Haydn's music, Haas came to recognize that he had "photographed the creation of the world" (Haas, pp. 145–146).

One point must be made in conclusion. Escher's woodcuts of nature are without a visible God, but there was still in the Garden the conflict over God's commandment "Thou shalt not eat" and Eve's taking the fruit, heeding to the tempter, a beautiful lizard in the tree. Adam sits, holding his head in distress. There is human struggle between obedience and disobedience (Boal and Kist, *The Fall of Man*, fig. 114). By half a century later, Haas's Creation scene includes nature, only without a Creator. God is missing, as are Adam and Eve.

The Last Judgment

As the Hebrew Scriptures begin with order shaped out of chaos, so the Christian Gospels and the Apocalypse, the Revelation of St. John the Divine, bring the sacred story to its conclusion. Out of the disorder of human history will come a new order. This moral chaos must be shaped by a Last Judgment, in which the suffering saints are exalted and the prospering wicked cast down.

The hope of Israel, proclaimed by the prophet Daniel, was that God will weigh the evils of earthly kingdoms in his balances (Daniel 5:27) and send a Son of Man "with the clouds of heaven" to establish "an everlasting dominion" over "all people, nations, and languages" (Daniel 7:13–14). The judgment is not only of the living but also of the dead. "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt" (Daniel 12:2). The Creation was light shining out of darkness, and the end of time is as the beginning: "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars forever and ever" (Daniel 12:3).

The Christian Gospels identify the Son of Man as Jesus Christ, the Messiah. His return can be known by troubles, as Daniel had predicted, and Matthew adds, "The sun [shall] be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven. . . . And then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in Heaven" (Matthew 24:29–30).

Out of the hundreds of visualized Last Judgments, a few must suffice to provide the main features of these compositions. The Byzantine principle of hierarchy demands clear horizontal division between the levels. In Torcello, an island in the Lagoon of Venice, is a cathedral whose eastern wall was once covered with mosaics. On the highest level is the Christ risen from the dead, welcomed by Mother Mary and accompanied by John the Baptist, who proclaimed the coming of the Messiah.

On the level of judgment, Christ sits on rainbows in a mandorla, with saints surrounding him. Six of the 12 apostles are

on each side. From underneath the throne is a rivulet of fire that flows down to the lower right corner, shown as a hell of punishment. On the lower left is a heaven of rewards. The work of separating the "goats" from the "sheep" is administered by winged angels. We are reminded that this moral ordering is in a context of cosmic order, for the angels blow their trumpets, as on the days of the Creation. On one hand is dry land with animals and on the other water with fish. The contrast between a good angel and bad angels (devils) is clearly made in the next level down. The good holds the balances or scales, as mentioned by Daniel (weighing the souls was an ancient metaphor in the Egyptian Book of the Dead). The devils try to tip the scales with rods. The order of justice must prevail, for on the left hand (of the judge above) are the damned being tortured. In contrast to these are the elect praising God. As we get to a lower level of hell, we go from whole naked bodies in flames to dismembered hands, arms, and skulls. The garden is sharply separated by the main portal. In paradise, where grow the Tree of Life and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, sits a kindly patriarch whose throne is surrounded by children. Is this not the Jesus who rebuked his disciples for not allowing the children to come unto him (Polacco, pp. 110–114; Schulz, p. 33, pls. 26–27; Kirschbaum, vol. 4, "Weltgericht," cols. 513–523)?

Among other iconographic aspects of Byzantine Last Judgments that need to be noted is the presentation of three divine persons to represent the Trinity. A diagram of interlocking circles is perhaps more appropriate to the unity aspect of a triune God, but the judgment has to be personal rather than abstract. There may be the Father seated on his throne, holding the crucified Son in his lap, with the dove representing the Holy Spirit. Another threefold group is the succession of patriarchs of the Hebrews: Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. They are in paradise, and we are reminded of the Gospel reversal of the place of the rich and the poor: The beggar Lazarus finds ultimate comfort "in Abraham's bosom."

A third peculiarity of the Byzantine tradition is the use of an empty throne. The text is the ninth Psalm: "He hath prepared his throne for judgment" (Psalm 9:7). The psalm prophesies, "And he shall judge the world in righteousness" and also "will be a refuge for the oppressed, a refuge in times of trouble" (Psalm 9:8–9). There is also a note of mercy, with the Mother of God and the forerunner of Christ, often on their knees, pleading as intercessors that the Lord will pardon sinners. But there is still the river of fire that flows from the throne and keeps hell burning (Réau, vol. 2:II, pp. 732–736).

The most original uses of the Last Judgment in Western or Latin Christendom are in sculptures of French Romanesque and Gothic churches. Whereas the Byzantine tradition called for the decoration of the western inside wall in mosaic (or fresco), the French carved the theme into the central portal of the western facade, as in the cathedrals of Autun, Beaulieu, Paris, Bourges, and others. In the first there is an enormous Christ, as tall as the tympanum itself, a giant among dwarfs. The organizational pattern is no longer the horizontal Byzantine hierarchy of sharply divided levels but a vertical focus showing the resurrection of the dead. This becomes a familiar part of the scene, with bodies coming back to life and pushing the stones off their tombs. Then the risen men and women present themselves to be judged. The artists resisted the theologians, who claimed that in the resurrection people will lose their distinct sexual differences

and will be as angels without marriage in heaven. The risen men and women are portrayed as naked as Adams and Eves and 30 years old, the age considered perfect and that of Christ at his Crucifixion (Réau, vol. 2:II, p. 729).

The sculptor who carved the Last Judgment on the west tympanum of the Cathedral of St. Lazarus at Autun inscribed his name in the center of the composition: "Gislebertus hoc fecit" (Gislebertus made this). This is his signature, and it indicates what we think of as a self-confidence more characteristic of a Michelangelo of the Renaissance; however, written records from the twelfth century have not revealed anything about the sculptor. We know only that he worked for 10 years (approximately 1125–1135) on the sculptures for the church. He may have been trained at Cluny, France, and from Autun he went on to the church at Vézelay, France, another celebrated sculptural masterpiece.

The arch above the Autun tympanum, a half-moon, is a frieze depicting the zodiac, the months, and flowers. The horizontal lintel over the divided doorway has the damned on the viewer's right (Christ's left) and the saved on the viewer's left (Christ's right). The most noted aspects of the tortures of hell are two huge hands choking the head of one of them. The bodies are in angular poses, making the scene one of excitement. Among the saints, many of whom look up (in contrast to the damned, who tend to look down), is an angel to whom children are clinging. It is only in this bottom lintel that the just and the unjust are sharply divided.

We may wish to ask the blessed why they are happy, and the sculptor puts several arguments in stone. Some are pilgrims who wear the cockleshells of Santiago de Compostela. Others are a husband and wife holding hands (their child is freeing itself from its shroud). Only the religious are clothed (the others are as Adam and Eve before they knew they were naked). And why are the damned in hell? One is a miser with a bag of money hanging around his neck and a snake coiled around his body. A woman has two snakes biting her breasts (she has committed adultery). One is beating his barrel of wine (perhaps he is a drunk). Are these unrepentant sinners who have not asked forgiveness?

Christ dominates the full height of the tympanum, from the lintel to the top. He is in glory in a mandorla supported by four angels. At the extreme ends of this register angels with trumpets announce Judgment Day. Beneath Christ's feet an angel holds a sword, dividing the elect from the rejected. A hand from the heavens holds the scales in which a soul is judged. It is being welcomed by an archangel while a devil tries to tilt the balance; another sits on the scales.

The mother of Christ is prominent, and rather than a row of 12 apostles, Gislebertus has only 10. Two play roles in the drama. St. Peter, with the keys of heaven, and St. Paul and saints with angels help people get into a heaven, represented by arcades. The heavenly powers are kind and gentle and have fitting beauty. The diabolical powers are horrible, monstrous, and ugly. Gislebertus created, with endless detail, the message that obedience to God's commandments is goodness and beauty, whereas disobedience is evil and ugliness (Grivot and Zarnecki, chap. 2).

After the Last Judgments in Torcello's mosaics and in Autun's sculptures, the third that must be considered is the huge fresco at the altar end of the Sistine Chapel. To consider only three of thousands shows strong bias in allowing these

masterpieces to cast in the shadow a number perhaps equally worthy. A doctoral dissertation by art historian Craig Harbison lists 260 Last Judgments from the sixteenth century alone, and they tell a vivid story of an age marked by Protestant reforms, Catholic reforms, secularization, and millenarianism.

Since it was completed at the end of October 1541, Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* has challenged critics to define its order. Why? One of the earliest rejections of it was that it was only a "great stew of nudes" (Salvini, p. 245). In contrast to a composition with strict divisions between five zones at Torcello, Michelangelo presents "a unified dramatic event" (De Tolnay, p. 19). There is still a central figure of Christ, as in the Last Judgment of Autun's tympanum, but it is not a Christ in glory, in a mandorla supported by four winged angels. He is rather an Apollo, a naked Greek sun god, originally nude, and the angels are no longer winged spirits but Titans. Can this be explained as a move from a more biblical concept of the strict separation of heaven and hell to the conception of a single humanity in struggle, in a single dynamic world process?

The mighty Christ raises his right arm as a conquering hero. "The gesture draws up to him the Elect and at the same time catapults the Damned into the abyss" (De Tolnay, p. 24). A mass of figures ascend, and another mass of figures are thrust downward. There must still be in this cosmic movement an up and a down, for the apostles are on the clouds above, and down below is the underworld with the bark of Charon, who transported the departed over the Styx in the pagan underworld. With the divine power in the center and organization around him as the sun, the pattern is circular. We can feel "circular streams of figures revolving" (De Tolnay, p. 30). The "dynamic currents" are not seen from any specific point but from beyond Earth; the drama is played in infinite space. It is from within human experience that the cosmic rhythms are grasped. The biblical story of the end of the world comes from prophets who warn that it will come as a surprise to those who are unprepared for the return of Christ. Michelangelo captures the surprise and violence (De Tolnay, p. 44). The purpose of the Last Judgment of Michelangelo was not different from many others: to stir the conscience of the beholder, but to do this as a "reawakening of man's cosmic awareness" (Salvini, pp. 232–261; De Tolnay, pp. 19–50, 98–128).

Apocalyptic Fear and Millenarian Hope

Albrecht Dürer's *Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* is a symbol expressing the worst fears of humanity: war, famine, plague, and death. Edward Hicks's *Peaceable Kingdom* is a symbol of harmony and happiness. They demand our attention because the Last Judgment is not the only version of the end of history. The Last Judgment combines into one vast cosmic drama the fear of those whose sin and lack of atonement may plunge them into hell and the hope and trust of the righteous and repentant that they will find their treasure in heaven. Edward Hicks gained from the Bible a zeal to see peace on Earth and the American faith that we are building the kingdom of God, placing himself in the same tradition in which Dürer stood: the prophetic Judaism that generated Christian faith (Rossi, cols. 788–831, pls. 449–468).

Dürer issued his *Revelations of St. John* (1498) in both German and Latin. Fifteen scenes are full of the fantastic iconographic symbols of the Apocalypse: the seven candlesticks, the

breaking of seven seals, a seven-headed dragon, the woman clothed in the sun, and the whore of Babylon. The print of the four horsemen is the fourth in the Dürer series. The text is from the last book of the Christian Bible, the Revelation of St. John the Divine. It is sometimes called the Apocalypse, but it is one of many. The Book of Daniel in the Hebrew Bible is the Jewish appeal to God to avenge the pagan oppressors. Revelation is a Christian burst of anger against the Roman persecutors.

Hicks opens his Bible to the prophecies of Isaiah. The righteous judge cares for the poor and the meek, and the messianic age gathers the scattered Israelites under an ensign to which gentiles also flock. Then the peace and harmony of paradise are restored:

The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them. (Isaiah 11:6)

That God's love can transform nature into an ideal state was the message. Hicks, faithful to scripture, cares that each animal should be present in his words and images. Sometimes he rendered scripture into verse and painted lines on the four sides of the frame.

The point about Creation is that then "innocent nature reigned." Hicks painted a child with a ribbon inscribed "innocence, meekness, liberty" (Ford, ill. 36). With the child is an American eagle. Edward Hicks was as able an iconographer as he was a painter. A discourse given in Goose Creek Meeting at London, Virginia, in February 1837 does more than elucidate *The Peaceable Kingdom*. It serves also to tie together the whole theme of bringing order out of chaos.

Hicks honored the Creator's glory. Adam was so created, but in Eden the Fall signified that, through Adam, "the animal man became a slave to that cruel, selfish nature emblematically described by the wolf, the leopard, the bear and the lion." Adam lost the "innocent, angelic covering of God's righteousness." He could not hide his nakedness with a fig leaf and wore "skins of beasts." "The lamb, the kid, the cow, and the ox are emblems of good men and women . . . [who] would dwell harmoniously together." Abel was a lamb and Cain the wolf. The wolf would destroy the lamb, and the fierce animals would destroy each other.

Something has gone wrong with people who received "dominion over the work" of the Creator. Humans were meant to be superior to all other animals, to be "a little lower than the angels." But because they are composed of earth, air, water, and fire (the four elements), they are like a single, predominating element. If earth rules, the human is as a wolf, a money-mongering usurer and a would-be suicide. This human is melancholic and, unlike a lamb, wants "education, fame, and speculation." If air predominates, the human is sanguine, a leopard, "the most subtle, cruel, restless creature" although also "most beautiful of all . . . the cat kind." The male, a "beautiful monster," robs "the poor negatively innocent females of their virtues." Sanguines are also overfond of "gaiety, music and dancing, taverns and places of diversion." Even female leopards tear "their friends to pieces." If water dominates a human, he or she is as phlegmatic as a bear: "cold, unfeeling, dull, inert and beastly." The bear becomes very fat, retires to its den, curls up in bed, and lives by sleeping. If fire predominates, the human is as choleric as the lion. Then he or she is proud and intellectual—a would-be leader. One of the apostles,

St. Paul, was in part malignant and a persecutor. "The voracious, cruel Lion ruled in him," but there came a vision, turning him into the opposite, an ox.

What gives hope is the conversion or transformation of the human from the lower animal nature to the higher. Love converts the fierce into the gentle. The sermon concludes with this iconographic message:

May the melancholy be encouraged and the sanguine quieted;
may the phlegmatic be tendered and the choleric humbled.

May self be denied and the cross of Christ worn as a daily garment.

May his peaceable kingdom forever be established in the rational, immortal soul.

Then will be fulfilled the prophetic declaration . . .

(Ford, pp. 85–88)

Order Out of Chaos: Artist as Creator

One would expect Michelangelo, the preeminent artist-genius of the Renaissance, to shun chaos. After all, he believed he was completing the divine task of creating the world. Unlike earlier artists who were limited to mere making or imitating, the quasi-mystical figure of the Renaissance genius could actually create (Janson, p. 436). The artist's task was to give form to whatever chaos was left, and Michelangelo took this mission very seriously. Most of his work represents a height of order not achieved before or since.

Several of Michelangelo's last sculptures, however, mark a strange departure from the perfectly fashioned works that had gone before. Possibly influenced by recent discoveries of fragments of ancient Greek and Roman art, he left these late sculptures incomplete: smooth, finished marble alternates with tracts of rough, unpolished rock. Although there is historical evidence that some of these were left unwillingly because of external reasons, the artist considered several of them. It is hard to imagine how he could have improved even the ones he intended to work on further; Henry Moore has called the *Rondanini Pietà* "one of the greatest works of Michelangelo" (Hodin, p. 35). In the words of Marcel Duchamp, these works had reached their "definitive stage of incompleteness" (Tomkins, p. 80).

In these haunting sculptures (especially *Awakening Slave*, *St. Matthew*, and the *Milan* or *Rondanini Pietà*), Michelangelo leaves large sections of stone unformed. Figures partially emerge from the rock and are partially swallowed back into it. The master appears to be meditating on the role of the artist in an inchoate world. Without the perfect order of Eden for guidance, the artist is constantly engaged in a fight or dialogue with chaos. In the boundless confidence of the Renaissance genius, he portrays himself as victorious over the encroaching chaos; he calls forth a form from the raw stone and keeps the entropy of the world at bay.

Auguste Rodin continued this same dialogue between chaos and creativity in his *Hand of God*, in which a divine hand, "emerging from rock, chaos, clouds" (de Caso and Sanders, p. 71), forms man and woman out of inchoate stone. Art critic David Rosand examines this relationship in detail: "If the artist, mimic of God, creates like nature, it is not in his finished products that we recognize the analogy . . . but rather in the

very processes of creation” (Kritzman, p. 21). Thus, the unformed sections actually heighten our awareness of the artist’s power to form.

The background chaos serves to emphasize the artist’s heroic act of imbuing the raw material with order. St. Matthew being called forth from the surrounding chaos reminds one of the opening of Ludwig van Beethoven’s *Ninth Symphony*, when the composer (who was Michelangelo’s musical analog in many ways) summons an earthshaking theme from swirling mists of sound by sheer force of will. However, to take on this new role of artist-genius, Michelangelo had to acknowledge chaos as no previous artist did. Chaos plays such an important part in the creator’s quest that it remains an important element of his completed work.

The notion of artist as tamer of the world’s disorder became less feasible as time passed. Ironically, although in modern times understanding and power over the world has increased radically, confidence in ourselves as capable of controlling or understanding it has greatly diminished, having reached its nadir in the twentieth century. As a race, human beings no longer consider themselves masters of the forces they have unleashed; instead of omniscient God forming the world out of chaos, the dominant myth of the twentieth century was Pandora, clumsily freeing evil spirits with little hope of ever putting them back in their place.

Marcel Duchamp is in many ways the clearest enemy of the Renaissance artist-genius. In his famous 1919 *L.H.O.O.Q.*, he drew a mustache on a reproduction of the *Mona Lisa*, Leonardo da Vinci’s quintessential work of the High Renaissance. Duchamp is rebelling against the heavy burden left him by the Renaissance—creating perfectly ordered, beautiful paintings. To the modern artist, this kind of art no longer seems honest. Although Duchamp bitterly ridicules what he sees as the overweening pride of these earlier artists, underlying this bitterness is a layer of nostalgia for a time when artists could see themselves as participating in divine creation. In the secular twentieth century, the world is irreducibly chaotic, and art is powerless to order it.

Duchamp also invented the “ready-made,” a mundane object such as a bottle rack, snow shovel, or urinal that is transformed into art simply by an artist’s signature. This approach, continued later by Andy Warhol and other pop artists, tries to break down the distinction between art and “mere things.” This breakdown can be seen as the elevation of everyday objects to art, reminiscent of John Cage’s definition of music as “all sounds.” As Jean Arp, a prominent dadaist, says, “We declared that everything that comes into being or is made by man is art” (Tomkins, p. 58). Another interpretation of this breakdown is the degradation of art. As Ecclesiastes and the postmodernists claim, there is nothing new under the sun. Any creation of an artist is ultimately just a reworking of already present things. If true originality is impossible, then art is merely signing one’s name to something already existing. Duchamp’s ready-mades, as much as his *L.H.O.O.Q.*, confess his feeling of artistic impotence.

Duchamp’s ready-mades took a different turn in a new form of art: the collage. In these works, which include Pablo Picasso’s and Georges Braque’s early cubist paintings and many of Kurt Schwitters’s works, the artist puts bits and pieces of rubbish on a canvas in new relationships to each other.

We have here the exact opposite of Michelangelo calling forth a new form from stone. We have regressed to Adam’s

weak position of simply labeling what exists without any creative powers. What restricted Adam in Eden was the perfection around him, but now it is the intractable chaos of the world that strips away artistic power. In four centuries, the artistic attitude has gone from the mastering of chaos to helplessness in the face of it.

Unlike Duchamp’s lack of faith in our ability to order the world, cubism challenges the very idea that we naturally try to order the world. Cubism, which tries to capture the subjective way we experience the world, portrays a jumbled cacophony of planes and shapes shown from various points of view at once. The cubists seem to be saying that Aristotle’s static rules of unity and stability have nothing to do with the world or with how we experience it. The world actually appears as a chaos of shapes, materials, and meanings, in William James’s words, “a bloomin’, buzzin’ confusion.” The cubist lays bare the chaos that always lies under the thin veneer of order that habit has painted onto it.

Surrealism continues this effort to display the chaos of our experience. The bizarre works of the surrealists anticipate Albert Camus’s definition of the absurd as the human demand for rationality and order clashing with the lack thereof in the world (Camus, p. 16). René Magritte’s *The Unmasked Universe* portrays a landscape where the sky has fractured into sharply angled blocks and the grassy field is marred by bare spots and a large ditch. The sole artificial element, a two-story house, lies rotten and partially fallen in. Once we unmask the universe, Magritte says, we find radical discontinuity, and our attempts to construct order out of it are doomed to fail. Marc Chagall’s *I and the Village* concentrates on the temporal disorder of experience. There is no frozen, captured instant here as Aristotle demands of art, exemplified by Jan Vermeer. Instead, memories and anticipations crowd the canvas, blurring the line between past, present, and future. The largest figures, the boy and his horse, loom over and inform the rest of the painting, just as a vivid memory dominates one’s thoughts.

The art form that deals most directly with chaos is abstract expressionism. Pioneered by Wassily Kandinsky and taken up most famously by Jackson Pollock, these works dispense with representation entirely. Going a step further than the cubists, these painters do not even have *distorted* shapes at their command. Instead, they immerse themselves in the simplest elements of painting (lines and color) without the stabilizing influences of coherent forms. Elements of their paintings dynamically engage one another in flashes of energy in an attempt to capture the naked face of chaos itself. These painters represent the most extreme examples of channeling chaos rather than using any obvious techniques to master it. They claim, along with Friedrich Nietzsche, that “the total character of the world . . . is in all eternity chaos” (Nietzsche, p. 168).

A very different direction is taken by Piet Mondrian, whose works portray pure order, a harmony of lines and colors unmarred by any representation. Mondrian wants to seal off his paintings from the chaotic influences of reality, to create a clean, hermetic order. Like Kandinsky and Pollock, he feels that the world is in a permanent state of chaos, triumphing over it only by abandoning it. Mark Rothko achieves a more human order in his color field paintings. Instead of Mondrian’s neurotic sharp lines and inhuman blocks of color, Rothko creates a soft, earthy peace with harmonious interplay between two organic shapes of soft color. He rejects representation without losing his humanity.

An interesting late twentieth-century example of this rebellion against the Renaissance masters is Mark Tansey's postmodernist *Triumph over Mastery II*. A shadowy figure leans backward from a ladder whitewashing Michelangelo's *Last Judgment*, perhaps preparing it for a Kazimir Malevitch or Mark Rothko treatment. At first, this seems an unimaginative imitation of Duchamp's *L.H.O.O.Q.* On closer inspection, however, it turns out that the man is painting over his own shadow as well as the ladder's shadow. Perhaps Tansey is warning of the dangers inherent in attacking earlier styles. As a postmodernist but also a critic of postmodernism, he harbors as much suspicion of the artist as creator *ex nihilo* as anyone. However, his solution is not to reject completely other styles or artistic attitudes but to appropriate them for his own purposes. Although Michelangelo's self-conception is not literally accessible to a late twentieth-century artist, Tansey can take it and use it in a new way. This is postmodernist creativity: reordering other artists' attempts at order.

Salvador Dalí's *The Persistence of Memory*, with its famous limp watches and exaggerated distances, questions the fundamental organizing forms of reality: time and space. Whether Dalí knew of Albert Einstein or not, this work has the same effect on the intuitive understanding of the universe as relativity. It shatters many of the fundamental assumptions structuring an understanding of the world, such as the Newtonian stability of time and space and the universe's adherence to Euclidean geometry. Duchamp expressed this new distrust of science with his *Unhappy Readymade*: "a geometry textbook . . . hung from the balcony of [his sister's] Paris apartment so that the problems and theorems, exposed to the test of wind, sun, and rain, could get the 'facts of life'" (Tomkins, p. 78).

Artists were exploring and embracing chance at the same time as scientists, but for different reasons. Jean Arp wrote, "Intuition led me to revere the law of chance as the highest and deepest of laws" (Tomkins, p. 58). Marcel Duchamp created an entire system of science called "playful physics," which embraced the "adage of spontaneity" as one of its laws. He derived his standard unit of measurement by dropping pieces of thread one meter long onto a canvas from a height of one meter. He bonded them onto the canvas and had rulers made that matched the shapes of the dropped thread perfectly (Tomkins, pp. 33–35). This incorporation of randomness into art was taken up by many musicians, most famously by Karl Stockhausen and by John Cage in his "aleatory" or chance music. Trying to explain his bewildering pieces, Cage claims that art should not be "an attempt to bring order out of chaos nor to suggest improvements in creation" (Meyer, p. 176).

Moral Order

When God walked the Earth, God anchored human morality. A virtue was good because it enjoyed divine approval, and a vice was evil through divine rejection. However, after expulsion and secularization, God cannot serve as arbiter or authority, so humans must take up this role. As French literary critic Henri Peyre says, "Man will set himself up as the creator of values, in the place of an absent or silent God" (Sartre, p. xv). Humans can no longer appeal to God as witness and punisher of atrocities. Just as they assumed the role of creator, so they must pass judgment on themselves, and just as artists took the lead in creating, so they have been humanity's greatest judges, creating a new genre of art: social protest.

Traditional Christian art could rely on the Last Judgment to sort out the sinners from the saints; all would get their just deserts in the end, even if injustice reigns on Earth. This idea of retroactive justice at the end of time became more suspect as time went on. To the modern conscience, particular evils are more real and vivid than divine harmony, and the artist became the conscience, protesting these evils.

Although pioneered by William Hogarth, social protest art reached maturity in the nineteenth century. Two important nineteenth-century participants in this field were Francisco de Goya and Eugène Delacroix. Goya's *The Third of May, 1808* presents a tremendously powerful scene of horror. As art historian H. W. Janson comments, "The picture has all the emotional intensity of religious art, but these martyrs are dying for Liberty, not the Kingdom of Heaven; and their executioners are not the agents of Satan but of political tyranny" (Janson, p. 602). The very title of the piece, a specific date, places the scene squarely in history; it has happened, and no higher harmony can ever erase it. An injustice has occurred, the artist is crying, and it will always have happened. Goya's image held so much power that both Édouard Manet, in *Execution of the Emperor Maximilien*, and Picasso, in *Massacre in Korea*, appropriated it. Delacroix contributed *The Massacre at Chios*, protesting the slaughter or enslavement of 20,000 innocent bystanders. His use of "feverish convulsive drawing and . . . violent coloring," in the words of novelist and art critic Théophile Gautier (Fleming, p. 375), had great influence on expressionism.

As powerful as these works are, the twentieth century added a new dimension to this genre. The world wars surpassed anything in human history for sheer destruction. World War I was made absurd by the generally acknowledged lack of a true cause as well as by the massive slaughter suffered to gain minuscule advances in trench warfare. World War II produced the horrors of the Holocaust. The atrocities of the war had so destroyed the world's order that even language fell away. As Marcel Janco, a dadaist, said of the time, "Who on earth, in those days of collapse, was still ready to believe in 'eternal values,' in the 'canned goods' of the past" (Tomkins, p. 70)?

In the nineteenth century, protest artists could contain the atrocities they witnessed within the confines of traditionally formed art. The events experienced were tragic but comprehensible. Twentieth-century protest art, on the other hand, was shaken to the core by what it saw. The scale of horror so far exceeded anything known before that the artist was all but struck dumb.

The vast scope of outrage felt by these artists forced them to find radically new modes of communication. Two German expressionists who protested their country's actions deserve attention. The first is George Grosz, a man "enraged and furious at the injustice, narrow-mindedness, and deceiving impudence of those he portrays" (Sabarsky, p. 8). Grosz combines the savagery of expressionism with the disorientation of cubism in his bitter caricatures of Berlin. Grosz was inspired by the cartoons of Honoré Daumier, although Daumier's satires look positively benign and generous compared to Grosz's work. *Explosion* uses cubist technique to exaggerate the force of the explosion in the painting. The entire world is blown out of its normal orbit. The distortion of form shows that the physical destruction of Berlin took its correlative toll on the artist's mind. All means of ordering the world disintegrate along with the city's buildings. In *Germany, a Winter's Tale*, a timid citizen sits at the center of the painting while all around him swirls a

chaotic mess of figures and shapes that threaten to engulf him at any moment. Unlike the natural stone that tried to swallow up Michelangelo's sculptures (a relatively benign entropy), Grosz portrays civilization as the true threat, and it is winning.

Max Beckmann, who is closer to surrealism than to cubism or expressionism, is perhaps the greatest artist to comment on the horrors of the two world wars. Art historian Stephan Lackner has called Beckmann's early masterpiece *The Night* "surely one of the most gruesome pictures ever painted." He contrasts it with traditional religious depictions of suffering:

Torture and pain are often represented as the just deserts of sinners tumbling into hell, and the roasting and beheading of saints are depicted to serve the greater glory of God. But Beckmann sees no purpose in the suffering he shows; there is no glory for anybody, no compensation, no gloating over justice accomplished—only senseless pain, and cruelty for its own sake. (Lackner, p. 56)

The victims do not deserve their torture, and the torturers will go unpunished. Such is one man's vision of a world with no moral order.

Beckmann's later *Birds' Hell* depicts Nazi Germany in a surrealistic style reminiscent of Hieronymus Bosch's treatment of hell in *The Garden of Earthly Delights*. This Kafkaesque hallucination (with an apparent allusion to Franz Kafka's story "In the Penal Colony"), however, is a human creation and thus a human problem.

One of Beckmann's greatest works is the triptych *Departure*. The two side panels contain images like those of *The Night*. In the artist's own words, "life is what you see right and left. Life is torture, pain of every kind—physical and mental" (Lackner, p. 88). The hideous depiction of life here is reminiscent of O'Brien's "picture of the future" in George Orwell's novel 1984: "imagine a boot stamping on a human face—forever." The center panel, however, represents a rare occurrence in Beckmann's oeuvre: peace. Heroic figures "have freed themselves of the tortures of life" (Lackner, p. 88) and sail out onto a calm, clear sea. Like Mondrian's assessment, Beckmann has judged the modern world hopeless and incorrigible; the only solution is escape. Still, he continues to protest, which betrays some small hope that we can change.

Now we come to what is surely the twentieth century's greatest work of social protest and what may be its greatest work in any genre: Picasso's *Guernica*. This enormous painting, called "a fervent prayer against violence, barbarism and cruelty" by the catalog written for its installation in the Prado at Madrid, Spain (Boudaille, p. 108), decries the destruction of a defenseless Basque town as a training mission in the first saturation air raid of the century. Like Grosz, Picasso uses the disorientation of cubism with the distortion of expressionism to convey the reality-destroying shock this atrocity evoked in him. As Janson says, "The anatomical dislocations, fragmentations, and metamorphoses . . . express a stark reality, the reality of unbearable pain" (Janson, p. 686).

José Clemente Orozco, a Mexican muralist, created some very powerful protest art, such as his *Gods of the Modern World*. The title, of course, shows its ties to the thesis that humans, in this case academics, have assumed the role of gods for the modern world. Orozco vividly portrays his belief that humans have ruined what they had the audacity to rule. These academics are skeletons witnessing a skeletal mother giving

birth to a tiny skeleton. In this painting, Orozco uses biblical icons in an astonishing way. Adam and Eve were expelled from the Garden of Eden's perfection but recompensed with the ability to create, symbolized most evocatively in Eve's ability to give birth. Orozco depicts academics, the people who have fed most fully on the fruits of knowledge, as emaciated down to their bones, and woman's great act of creation, the creation of life, yields only skeletons.

Conclusion

For the traditionalist, order out of chaos is a formula that defines good coming out of bad, the direction in which the process ought to go. One way for the conservative to praise an artist is to characterize the artist as a friend once characterized Lord Tennyson: "Alfred is always carrying around a bit of chaos and turning it into order." The order of the traditional world provides a unifying framework for artists to communicate; icons have certain set meanings and can be used unequivocally to express determinate ideas. This framework provides the necessary order and stability for true art to take place. This view seems to be held by more conservative contemporary artists such as Norman Rockwell, Edward Hopper, or Andrew Wyeth, who tenaciously cling to representational styles.

Robert Frost succinctly expresses this thought in his short poem called "Pertinax." Frost uses an obsolete word for stubborn and the root of pertinacious.

Let chaos storm!
Let cloud shapes swarm!
I wait for form.

By portraying chaos as a storm, Frost claims that it is a passing unpleasantness. One should neither fight nor support it but just wait it out; the world will eventually regain its order and its sanity.

For the modernist, chaos out of order is a formula that defines the direction in which the process ought to go. Chaos is the truer characterization of modern life, and it allows for greater creativity. The modern artist views traditional iconography as suffocating and exhausted; the icons handed down are like coins with their markings worn away by too much handling. True artistic expression must be personal rather than borrowed from a public language.

The modernist revolution has been an iconographic Tower of Babel: From a single accepted iconography dominant in the Middle Ages, a cornucopia of personal symbols has exploded. This fracturing creates a chaotic din of ephemeral "isms," radical styles dying out as soon as they stabilize. This mode contrasts with the glacial movements of the past. Many modernist artists feel compelled to create their own languages to say something new.

Perhaps the most extreme examples of this position are the dadaists, who scorned and mocked traditions as completely irrelevant to the shock of twentieth-century life. Language must be reinvented to express what these artists saw. Twentieth-century icons exist, but they are individualistic icons tied to a single work or artist. We can speak of Picasso's *Guernica*, Paul Cézanne's Mt. St.-Victoire, or Vincent van Gogh's sunflowers, which have resonance as modern icons. Instead of a public, shared iconography that requires and presupposes a meaning-imbuing order, modernist artists express the chaos of their

times in their own ways, resulting in a bewildering flurry of styles. Many people today object to modern art as a product of madness, an effort to shock sanity and decency, or a bad joke.

The twentieth-century writer Tom Stoppard offers a more post-modern suggestion in his novel *Lord Malquist and Mr. Moon*: "Since we cannot hope for order, let us withdraw with style from the chaos." Like Mark Tansey, Stoppard derives wry humor from the chaos and from human efforts to contend with it.

We have painted with too broad a stroke, however. Although artists and critics inhabit the extremes, this picture of two opposing camps under the respective banners of order and chaos is much too simplistic. As always, the majority lands somewhere in the middle. Indeed, there can be no true instance of pure order or chaos in an artwork. To hold the viewer's interest, a work must have the tension that results from the seed of disorder; no matter how completely resolved, there must be some chaos. The mere act of artistic presentation gives some order to the wildest, most chaotic work. Even the work of Jackson Pollock, whom we have represented as coming closer to grasping pure chaos than anyone else, evinces dominant shapes or patterns that lend it some degree of stability (Rohn). Although a general shift of emphasis occurs in the twentieth century, every great piece of art represents the vital interplay between order and chaos.

See also Apocalypse; Damned Souls; Fortune; Logos/Word; Zodiac

Selected Works of Art

Creation Out of Chaos: In the Beginning

Scenes from Genesis, atrium mosaic, circa 1200, Venice, Italy, St. Mark's Basilica

Maitani, Lorenzo, four marble facade pilasters, circa 1320, Orvieto, Italy, Cathedral

Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, *Creation of the Animals*, woodcut, sixteenth century

Tintoretto, Jacopo, *Creation of the Animals*, oil on canvas, 1550–1553, Venice, Italy, Gallerie Dell'Accademia

Fludd, Robert, "The Chaos of Elements at the Beginning of the Creation of the World," from *Utriusque Cosmi Majoris Scilicet et Minoris Metaphysica, Physica Atque Technica Historia*, Oppenheim, Germany, 1617–1619

Blake, William, *God Creating the Universe or Ancient of Days*, color over relief-etched print, 1824–1827, Manchester, England, Whitworth Art Gallery

Martin, John, *The Bridge over Chaos*, mezzotint, nineteenth century, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Houghton Library

Burne-Jones, Edward Coley, *Days of Creation*, six panels, before 1877, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum

Watts, Frederic, *The Sower of Systems*, 1902, Compton, England, Watts Gallery

Escher, M. C., *Six Days of Creation, Adam and Eve*, woodcuts, 1926

Shramchenko, Mykola, *In the Beginning . . .*, 1962, New York, Ivan Obolesky

Haas, Ernst, *The Creation*, revised edition, New York: Viking Press, 1983

Fernandez, Egai, *Creation*, 1990, Manila, Philippines, Gallery Genesis

The Last Judgment

Gislebertus, *Last Judgment*, bas relief on west tympanum, circa 1130, Autun, France, Cathedral

Giotto, *Last Judgment*, fresco, after 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, *The Last Judgment*, oil on wood, sixteenth century, Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, fresco, 1534–1541, Vatican, Sistine Chapel

Picasso, Pablo, *Guernica*, oil on canvas, 1937, New York, Museum of Modern Art

Dix, Otto, *War*, triptych, before 1969, Dresden, Germany, Neue Galerie

Apocalyptic Fear and Millenarian Hope

Dürer, Albrecht, *Die Heimliche Offenbarung Iohannis* or *Apocalipsis cum Figuris*, including *The Four Riders of the Apocalypse*, woodcut, 1498

Hogarth, William, *Tailpiece, or the Bathos*, etching, 1764, New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University, Lewis Walpole Library

Hicks, Edward, *Peaceable Kingdom*, oil on canvas, circa 1830–1840, New York, Brooklyn Museum

Hicks, Edward, *Noah's Ark*, oil on canvas, 1846, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art

Order Out of Chaos: Artist as Creator

Michelangelo, *St. Matthew*, marble, 1505–1506, Florence, Italy, Academy of Fine Arts

Michelangelo, *Awakening Slave*, marble, circa 1530–1534, Florence, Italy, Academy of Fine Arts

Michelangelo, *Milan Pietà* or *Rondanini Pietà*, marble, 1554–1564, Milan, Italy, Sforza Castle Civic Museums

Rodin, Auguste, *The Hand of God*, marble, 1898, Paris, Rodin Museum

Chagall, Marc, *I and the Village*, oil on canvas, 1911, New York, Museum of Modern Art

Kandinsky, Wassily, *Sketch I for "Composition VII,"* oil on canvas, 1913, Bern, Switzerland, Collection Felix Klee

Duchamp, Marcel, *L.H.O.O.Q.*, rectified ready-made, pencil on reproduction of Leonardo da Vinci's *Mona Lisa*, 1919, private collection

Schwitters, Kurt, *The First Merzbau*, altered house with collages, 1923

Mondrian, Piet, *Composition with Red, Blue, and Yellow*, oil on canvas, 1930, New York, collection of Mr. and Mrs. Armand P. Bartos

Dalí, Salvador, *The Persistence of Memory*, oil on canvas, 1931, New York, Museum of Modern Art

Pollock, Jackson, *One (#31)*, oil on canvas, 1950, New York, Museum of Modern Art

Magritte, René, *The Unmasked Universe*, oil on canvas, 1961, Brussels, Belgium, Mme Crik Collection

Tansey, Mark, *Triumph over Mastery II*, oil on canvas, 1987, New York, Collection Emily Fisher Landau

Moral Order

- Hogarth, William, *The Rake's Progress*, engraving, 1725, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Goya, Francisco de, *The Third of May, 1808*, oil on canvas, 1814–1815, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Delacroix, Eugène, *The Massacre at Chios*, oil on canvas, 1824, Paris, Louvre
- Manet, Édouard, *Execution of the Emperor Maximilien*, oil on canvas, 1867, Mannheim, Germany, Kunsthalle
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- Beckmann, Max, *The Night*, oil on canvas, 1918–1919, Düsseldorf, Germany, Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen
- Beckmann, Max, *Departure*, triptych, oil on canvas, 1932–1933, New York, Museum of Modern Art
- Orozco, José Clemente, *Gods of the Modern World*, fresco, 1932–1934, Hanover, New Hampshire, Dartmouth College
- Beckmann, Max, *Birds' Hell*, oil on canvas, 1938, St. Louis, Missouri, St. Louis Art Museum
- Picasso, Pablo, *Massacre in Korea*, oil on canvas, 1951, Paris, Musée Picasso

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PATH/ROAD/CROSSROADS

Christine M. Boeckl

The following iconographic narratives and motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Path/Road/Crossroads:

ADORATION OF THE MAGI

FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

CHRIST'S ENTRY INTO
JERUSALEM

AGONY IN THE GARDEN

ROAD TO CALVARY

ROAD TO EMMAUS

OTHER CHRISTIAN ROADS

NON-CHRISTIAN ROADS

SPIRITUAL PATH

PILGRIM'S WAY

SECULAR ROADS

"Y"

HERCULES AT THE
CROSSROAD

TRIUMPHAL PROCESSIONS



Gustave Courbet, *The Meeting, or Bonjour M. Courbet*, 1854, oil on canvas, Montpellier, France, Musée Fabre. (Courtesy of Giraudon/Art Resource, New York)

Roads and thoroughfares indicate directions, a route to be traveled toward a goal: in space, in time, or even in spirit. However, the proverbial narrow path of virtue (or the yellow brick road, for that matter) often does not lead directly to its destination but forces the traveler to halt at crossroads and make decisions. Since antiquity, the *Littera Pythagorae* (Y) has been regarded as the mystical symbol that indicated a fork in the road requiring moral judgments. An illustrated woodcut by Geoffroy Tory, *Y with Symbols of Awards and Punishments* (1529), with its uneven branches, also refers to a biblical quotation:

Enter ye in at the strait gate: for wide is the gate, and broad is the way, that leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat: Because strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it" (Matthew 7:13–14).

In the print, the wider, left branch leads to a life of vice that will end with the gallows and fires of hell; however, the narrow, virtuous part of the fork is crowned with heavenly laurel wreaths and palm branches. Dutch artists of the seventeenth century (Jan Christiaensz Micker and others) created *Symbolic Representation of the Broad and the Narrow Way*, which elaborated on the moralistic theme. Humankind's attempt to decide its own destiny inspired a good number of artists, reviewed here in greater detail.

Deities to protect roads and crossroads probably originated in Asia Minor. A classical goddess with three heads and arms extended in three directions was called Hecate Trioditis in Greece and Hecate Trivia in Rome. She was also known as Hecate Enodia, the surname signifying that she protects roads. Although this figure is now lost, several versions are reported to have stood in the Greek cities of Argos, Athens, and Epidauros. In non-Western art, crossroads were indicated in Aztec codices; for example, *Yacatecutli Bearing Crossroads* shows the god carrying a large St. Andrew's cross signifying the four cosmic regions. In Christian art, the Byzantine Madonna type of the *Hodegetria* (showing the way) points to her divine son as the spiritual guide toward salvation ("I am the way, and truth, and the life," John 14:6). The legendary gigantic ferryman Christophorus (Christopher), who had carried the Christ Child across the river on his shoulder, was the saint most commonly invoked by travelers for protection from danger until Vatican II demoted him. Depictions of spiritual roads, as those in the life of Jesus Christ and the lives of the saints and biblical narratives as well as metaphorical applications of roads, are addressed. Secular depictions of paths and crossroads are also reviewed. In the last category, the choice of Hercules is the most fertile field to investigate.

Christological Roads

Christological cycles dominate the depictions of religious roads in Western art. Some examples of the most important biblical travelers are discussed: the Three Magi on their road to Bethlehem,

the Holy Family on the flight into Egypt, Jesus Christ's entry into Jerusalem, and the road to Calvary. Giotto included all these scenes in his Arena Chapel frescoes in Padua, Italy. He synthesized earlier medieval iconographic trends with those of his own time and highlighted the stories' protagonists. Each event is framed and takes on the reality of a staged performance.

The Adoration of the Magi gave painters a chance for a brilliant display of wealth within a landscape. Some of the most famous examples were created in the Florentine Renaissance by Gentile da Fabriano in his altarpiece and by Benozzo Gozzoli in his frescoes in the Medici Chapel. In both works, the Holy Family appears in the foreground next to the foreign dignitaries, whose retinues fill the middle ground. Farther back, tiny riders on winding roads show the great distance the Three Wise Men had traveled. In Domenico Veneziano's Berlin tondo *The Adoration of the Magi*, the receding road reveals a shocking detail: Corpses are hanging on gallows along the roadside, a warning that law and order are enforced in this part of the world.

In proto-Renaissance scenes of the flight into Egypt, the Holy Family is often guided by angels. Giotto's oeuvre can provide an example of this. Later works show greater emphasis on realism. Annibale Carracci devised an innovative classical landscape genre in his serene *Flight into Egypt*. Mannerists exploited distant scenes to indicate a disunity of time and place. For example, Jacques Callot's *Massacre of the Innocents* simultaneously depicts cause and effect: The foreground is taken up by the horrors of the massacre of the children of Bethlehem (the reason for the escape into Egypt), and in the background the tiny figures of the Holy Family seem to vanish in the distance. Egypt is identified as the safe haven by an obelisk (at times also indicated by "the fall of the pagan idols"), where the Virgin and her son will take refuge.

One of the oldest Christological scenes is Christ's entry into Jerusalem. The relief on the fourth-century *Junius Bassus Sarcophagus* leaves the road to the imagination of the viewer but establishes once and for all the iconography of the event: Christ riding the donkey, people throwing coats under the animal's hoofs, and children breaking tree branches will be repeated for almost 2,000 years. Duccio di Buoninsegna's *Maestà Altarpiece* includes the panel *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem* along with the customary scenes from Christ's life. The trecento artist describes realistically the cobblestoned road in the foreground. The gate to Jerusalem is crowded, and behind the walls the characteristic octagonal shape of the Florentine Baptistry can be seen. In the late nineteenth century, James Ensor painted a modern variation in *Christ's Entry into Brussels*. The Lord is surrounded by a masked crowd resembling a carnival procession (which precedes Lent). Also, Emil Nolde created a colorful but equally disturbing image in *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*.

Andrea Mantegna's *Gethsemane* (the subject was also painted by Giovanni Bellini, El Greco, and many others) included a

second important event of Christ's life: his capture after the celebration of the Last Supper. In all three paintings, Jesus kneels in prayer and the three sleeping apostles occupy the foreground. However, a distant road, where the betrayal takes place revealing Christ's future, becomes visible.

The road to Calvary is one of the most commonly depicted scenes from Christ's Passion. Most artists imbue this event in Jesus' life with great religious fervor. Simone Martini places the scene on a crowded road outside Jerusalem's walls (following Duccio's design). In later centuries, artists such as Raphael and Pieter Bruegel the Elder take advantage of the same theme to show an open landscape closer to the final destination, Golgotha, where the Crucifixion will take place. The difference in the two artists' perceptions of the event lies in the assumed viewpoints. Raphael brings the viewer close to the suffering figure of Christ, whereas Bruegel adopts the distant view of a bird in flight.

Comparatively rare is the depiction of Jesus on his walk to Emmaus after the Resurrection, expounding scripture to the apostle Cleopas and his unidentified companion on the way to the inn. Both Lelio Orsi and Caravaggio dress the three figures in the garb of pilgrims who appear close to the picture plane and dominate the compositions. On the other hand, Lucas van Valckenborch places the three wanderers in a vast landscape that represents the miracle of Christ's Resurrection.

Other Spiritual or Metaphorical Roads

In hagiographies, the format of a continuous narrative is a frequent choice. For example, Hans Memling's *Joys of Mary* links several biblical events by roads: the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Annunciation to the shepherds, the Three Magi, King Herod, the massacre of the innocents, the flight into Egypt, the temptation of Christ, the Resurrection, *noli me tangere* (touch me not, John 20:17), Emmaus, Peter at the sea, Christ appearing to his mother, the Ascension, Pentecost, and the death and Assumption of Mary. Similarly, Giovanni di Paolo, in *St. John Entering the Wilderness*, depicts the saint several times on his way to seclusion. John leaves Jerusalem's gate behind and appears again on a steep, rocky road that leads into the desert.

Saints also are often portrayed on their road to martyrdom. Mantegna's fresco *St. James Led to Martyrdom* (Padua, Italy, destroyed in World War II) uses an intriguing perspective: the vantage point of the kneeling jailer who asks forgiveness from St. James. A large mural by Guido Reni represents St. Andrew on his way to his crucifixion. Emphasizing the arduous journey that prepares the apostle spiritually for his final hour, Reni renders the saint, surrounded by his companions, on his knees in adoration of the cross. The analogy with Christ is emphasized by visual quotes from Raphael's *Way to Calvary*, which differs primarily in the shape of the cross.

Medieval travelers, pilgrims, or wanderers are frequently depicted following the straight, narrow, and virtuous path mentioned by Matthew. Hieronymus Bosch's enigmatic *Tramp* (at times interpreted as Poverty) graces the exterior of the *Haywain Triptych*. Similar moral implications appear in Bosch's *Landloper* panel, where a figure, representing Everyman, stumbles along the road of life. Dante's famous journey through hell, purgatory, and paradise is frequently depicted in book illustrations of his *Divine Comedy*.

The concept of the Christian as a stranger in the world who longs for a home in heaven has been treated in various ways,

especially in literature, an example being John Bunyan's Puritan allegory *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Augustinian concepts of the City of God dominate some of Joachim Patinir's cosmic landscapes. They are frequently populated with tiny personae who cannot be characterized as mere accessory figures; on the contrary, identifying them is essential for interpreting his paintings. For example, *St. Jerome in the Desert* depicts the hermit seated in the wilderness. In the background, one road, *via mortis* (road of death), leads to *civitas terrena* (terrestrial city) and another road, *via vita* (road of life), to solitude and eventually to the final goal, *civitas dei* (city of God). Art historian Reindert Falkenburg argues further that these elements served as a guide for the meditation on the lives of the different protagonists whose examples need to be followed.

Albrecht Dürer's print *Knight, Death, and the Devil* implies a different road metaphor. The artist intended to show a Christian knight in warfare against evil, a realization of Desiderius Erasmus's *Enchiridion militis Christiani*. Its text, and thus Dürer's print, warn of the danger of erring from a direction dictated by an inner voice. It suggests that a Christian should march along "level ground" without paying attention to threats either by death or by Satan.

Even nineteenth-century artists frequently paint landscapes with quasi-religious meanings. A good example is Jules Breton's *Blessing of the Wheat in the Artois*, which appears to be a naturalistic painting of beautiful scenery. The photorealism of the landscape and the equally naturalistically conceived rural congregation walking on a narrow path in a eucharistic procession may hinder the modern viewer's understanding of the work as a simile of a spiritual road. Moreover, the wheat field can serve as an allegory for the "daily bread" and the Host in the monstrance to the body of Christ. Equally symbolic is Thomas Cole's series *Voyage of Life*. A river replaces the customary road the human traveler is about to embark on. Four canvases represent the four stages of humankind: infancy, youth, maturity, and old age—when the soul, again guided by an angel, returns to God.

In times past, traveling was not only arduous but also outright dangerous. Thus, for the benefit of the general public, spiritual pilgrimages were offered to the faithful in lieu of physical journeys to do penance or gain indulgences from the church. For example, Gothic cathedrals, such as those at Amiens and Chartres in France, had labyrinthine mazes that depicted mental pilgrimages to Jerusalem on the pavements. These mazes, deriving ultimately from classical mythology and the legend of Daedalus, measured about 40 feet in diameter and 1,000 feet in length. Recent scholarship indicates that such spiritual routes were more common than previously assumed.

The stations of the cross provide another spiritual path to Jerusalem. Every Roman Catholic church displays 14 crosses that correspond to the events of Christ's Passion. This custom dates to the times of the crusaders' "Way of the Cross," or "the little Jerusalem." Although few examples are of high artistic quality, the most famous is Henri Matisse's *Via Crucis* in the Dominican Chapel in Vence, France. Barnett Newman painted 15 very esoteric panels in the 1960s. His *Stations of the Cross* do not relate to the orthodox practices of the Roman Catholic Church, but they do give the individual viewer the opportunity for a spiritual experience.

To end the discussion of spiritual roads, a rare meaning of St. Bonaventura's *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* (mind's road to

God) deserves mention. Located in the St. Bonaventura chapel in SS. Apostoli in Rome, life-size statues of Faith and Wisdom by the sculptor Paolo Cavaceppi (literal visualizations of Cesare Ripa's allegories) appear with the painted altarpiece *Virgin and Child Adored by Saint Bonaventura and the Blessed Andrea Conti*. The two theological virtues relate to this passage in the saint's writings: "Faith assists the soul's itinerary and through Faith the contemplative is brought to the final step in his ascent and passes over to God by the light of Wisdom."

Secular Roads

Art historian Erwin Panofsky treated the origin of the story of the choice of Hercules as well as the iconography and iconology of the subject in depth in his erudite book *Hercules am Scheidewege* (1930). The sources for the images included the classical authors Hesiod and Prodicus, among others. The theme, however, was not depicted in antiquity. A Greek fable tells of a fork in Hercules' path that requires the hero to make an ethical decision: a choice between an easy road symbolic of vice or a steep incline up to virtue, where the winged horse Pegasus was waiting for the weary traveler. The Pythagorean Y, used throughout history as a metaphor for the two roads (one of vice, the other of virtue), in Geoffroy Tory's woodcut *Y with Symbols of Awards and Punishments* (1529) has already been mentioned. Since the Renaissance, numerous illustrations of Hercules at the crossroad have appeared in a variety of media, and the iconography of the subject developed over several centuries.

In the graphic arts, a number of images depicting the choice of Hercules appeared in the 1500s and addressed a variety of audiences. Examples range from crude, didactic woodcuts for Sebastian Brant's *The Ship of Fools* (*Stultifera Navis*, 1497), meant to educate the general public, to the sophisticated engraving by Friedrich Sustris for Prince Maximilian of Bavaria. The former work shows Hercules dressed in armor, reclining in the foreground next to a Pythagorean Y-shaped road. In his dream he sees two females, representing vice and virtue. Voluptas is depicted as a nude surrounded by lush roses, and a skeleton hides behind her back. A chasm divides her from a demurely dressed, virtuous lady who holds a spindle against the background of thistles. The print's passive hero (the motif of a sleeping knight resurfaced in Raphael's *Dream of Scipio*) contrasts sharply with the mannerist design of Sustris's *Hercules at the Crossroad*, which displays a muscular figure standing with his club over his shoulder, ready for action. Hercules expresses the humanist idea of humankind's free will. Sustris's emblematic Latin inscriptions explain the encyclopedic meaning. In a third print, Christoph Murer etched the same pagan subject but also introduced some religious concepts: Above Virtue appear the words *Via vita* (road of life) and above Vice *Via mortis* (road of death).

In painting, too, the Prodicus topos became a favorite of many patrons. Carracci found a "canonical" solution for Hercules at the crossroad in his ceiling decoration for Cardinal Ranuccio Farnese in his Roman palace. The program for the whole room was probably written by Fulvio Orsini. Carracci's center Hercules panel differs from earlier prototypes of the hero's pose. He is seated, linking him to the judgment of Paris. Moreover, by using the dorsal view of the statue *Callipygian Venus* (Museo Nazionale in Naples, Italy) as a prototype for his figure of Vice, the Bolognese artist not only created a scene *al*

antica (in the antique style) that referred to lust but also hinted at yet another classical beauty contest. The famous Farnese marble represented a legendary peasant girl who had asked a young man on the highway to pass judgment on her and her sister's physical attributes. Apart from the different poses of the two women, the contrast in hairstyles also emphasizes the difference between Virtus and Voluptas. Carracci's influence can be assumed in all future versions of the subject if the symbols of *vanitas* (vanity) appear in the shape of two masks and musical instruments.

The essential differences in the various interpretations of Hercules' choice lie in the indication of his crucial decision. Sustris's and Carracci's heroes seem to have chosen the virtuous path. On the other hand, Pompeo Batoni, who treated the subject at least four times, seats Hercules closer to the woman who promises an easy life. Batoni's Hercules seems to be a captive of love. However, a glance indicates the possibility that he will "change his ways." In Batoni's first version of *Hercules at the Crossroad* (1742, Palazzo Pitti in Florence, Italy), the choice relates again to the judgment of Paris, and the women represented are Venus/Love and Pallas Athena/Wisdom.

Endless variations on the theme of Hercules at the crossroad occur in painting. For example, Angelica Kauffmann puts herself in the hero's place, trying to decide between painting and music, and Joshua Reynolds creates a frivolous mood when he portrays *David Garrick Between Tragedy and Comedy*. The actor is physically accosted by two women who pull him in opposite directions. His sheepish grin indicates that he will succumb to the lures of pleasure.

Didactic symbolism was implied in a maze in Louis XIV's garden in Versailles, France, designed by André Le Notre in 1667 (destroyed in 1774). The conceit of the famous *Bosquet du Labyrinthe* was based on numerous quotes from Aesop's Fables, which supplied moral lessons for the visitors. Finding one's way and solving the puzzle depended on one critical turn in front of fountain 29, which required a decision between "good and evil." Recent scholarship indicates that the topographical features of such garden labyrinths—they first became popular in the sixteenth century—served as clues for the "art of memory."

Finally, a very different crossroad deserves mention. The Ludwig Museum in Cologne, Germany, displays a modern, cruciform installation of rocks entitled *A Crossing Place*, which fills a large exhibition hall. The boulders have such sharp points that only a fakir would be able to travel this road. It seems that for the artist, Richard Long, the road has not been made any easier than it was for the ancient hero.

Landscapes depicting roads can be divided into two groups. Some are merely geographical recordings that made their debut with the rise of Western landscape painting, whereas others impart some moral symbolism. Many work well on either level. Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Allegory of Good Government* in Siena, Italy, depicts a well-traveled thoroughfare taking nobles hawking into the country and farmers with their produce to the city. The Limbourg brothers' *February* calendar page from the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* includes a charming vignette of a farmer on his way to a village. Peter Paul Rubens's *Landscape with the Castle of Steen* portrays a common hay wagon on a country road. His influence on John Constable's *Haywain* is undeniable; this painting in turn strongly influenced the development of nineteenth-century landscapes. Meindert Hobbema's *Avenue Middleharnes* finally transcends sheer topography. Deep

cart-wheel ruts serve as a conspicuous device to lead the viewer into the picture and tell of industrious farmers, some of whom are seen as tiny specks in the distance. A steeple under a magnificent sky appears on the horizon. All is well in the world. The difficult question in interpreting Hobbema's works is to decide on the depth of the implied symbolism. For example, did the artist merely follow convention in his "pilgrims" populating his country roads, or does he mean to convey a deeper meaning?

Early American artists, although inspired by Dutch landscapes, generally avoided representing traces of humans. They depict no paths in the pristine wilderness, which they equated to the earthly Eden. Later, western painters recorded some of the hardships and dangers of the westward expansion. For example, Emanuel Leutze's *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way* is based on Bishop George Berkeley's poem *On the Prospect of Planting Arts and Learning in America* (1730s):

Westward the course of empire takes its way;
The four first acts already past,
A fifth shall close the drama with the day:
Time's noblest offspring is the last.

The sketch possibly was a working model for a mural in the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C. It is organized as a large landscape filled with subplots of American frontier life, looking from the Great Divide into the "Promised Land." Such expeditions, however, were not without losses, and the members of the wagon train stop for a funeral. The main emphasis in the canvas is on the family gathered on a rocky ledge in the middle ground. The realistic narrative is given additional allegorical meaning by including explorers, such as Christopher Columbus and Daniel Boone, and juxtaposing them with figures from the Old Testament, such as Moses and Elijah.

Other American painters avoided symbolic interpretations and simply wanted to record history. John Gutzon Borglum's *Staging in California* shows the thrills of the Wild West. His wagon is pulled by wild horses, leaving their coachman just barely in command. The coach comes precariously close to the edge of an abyss. Thomas Ottern's *On the Road* makes a statement on modernity in the New World—an old-fashioned wagon races a railroad train.

Roads often create depth in composition. Probably the first attempt to show perspective is seen in the Assyrian relief *Sack of the City of Hamanu by Ashurbanipal*. The road leading to the city's gate narrows considerably toward the back. Perhaps one of the most recent perspectival exercises also concerns a road: Alan d'Arcangelo's *Highway 2*. The one-point perspective leads the viewer to a focal point in the rear. The artist appeals to our experiences, evoking nostalgia. We all have traveled this lonely road; where will it lead us?

The literary topos of Roman triumphs and the visual tradition of the Petrarchan "triumphs" of Love, Virtue, Death, and Time served as inspiration for Mantegna's masterpiece *Triumph of Julius Caesar* at Hampton Court in England. Albrecht Dürer's *Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I*, or *arcus triumphalis* (triumphal arch), is composed of 192 woodcuts of a procession and presents the emperor seated in profile, similar to Mantegna's Caesar. Heroic also is the road that Napoleon rides triumphantly across on a rugged mountain pass in Jacques-Louis David's *Napoleon at St. Bernard* (Hannibal's and Charlemagne's names are engraved on the rocks). It portrays Napoleon on a white charger rather than on the common

mule that had actually served the future emperor on this journey. However, his own troops, supposedly on the same road, must follow a more arduous path. Nicolas Antoine Taunay's *French Army Crossing the St. Bernard Pass* records realistically the hardships the soldiers had to endure. Wounded men drag themselves through the wintry landscape.

Mundane dangers of country roads and ambushes by brigands were fashionable subjects that were popularized in *bambocciate* (small pictures depicting low-life and peasant scenes), yet this tradition lasted well into the nineteenth century. Pieter van Laer, Philips Wouwerman, and Francisco de Goya, among others, repeated this genre, which generally displayed a melee of horses, riders, and coaches. However, Horace Vernet treated the subject in the manner of a history painting. *Italian Brigands Surprised by Papal Troops* appears to be a battle between good and evil. A makeshift cross and a small votive offering signify God's order as some of the brigands seek refuge and mercy on the chapel's steps. Whether the pagan sarcophagus is a mere prop or should indicate death is anyone's guess.

There is a surprising absence of depictions of traffic accidents in art if we consider the death toll on modern highways. *TO-D 593*, an installation by U. Weingart and F. Meurer, presents a fatality on a motorcycle. The body of the rider is slumped over the front wheel, hiding the dead person's identity (*Jedermann/Everyman*). The letters of the license plate allude to the German word *TOD* (death). Skid marks on the road accentuate the reality of the man's demise, yet death has little meaning in this context, as the artist expresses the fatalism of an existentialist.

Gustave Courbet used roads twice in idiosyncratic works. His *Meeting*, later dubbed *Bonjour M. Courbet*, records an important encounter in the artist's career. The painting describes realistically the hot dusty road, receding into the distance, that Courbet had traveled to visit his most important patron, friend, and benefactor, Jacques-Louis-Alfred Bruyas. The wealthy art collector from Montpellier, France, had invited Courbet to the south and had come to meet the painter with extended arms. The host is followed by a servant, who might help the weary traveler with his backpack loaded with painting utensils. Although contemporary sources ridiculed Courbet's canvas as opportunistic and self-glorifying, the painter intended it as a personal allegory. Thus, the composition of the three-figured group, resembling popular prints of *The Wandering Jew Ahasverus Welcomed by Two Burghers*, must be interpreted in light of contemporary treatment of the subject. In nineteenth-century French literature and visual arts, the old legend served as a metaphor for a feeling of human brotherhood. Courbet expressed the importance of the road in a short song: "I have no fatherland / The earth is my abode / I must end my life on a great road." Thus, Courbet expressed in the Wandering Jew the concept of the artist as prophet seeking to bring truth to his disciples. Courbet wrote in a letter to Bruyas that realism is a "holy and sacred cause, which is the cause of liberty and independence." The depiction of a road already had played a role in an earlier work of Courbet's. One of his most controversial paintings depicted two road menders. The canvas generally known as *The Stone Breakers* influenced nineteenth-century poets and caused a great stir about its socialist implications. The critics found great fault in honoring common road laborers with a life-size canvas.

Depictions of roads are not limited to Western art. The Aztec example was already mentioned. Japanese woodcuts present native topographical sites. The *Famous Views of the 53 Stations Along Tokaido Road*, a road that led from the old capital Kyoto to the new city that is now Tokyo, were depicted by Hiroshige, who also was the designer of *Sudden Showers at Atake*. This latter print became famous because Vincent van Gogh copied it in his painting *Bridge with Rain*, taking advantage of the elegant arch of the Japanese bridge and the non-Western tradition of showing rain as long diagonal lines.

The theme of roads conjures up something universal, ethical, and eternal. On the other hand, depictions of city streets evoke temporal ideas and the experience of isolation. Few depictions of roads deny themselves the opportunity to incorporate some symbolic significance, whether they express religious meanings or worldly sentiments.

See also Choice/Choosing; Expulsion; Journey/Flight; Labyrinth/Maze

Selected Works of Art

Adoration of the Magi

Giotto, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Gentile da Fabriano, *Adoration of the Magi*, altarpiece, 1423, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Veneziano, Domenico, *The Adoration of the Magi*, 1438, Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Gozzoli, Benozzo, *Procession of the Magi*, 1459, Florence, Italy, Palazzo Medici-Ricardi

Flight into Egypt

Giotto, *Flight into Egypt*, 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
Carracci, Annibale, *Flight into Egypt*, 1604, Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili

Callot, Jacques, *The Massacre of the Innocents*, 1618, etching

Christ's Entry into Jerusalem

Junius Bassus *Sarcophagus: Entry into Jerusalem*, A.D. 359, Vatican, Grottoes of St. Peter's Basilica

Giotto, *Entry into Jerusalem*, 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, *Maestà Altarpiece*, 1308–1311, Siena, Italy, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo

Ensor, James, *Christ's Entry into Brussels*, 1888, private collection

Nolde, Emil, *Christ's Entry into Jerusalem*, 1915, Munich, Germany, Neue Staatsgalerie

Agony in the Garden

Mantegna, Andrea, *Gethsemane*, circa 1460, London, National Gallery

Bellini, Giovanni, *Gethsemane*, circa 1460, London, National Gallery

El Greco, *Gethsemane*, 1585, London, National Gallery

Road to Calvary

Giotto, *Road to Calvary*, 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
Simone Martini, *Way to Calvary*, 1340, Paris, Louvre

Raphael, *Way to Calvary*, 1516, Madrid, Spain, Prado
Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Way to Calvary*, 1564, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Road to Emmaus

Orsi, Lelio, *Walk to Emmaus*, circa 1565, London, National Gallery

Caravaggio, *Walk to Emmaus*, circa 1590, lost

Valckenborch, Lucas van, *Walk to Emmaus*, before 1597, Hamburg, Germany, Kunsthalle

Carracci, Annibale, *Domine quo vadis*, 1601, London, National Gallery

Other Christian Roads

Virgin *Hodegetria*, circa 609, Rome, Pantheon

Virgin *Hodegetria*, twelfth century, Moscow, Russia, Tretyakov Gallery

Giovanni di Paolo, *St. John Entering the Wilderness*, circa 1450, Chicago, Art Institute

Mantegna, Andrea, *St. James Led to Martyrdom*, 1457, destroyed

Memling, Hans, *Joys of Mary*, circa 1480, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek

Patinier, Joachim, *St. Jerome in the Desert*, 1520, Paris, Louvre

Patinier, Joachim, *St. Christopher*, 1521, El Escorial, Spain, Museos Nuevos

Reni, Guido, *St. Andrew Led to Martyrdom*, 1608, Rome, San Gregorio al Celio

Non-Christian Roads

Yacatecuhli *Bearing Crossroads*, circa 1400–1521, *Codex Fejervary-Mayer*, p. 37 Liverpool, England, National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Liverpool Museum (12014)

Spiritual Path

Cavaceppi, Paolo, *Faith and Wisdom*, 1775, Rome, SS. Apostoli, Capella di San Bonaventura

Matisse, Henri, *Via Crucis*, 1949–1951, Vence, France, Chapelle du Rosaire des Dominicaines

Pilgrim's Way

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Tramp*, from *Haywain Triptych*, 1500–1505, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Landloper*, 1510, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Museum Boymanns van Beuningen

Dürer, Albrecht, *Knight, Death, and the Devil*, 1513, engraving

Patinier, Joachim, *St. Jerome in the Desert*, 1520, Paris, Louvre

Patinier, Joachim, *St. Christopher*, 1521, El Escorial, Spain, Museos Nuevos

Secular Roads

Sack of the City of Hamanu by Ashurbanipal, sculpture, circa 650 B.C., London, British Museum

Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, *Allegory of Good Government*, 1338, Siena, Italy, Palazzo Pubblico

Limbourg Brothers, *February*, calendar page from the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, before 1415, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé

- Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Blind Leading the Blind*, 1568, Naples, Italy, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte
- Rubens, Peter Paul, *Landscape with the Castle of Steen*, 1636, London, National Gallery
- Laer, Pieter van, *Attacked by Brigands*, circa 1637, Lucca, Italy, private collection
- Wouwerman, Philips, *Attacked by Bandits*, 1650s, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
- Hobbema, Meindert, *Avenue Middleharnes*, 1689, London, National Gallery
- Goya, Francisco de, *Attacked by Brigands*, 1776, Madrid, Spain, de Lardies Collection
- Constable, John, *Haywain*, 1821, London, National Gallery
- Vernet, Horace, *Italian Brigands Surprised by Papal Troops*, 1831, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery
- Cole, Thomas, *Voyage of Life*, series of four paintings, circa 1840, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Courbet, Gustave, *The Stone Breakers*, 1849, destroyed
- Courbet, Gustave, *The Meeting, or Bonjour M. Courbet*, 1854, Montpellier, France, Musée Fabre
- Hiroshige, Ando, *Famous Views of the 53 Stations Along Tokaido Road*, 1855, woodcuts
- Hiroshige, Ando, *Sudden Showers at Atake*, 1856–1858, from *A Hundred Famous Views of Edo Ohashi*, woodcuts
- Breton, Jules, *Blessing of the Wheat in the Artois*, 1857, Paris, Musée d'Orsay
- Borglum, John Gutzon, *Staging in California*, 1860, Omaha, Nebraska, Joslyn Museum
- Ottern, Thomas, *On the Road*, 1860, Omaha, Nebraska, Joslyn Museum
- Leutze, Emanuel, *Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way*, 1861, Washington, D.C., National Museum of American Art
- Gogh, Vincent van, *Bridge in Rain*, 1887, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh
- D'Arcangelo, Allan, *Highway 2*, 1963, Wasserman Private Collection
- Weingart, U., and F. Meurer, *TO-D 593*, 1970, object installation
- Long, Richard, *A Crossing Place*, sculpture, 1983, Cologne, Germany, Ludwig Museum
- “Y”
- Tory, Geoffroy, *Y with Symbols of Awards and Punishments*, 1529, woodcut
- Micker, Jan Christiaensz, *Symbolic Representation of the Broad and the Narrow Way*, circa 1635, Leiden, The Netherlands, Lakenhal Museum

Hercules at the Crossroad

- Hercules at the Crossroad*, woodcut from Sebastian Brant's *Stultifera Navis*, 1497, Basel, Switzerland
- Raphael, *Dream of Scipio*, circa 1502, London, National Gallery
- Murer, Christoph, *Hercules at the Crossroad*, 1580, etching
- Sustris, Friedrich, *Hercules at the Crossroad*, circa 1590, engraved by Johann Sadeler

- Carracci, Annibale, *Hercules at the Crossroad*, fresco, circa 1596, Rome, Palazzo Farnese
- Reynolds, Joshua, *Portrait of David Garrick Between Tragedy and Comedy*, 1760, Collection Rothschild
- Batoni, Pompeo, *Hercules at the Crossroad*, 1742, Florence, Italy, Palazzo Pitti
- Batoni, Pompeo, *Hercules at the Crossroad*, 1748, Vaduz, Liechtenstein, Liechtenstein Galerie
- Batoni, Pompeo, *Hercules at the Crossroad*, 1750s, Turin, Italy, Galleria Sabauda
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- Kauffmann, Angelica, *The Artist Hesitating Between the Arts of Music and Painting*, circa 1794, Nostell Priory, England, Lord St. Oswald

Triumphal Processions

- Mantegna, Andrea, *Triumph of Julius Caesar*, 1484–1492, Hampton Court, England
- Dürer, Albrecht, *Triumphal Arch of Maximilian I*, 192 woodcuts, 1515
- David, Jacques-Louis, *Napoleon at St. Bernard*, 1800, Versailles, France, Musée National du Chateau de Versailles
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PATRONAGE

Claire Lindgren

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Patronage:

ANCIENT

BYZANTINE AND MEDIEVAL

RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH AND

EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Altar of Zeus at Pergamum, reconstruction of west front, Berlin, Pergamum Museum, Staatliche Museen, Antike Sammlung. (Courtesy of Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)

Patronage, the act of supporting and protecting an artist or an artist's work, is as old as art itself. The intent of patrons, however, has rarely been a simple love of the arts. Viewed chronologically and comparatively, there has been a wide spectrum of goals that patrons have hoped to attain—and an equally wide spectrum of depictions of patrons in art. The depiction of a mythological or religious tale or desired action, for instance, may have another subliminal purpose: to reflect honor, glory, and power on the patron. Or the image of a patron might literally be included in such a work. Often these kinds of depictions took the form of a portrait of the patron holding the commissioned piece, be it a statue, temple, church, book, or city, as an offering to a deity. At the simplest level, such a work might be a flattering portrait of the patron for his or her own aggrandizement.

The idea of supporting the work of an artist, or in some way insuring that an idea is transmitted via a work of painting, sculpture, or architecture, can probably be traced back to prehistoric times. For example, the shaman or artist painting cave walls in return for a portion of the spoils of the hunt would have the hunters as patrons. Unfortunately, because there is no documentation available, this example, however logical, is speculative.

An early documented example of patronage and how the sculptural depiction of a mythological tale with all its ramifications was used to flatter a patron is found during the reign of Eumenes II over the ancient Greek city of Pergamum. One of the best known patrons in antiquity, Eumenes II was responsible for the erection of the Altar of Zeus (180 B.C.) at Pergamum, the rebuilding of the Pergamene Library (second century A.D.), the construction of a copy of Pheidias's chryselephantine (ivory and gold sheeting on a wooden framework) statue of the *Athena Parthenos* (447–432 B.C.) for the Pergamene Library, as well as numerous copies of earlier Greek masterpieces for placement throughout Pergamum. These many works made Pergamum one of the most beautiful centers of the Hellenistic world, a rival to Athens and Alexandria and a symbol of the political and cultural mission of the Eumenes dynasty (Strabo, *Geographia*, XIII, 4, 2).

The Pergamene Library had been conceived by Eumenes' father and was rebuilt to surround the temple of Athena Nikephoros, protector of the pre-Attalid Greek city. Moreover, Eumenes restored the precinct outside the city, which was sacred to Athena, goddess of the arts, crafts, and war, and established a new festival in her honor. Eumenes' devotion to Athena and patronage of projects connected with honoring the goddess was not limited to his homeland. He and his brothers visited Athens for the Panathenaea of 178 B.C. Archaeologist William Bell Dinsmoor suggested it was at this time that colossal statues of Eumenes and his father, Attalus I, were erected on the west slope of the Athenian Acropolis. This devotion to

Athena enhanced cultural and artistic connections between Athens and Pergamum.

Although the Attalid monarchs had been avid art collectors and patrons, it was not until the reign of Eumenes II that the most original Hellenistic sculpture was commissioned, such as the great frieze of the Altar of Zeus (180 B.C.). This altar, dedicated to the king of the Olympic deities and father of Athena, had a precinct wall more than 400 feet in length and approximately 8 feet in height, which was covered with a frieze in high relief depicting the gigantomachy, the supreme battle in Greek mythology that marked the uncontested supremacy for the Olympic gods—a suitable subject to commemorate the great service to civilization performed by the Attalids in their defeat of the barbaric Celtic tribe, the Gauls. Just as Pericles had saved the classical Greek world and rebuilt the Athenian Acropolis, so Eumenes II glorified his house, which had saved the Hellenistic Greek world, with similar construction. Thus, a pattern of patronage in art and architecture similar to that found in fifth-century B.C. Athens was instituted in second-century B.C. Pergamum. A tradition was established whereby commissioned monuments deliberately carried references that could be easily associated with positive past political events. A later ancient example of this kind of patronage is the Ara Pacis Augustae (Altar of the Augustan Peace, 13–9 B.C.) with its stylistic references to both the Altar of Zeus and the cella (principal enclosed room of a temple) frieze of the Parthenon.

The story of the gigantomachy, as seen on the Altar of Zeus frieze, derived from Hesiod's *Theogonia* (circa 700 B.C.) and is very complex. According to archaeologist Erika Simon, it was probably the work of Eumenes' librarian Krates, who modified the Hesiodic tale. Art historian Margarete Bieber contends that the design was the product of a leading artist and the learned society at the Attalid court. Archaeologist Dieter Thimme believes that the frieze was the work of many different sculptors under the direction of a leading master whose identity has been disputed. Yet, there is no doubt that the driving force behind the work was Eumenes II, whose patronage made it possible.

Although Eumenes was prompted by political considerations, devotional reverence, and aesthetics in commissioning the great altar, history has interpreted this example of patronage in a variety of ways: Ampelius and the Spartan general Pausanias saw it as a wonder of the ancient world; the Revelation of St. John the Divine saw it as Satan's throne; and German archaeologist Carl Humann, who discovered it in 1871, called it "the greatest expression of art remaining from antiquity."

Examples of this kind of political-artistic patronage abound in antiquity. Examples include the previously mentioned Ara Pacis Augustae, the Forum and the Column of Trajan, The

Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine, the numerous temples, bath complexes, and triumphal arches that were erected all over the Roman world, as well as the palace and court complexes so important to ancient rulers. Hellenistic monarchs and Roman generals and emperors used art and architecture as propaganda tools, commissioning works ostensibly for the good of the state and the gods but in reality most often for the good of the patron.

In the postantique world, although politics certainly can never be totally dismissed, the concept of patronage as a devotional expression appears to have become far more common. The building of huge churches, beginning with the construction of Old St. Peter's under Constantine I, was impossible without large donations from patrons such as the emperor, feudal aristocracy, or the clergy, and the commissioning of elaborate illuminated manuscripts for use in private daily devotions testifies to a change in the primary motivation of the patron during this time.

There are abundant examples of devout patronage from the early Christian, Byzantine, and medieval periods: Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome; Sta. Sabina; the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul, Turkey; the Hagios Georgios; St. Michael's in Hildesheim, Germany; St. Sernin in Toulouse, France; St. Front in Périgueux, France; Reims Cathedral and Chartres Cathedral in France, etc.

Ravenna, Italy, on the Adriatic Sea, has particularly good examples of the visualization of the act of patronage. The Church of San Vitale (A.D. 526–547), founded by Bishop Ecclesius in the last years of the reign of Theodoric and begun under Bishop Victor, contains extensive mosaics. Within it one finds mosaic portraits of those connected with the founding and construction of the building: from Bishop Ecclesius, depicted holding a model of the building in the apsidal mosaic (somewhat inaccurate, if one judges by the completed structure), to Emperor Justinian I, under whose rule the church was completed. Justinian is shown presenting a costly paten to the church in a mosaic that flanks the altar. He is attended by the archbishop Maximianus, who holds a jeweled cross, and others such as the general Belisarius and the banker Julianus Argentarius, who probably financed the building. Directly opposite this mosaic is a mosaic depicting the Empress Theodora and her retinue, with Theodora offering a chalice as her donation. A later representation of a founder offering a church can be seen in the fresco on the lower wall of the apse of Sant'Angelo in Formis, Italy (1072). Here Abbot Desiderius (later Pope Victor III) is shown offering the church to Christ.

In the many illuminated manuscripts commissioned during the postantique period, one frequently finds a patron shown receiving a copy of a work, such as is illustrated in *The Presentation of the Bible to Charles the Bald* (fol. 423) in the *Vivian Bible* (ninth century) or in *Abbess Hitda Presenting Her Book to Saint Walburga* in the *Hitda Codex* (circa 978). In other instances the patron is shown receiving an honor from God and from the secular world, as in *Otto III Enthroned Between Church and State* in the Gospels of Otto III (circa 1000) or in the dedication page of the *Bible Moralisée* (circa 1179), which depicts Blanche of Castile and her son, Louis IX. Gradually, it seems that much of the binding of church and state was accomplished in works of art.

On the other hand, the many works initiated under the patronage of Charlemagne appear to be less an attempt to placate and influence a populace than to follow the tenets of religion. Under Charlemagne one finds the alliance of church and state initiated by a ruler devoted to the utilization of the arts to aid and abet the dissemination of the Christian doctrine. The principal motivation for Charlemagne's commissions, from his palace chapel (A.D. 792–805) at Aachen, Germany, to the imperial monastic community at Centula and the manuscript illuminations of the *Coronation Gospels* (circa 800–810) that, according to legend, were entombed with the emperor, seems to have been devotional, augmented by other more worldly considerations. This curious synthesis of church, state, and art persisted, for a variety of reasons, through most of the medieval period, reaching a peak in the Gothic period in France during the reign of Louis IX with the construction of Sainte-Chapelle (1243–1248) in Paris, the palace chapel built to house relics acquired by the king.

The Renaissance saw an attempt to return to the ideas and patronage concepts of classical antiquity; art was seen as more of a temporal, rather than spiritual, propaganda device. Without the patronage of the merchant princes, such as the Medici family, who wished to turn Florence into a new Christianized Athens, or the ecclesiastical authorities, such as Pope Julius II, a temporal and spiritual ruler who embellished the Vatican with the work of artists such as Michelangelo and Raphael, the Renaissance as we know it might never have occurred. All the major monuments of that period, from Lorenzo Ghiberti's *Gates of Paradise* (circa 1435) for the Florentine Baptistery to Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel frescos (1508–1512) to the rebuilt St. Peter's Basilica (1503–1513) were conceived and completed because individuals commissioned artists to create works that would glorify God and secular powers, although not necessarily in that order.

These individuals often wished to ensure an everlasting reputation by having themselves included in the commissioned piece. This inclusion could be in the architectural sculpture of a cathedral, such as found on the portal of the Chartreuse de Champmol (1385–1393) in Dijon, France, where Claus Sluter, who was employed by the duke of Burgundy, included Duke Philip the Bold and his wife in the portal's jamb statues. Or the inclusion might occur in the painted portraits seen on altarpieces such as the Master of Flémalle's *Merode Altarpiece* (circa 1425–1430) and Jan van Eyck's *Ghent Altarpiece* (1432), in which the donors are included kneeling in separate panels. Similarly, in Masaccio's *Holy Trinity with the Virgin and St. John* (1425) two donors kneel and worship the holy persons on either side of the main subject. In a more secular vein, a portrait of the patron can be found in the Limbourg Brothers' manuscript *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (before 1415), in which the duke is shown seated at a table in the January calendar page.

After the Protestant Reformation, church patronage was virtually obliterated in non-Roman Catholic areas. Even in the predominately Roman Catholic countries, artists could no longer look forward to vast commissions and so sought other means of support.

Commissioned portraits seemed to be the answer, and the portrait grew in popularity as did cycles that detailed the lives

of the aristocracy, glorifying their words and deeds. A supreme monument of this sort was commissioned by Marie de Médicis, widow of Henri IV of France. Peter Paul Rubens, in order to satisfy her vanity, executed a cycle of paintings (1620s) for his patron, the former queen, in a style that turned her life into a spectacle of glory far removed from actuality. Because she was no longer the queen of the reigning king, the impact of these paintings did not have serious political consequences.

By the next century the court portrait had gained greater significance. Frequently it was the vehicle used to express the aims of a monarchy to a significant inner circle. If the depiction did not violate reasonable probability, it was effective, and the patron, viewers, and artist were pleased; but if the depiction and reputation of the patron were not compatible and the work was scorned by the intended audience, both the artist and patron could suffer dire consequences. For instance, Marie-Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-LeBrun painted *Marie Antoinette and her Children* (circa 1787) at the request of Marie Antoinette as an effort to counter the pejorative image the queen had acquired. The importance of this commission is indicated by the amount paid the artist, almost five times the amount paid for a 1785 portrait of the queen by Adolph Ulric Wertmüller. In Vigée-LeBrun's work, the queen, surrounded by her children, is seated in a manner reminiscent of depictions of the Holy Family. Her features have been beautified and her costume is luxurious, creating a positive image that emphasizes the grandeur of monarchy. To this idea Vigée-LeBrun attempted to add the concept of maternal love, with a younger child clasping the queen's breast, while an elder child gazes at the queen in a loving manner. But the painting was not able to counter opposition to the queen and the French monarchy. Ultimately Marie Antoinette was executed, and because the queen had been her patron, Vigée-LeBrun was forced to flee France.

During the eighteenth century, notions of patronage expanded to include rendering the ideas a patron held dear, such as Johann Joseph Zoffany's *The Tribuna of the Uffizi Gallery* (1772–1779), commissioned by Queen Charlotte of Britain presumably to celebrate her taste and education. In this scene, the revered pieces of the Uffizi Gallery in Florence can be seen on the walls. Around and among these works one finds the intelligentsia and elite of the British community in Florence, a testament to the cultured taste of the queen. This type of subject was a model frequently followed by eighteenth-century collectors, and, to this day, the wealthy like to be photographed in the midst of their art. An eighteenth-century antithesis to this crowded work, Thomas Gainsborough's *Mr. and Mrs. Robert Andrews* (circa 1748), is also a visualization of that which was most important to the patron—in this instance, his love of the land. An entire half of Gainsborough's painting depicts the well-tended farm of this member of the landed gentry.

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the rise of democracies and the subsequent gradual demise of the dictatorial state resulted in the establishment of artistic academies and affiliated exhibitions. Artists, now no longer certain of eventual support within a closed system, were in even greater need of financial backing. Sponsorship came in various ways. Individuals of wealth who sought recognition for a number of reasons sometimes chose to support an artist. A nineteenth-

century English example of such beneficence was Lord Egremont III, at whose home, Petworth, J. M. W. Turner often stayed for months at a time.

In the early twentieth century the Steins—Michael, his wife Sarah, brother Leo, and sister Gertrude—aided many artists at the start of their careers, including such great modern masters as Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso. Picasso's *Gertrude Stein* (1906), although ostensibly a portrait of his patron, marks the beginning of the formal breakthrough to cubism. A patron less avant-garde than Gertrude Stein might have rejected the finished work. Her support, in a way, marks the beginning of the importance of patronage in the development of modern movements. Other turn-of-the-century patrons of avant-garde artists were the Cones of Baltimore, Maryland, and Sergei Shchukin of Moscow.

The most significant expansion of patronage in the twentieth century was concurrent with the rise of the art dealer, who, in effect, became the arbiter of taste in the modern art world. To a great extent, a kind of marketplace patronage replaced the political and religious patronage of the past. By 1912, dealer Daniel Henry Kahnweiler was the single agent for Georges Braque and Picasso and had total control over their works in exchange for a monthly stipend paid to the artists. For at least 10 years dealer Ambroise Vollard, whose portrait was painted by Picasso in 1910, enjoyed the same control over the output of Georges Rouault. This system of dealer-dominated patronage did not apply to architecture, however. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, due to the complexities inherent to construction and architecture's relationship to engineering, architectural commissions were subject to an increasingly close collaboration between architect and patron.

Painting and sculpture in the second half of the twentieth century continued to be dominated by the dealer/patron, who assembled stables of artists ready to produce for a specific clientele with the instincts of an excellent merchant. Leo Castelli, one such dealer whose gallery played a key role in the shaping of art in the post-World War II era, featured artists such as Jasper Johns, Robert Rauschenberg, Roy Lichtenstein, Andy Warhol, and Frank Stella to promote and sell the latest movements in art. Sidney Janis, another dealer equally as famous as Castelli, was himself immortalized as a collector and patron by George Segal in a mixed media work entitled *Portrait of Sidney Janis with a Mondrian Painting*.

From antiquity to the present, various types of patronage have contributed to the creation and completion of works of art. For patronage to exist, there must be an artist who wishes to receive payment for his or her labor and a patron who expects to achieve a specific result by meeting the expenses and needs of the artist. The artist's need is the more constant of the two requirements; the patron can be motivated by a variety of desires: religious, social, political, economic, or a combination of these and other factors that, in most instances, reflect the spirit of the times in which they both live. Although the goals of individual patrons may have differed over the centuries, the use of the visual arts to achieve these results has been a constant since antiquity.

See also Artists/Art; Honor/Honoring

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

Athenian Acropolis, Greek, fifth century B.C., Athens, Greece
Athena Parthenos, copy of Greek original, 447–432 B.C.,
 Pergamum, Greece
 Pergamene Library, Greek, second century A.D., Pergamum,
 Greece
 Altar of Zeus, Greek, 180 B.C., Pergamum, Greece
 Ara Pacis Augustae, Roman, 13–9 B.C., Rome, Museum of
 the Ara Pacis
 Pantheon, Roman, circa A.D. 118, Rome

Byzantine and Medieval

San Vitale, Byzantine architecture, 526–547, Ravenna, Italy
 Palace chapel of Charlemagne, Carolingian architecture,
 792–805, Aachen, Germany
Coronation Gospels, illuminated manuscript, circa 800,
 Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
Vivian Bible, illuminated manuscript, ninth century, Paris,
 Bibliothèque Nationale
Hilda Codex, illuminated manuscript, circa 978, Darmstadt,
 Germany, Hessische Bibliothek
Gospels of Otto III, illuminated manuscript, circa 1000,
 Munich, Germany, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Bible Moralisée, illuminated manuscript, circa 1179, Vienna,
 Austria, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek (Cod.2554.
 versions)
 Sainte-Chapelle, medieval architecture, 1243–1248, Paris
 Sluter, Claus, Chartreuse de Champmol, portal sculpture,
 1385–1393, Dijon, France

Renaissance

Limbouurg Brothers, *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*,
 illuminated manuscript, before 1415, Chantilly, France,
 Musée Condé
 Masaccio, *Holy Trinity with Virgin and St. John*, fresco,
 1425, Florence, Italy, Santa Maria Novella
 Master of Flémalle, *Merode Altarpiece*, circa 1425–1430,
 New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Eyck, Jan van, *Ghent Altarpiece*, 1432, Ghent, Belgium, St.
 Bavo
 Ghiberti, Lorenzo, *Gates of Paradise*, circa 1435, Florence,
 Italy, Baptistry of St. Giovanni
 Bramante, Donato, Michelangelo, et al., St. Peter's Basilica,
 architecture, 1503–1513, Vatican
 Michelangelo, Sistine Chapel, ceiling frescos, 1508–1512,
 Vatican
 Raphael, Vatican Stanze, 1510, Vatican

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Life of Marie de Médicis*, 1620s, Paris,
 Louvre
 Gainsborough, Thomas, *Mr. and Mrs. Robert Andrews*, circa
 1748, London, National Gallery
 Zoffany, Johann Joseph, *The Tribuna of the Uffizi Gallery*,
 1772–1779, London, Royal Collection
 Barry, James, *The Distribution of Premiums at the*
Society of Arts, 1777–1784, London, Royal Society
 of Arts

Vigée-LeBrun, Marie-Louise-Élisabeth, *Marie Antoinette and*
Her Children, circa 1787, Versailles, France

Twentieth Century

Picasso, Pablo, *Gertrude Stein*, 1906, New York,
 Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Picasso, Pablo, *Ambroise Vollard*, 1910, Moscow, Russia,
 Pushkin Museum
 Segal, George, *Portrait of Sidney Janis with Mondrian*
Painting

Selected List of Individual Patrons

Ancient

Pericles of Athens
 Eumenes II of Pergamum
 Caesar Augustus
 Hadrian

Byzantine and Medieval

Constantine the Great
 Justinian I
 Charlemagne
 Bernward of Hildesheim
 Louis IX of France

Renaissance

Charles IV of Spain
 Lorenzo de' Medici
 Cosimo de' Medici
 Pope Julius II
 Francis I of France
 Henry VIII of England
 Philip II of Spain

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Louis XIV of France
 Peter the Great of Russia
 Catherine the Great of Russia
 Louis XVI of France
 Napoleon Bonaparte

Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Victoria of England
 Lord Egremont III
 Gertrude Stein
 Sergei Shchukin
 Daniel Henry Kahnweiler
 Leo Castelli
 Sidney Janis
 Peggy Guggenheim

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PEACE

Liana De Girolami Cheney

The following arts are covered in the discussion of the theme Peace:

EMBLEMS

GRAPHIC ARTS

PAINTINGS AND DRAWINGS

METALWORK

SCULPTURE

TAPESTRY



Giorgio Vasari, *Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici*, 1534, panel, Florence, Italy, Museo Mediceo. (Courtesy of Scala/Art Resource, New York)

The Hebrew word for peace is *shalom*, which appears numerous times in the Bible with several significations: individual reference to good health and safety (Genesis 15:15, 43:23; Exodus 18:7; Joshua 10:21; I Kings 22:17; Job 5:23; Psalm 4:8, 38:3; Proverbs 3:2; Isaiah 38:17); social reference to public righteousness and judgment (Judges 4:17; Isaiah 48:18; 60:17; I Kings 5:26); and theological reference to God as the source for individual contentment (I Kings 2:33; Psalm 4:8, 29:11; Isaiah 45:7) (Hawthorne, p. 579).

The Greek word for peace is *eirene*, which is related to a harmonious state of mind as well as harmonious rulership. The Romans, like the Greeks, focused on the symbolism of peace (Latin *pax*) to mean the end of war. The Christian concept of peace fuses the Hebraic meaning of *shalom* with the Greek signification of *eirene*; thus, through God/Jesus Christ, humanity can achieve tranquillity of mind and soul (Romans 5:1).

In Christian iconography, the dove becomes a symbol of peace and renewal of life because it was the dove that was sent out from Noah's ark after the flood seeking God's message. The dove returned with an olive branch, thus alluding to God's reconciliation with humanity. This ancient image of the dove as a symbol of peace has continued through the centuries. In the twentieth century, Pablo Picasso's poster image of the white dove recalls the ancient symbol of peace. Although Picasso had already joined the Communist Party when he designed this poster of the peace dove, it became a true symbol for the peace movement. The signed poster contained at top an image of a white dove with an inscription announcing a world congress for peace in April 1949 in Paris. Picasso's reputation and action encouraged others to protest against the threat of nuclear war (Berger, p. 175).

Peace is celebrated at the end of a war by burning the arms and weapons with a flaming torch. Usually the attributes of peace as a symbol of good government, or the peaceful qualities of a ruler, are the olive branch (symbol of immortality and renewal of life), the dove (the life spirit or soul), the cornucopia (horn of plenty), and the caduceus (symbol for a messenger of good will). Sometimes peace is depicted with wings or is honored with an olive crown alluding to the crown of olives worn by the victor at the Heraea races, acclaiming the moon goddess, Hera; the crown of wild olives alludes to the victor at the Olympic games, praising Zeus, the king of the gods. Legend has it that in Greek as well as in Roman ritual the laurel had the power to shake up those who had shed the blood of others. Also, the laurel was the only tree that was never struck by lightning. When offerings were kindled with laurel branches, the crackling in the fire was considered an omen of peace (Biedermann, p. 202).

Rulers often used the symbols of peace to enhance their reign and celebrate the tranquil aftermath of military victories. Emperor Augustus, who preferred to appear as a prince of peace rather than as a triumphant victor, built the Ara Pacis

Augustae (Altar of the Augustan peace) in Rome in 9 B.C. to celebrate the successful pacification of Spain and Gaul four years earlier. The large enclosure (39 feet by 35.5 feet), decorated with bas-reliefs, surrounds the inner altar raised on a platform. The reliefs depict Roman power and wealth resulting from the fertility of the earth and the abundance of nature made possible by peace. For example, in the *Tellus Relief*, the Roman earth mother, an embodiment of fertility, sits with two children in her lap, surrounded by an abundant landscape and the personifications of the winds. Other bas-reliefs depict a procession of citizens led by the emperor himself. Many graceful plant forms underscore the abundance and plenitude of nature.

The classical symbols of peace were equally familiar during the Renaissance and Baroque periods, as can be seen in the iconographic description of the Sala dei Cento Giorni in the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome (1546), where Giorgio Vasari referred to peace as "having an olive branch in hand (*aver l'oliva in mano*)." This earlier iconographic motif was again applied in the Chamber of Abraham in Vasari's house in Arezzo, Italy (1548), as well as in the Refectory of Monteoliveto in Naples, Italy (1545). The olive tree or olive branch was a symbol of peace for both the Greeks and the Hebrews. According to St. Augustine, olive trees symbolize the feast of the Epiphany because

Abraham and Isaac and Jacob are the progenitors from whom the Jews drew their lineage. They might feast, not as legitimate offspring of these trees, but as grafts upon their stock made through faith, so as to preserve the wild olive which is to be grafted upon the olive tree of which Saint Paul speaks [in Romans 11:24].

Thus, in the figure of Peace, as in that of the Virtue of Chastity, one observes the fusion of pagan motifs with religious symbolism. The fact that Peace is located just below the tondo scene and has the same orientation is significant. Unlike the personifications of Modesty, Concord, and Chastity in the ceiling, Peace relates directly to God's blessing of Isaac and Abraham, as if God were reassuring the Hebrew people of His protection and of peace on Earth.

According to Piero Valeriano and Vincenzo Cartari, peace and concord are one and the same. Both were adored by the ancients, who desired a quiet and peaceful life. Cesare Ripa, in his *Iconologia*, later adds that the olive tree was an attribute of Pallas, goddess of peace. According to the Bible, since the time of Noah the olive tree was a symbol of peace (Genesis 8:11). The Hebrews used the symbol of the olive tree as a reference to the peaceful election of a king and to remind the people of Judea to live in harmony. Also, because of its quantity of oil, the olive tree was called a "tree full of richness" and symbolized the providence of God toward the Hebrews (Judges 9:8–9). Valeriano recounts that the olive tree or olive branch was also a symbol of peace for the Greeks.

Vasari's drawing *Peace Bearing an Olive Branch* (1545) in the Graphische Sammlung Albertina in Vienna, Austria (Inv. 462), which in the past was attributed to Perino del Vaga, represents a theme similar to that in his painting in the Refectory of Monteoliveto in Naples. A second drawing on the theme of peace, found in an American private collection, has also been attributed to Vasari. Both drawings have been related to Vasari's *Apparato dei Sempiterni* (1541–1542), which was used for the Pietro Aretino comedy *La Talanta* in Venice, Italy.

As Vasari recounts in his autobiography, his knowledge of hieroglyphs and emblemata derived from his education in the classics with Pollastra, his tutoring with Piero Valeriano during his formative years, and his contact with the emblemist Andrea Alciati in Bologna, Italy. Evidence of these influences on Vasari's paintings can be seen in the *Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici* (1534) in the Museo Mediceo in Florence, Italy, in which he portrays the duke as the symbol of peace. In a letter to Ottaviano de' Medici, Vasari describes the symbolism in this portrait, comparing himself to the ancient painter Apelles, who painted the portrait of his patron, Alexander of Macedonia, as Vasari painted Alessandro de' Medici. Obviously, the *paragone*, or comparison, does not rest solely on the portrait commission but also extends to the patronage of two rulers named Alexander. In this letter, Vasari further elaborates on the meaning of the duke's armor as a symbol of public protection, courtly love, and public trust. The artist continues explaining how the reflections in the Duke's shining armor mirror self-trust as well as people's trust. Moreover, he explains that the seated position of the duke on a circular chair, holding the *bastone del dominio* (the baton of power), signifies eternal governance. Furthermore, according to Vasari's letter, the decorated chair with three legs of truncated bodies and leonine paws refers to the submission of nations to the Florentine governance of the Medici. Vasari further describes the background in the portrait: Behind the seated duke a row of ruined columns and edifices allude to the siege of Florence in 1530. For Vasari, the red mantle covering the chair symbolizes the blood shed by the duke and his ancestors. In the letter he also describes the meaning of the emblem of the flowering truncated tree, which refers to the necessity of preserving the Medici family. For Vasari, the burning helmet is purposefully placed on the ground and not worn by the duke because it symbolizes the eternal peace created by the duke's good governance, which has brought a reign of friendship and love for his people. This letter concludes with a Latin epitaph probably composed by Paolo Giovio.

Numerous art historians have analyzed this portrait, but none as eloquently as Janet Cox-Rearick, who viewed it as a Vasarian conceit (*invenzione*) with a complex set of symbolic references to legitimize the duke and aggrandize him politically. According to Cox-Rearick (pp. 234–236) and other scholars, such as Leo Steinberg, Julian Kliemann, and J. Malcolm Campbell, this portrait is the first example of official Medici propaganda. By contrast, Karla Langedijk (p. 49) and Kurt Forster (p. 135) focus on the uniqueness of the portrait as a fusion of a commemorative line of ancestral images with a notion of peaceful government.

For Duke Alessandro's seated position, Vasari obviously recalls Michelangelo's statue *Giuliano de Medici* (1534), in the sacristy of San Lorenzo. However, according to Richard Trexler (pp. 109–111), Michelangelo's statue holding the *bastone del dominio* (here symbolizing decorum of sovereignty) should be

identified as Lorenzo, a Florentine captain-general, and not Giuliano de' Medici, a papal captain-general. Also, the Medici's lineage followed from Lorenzo to his illegitimate son Alessandro, as visually reinforced in this comparison of seated images in sculpture and painting.

Cox-Rearick has unveiled the meaning of the laurel branch, which derives from a personal impresa for Lorenzo the Younger of 1512 and from Vasari's description of the Duke Alessandro painting: "The dry laurel branch which puts forth that erect and flesh leafy twig is the Medici house, once extinguished, which must grow with infinite progeny in the person of Duke Alessandro." In this allusion to the Medici family's dynasty and strength, Vasari's imagery seems to be derived not only from Francesco Melchiori's impresa, where a laurel branch feeds an oak tree and thus symbolizes an illegitimate birth from a branch of the family (in this instance Alessandro's illegitimacy), but also from Antonio Borghesi's impresa, signifying the power of ancestry. Vasari illustrates the implication of this symbolism not only in his depiction of the laurel branch, seen on the left of the seated Alessandro and alluding to the political power of the Medici family, but also in the painted truncated tree on Alessandro's right, signifying the interruption of the Medici dynasty caused by Duke Alessandro's present lack of heirs and his illegitimate birth.

Although difficult to see, behind the seated duke are two columns and a tree encircled by a vine with a laurel crown. From his interactions with the humanists Annibale Caro and Paolo Giovio, Vasari had continued to assimilate the emblematic imagery; for example, the two columns framing a truncated branch decorated with laurel derive from Giovio's impresa for Stefano Colonna. The two columns, referring to Hercules' columns, are a conventional symbol of fortitude. However, the meaning of the duke's imagery may be elaborated further from yet another Medici impresa executed by the Milanese Luigi Marliano for the Medici Pope, Leo X, which alludes to the Medici good political fortune as well as to their fortitude in governing.

Vasari parallels the armored duke with the goddess Minerva, probably because of his familiarity with Raphael's fresco painting of 1512 in the Sala della Segnatura at the Vatican. Minerva or Athena was the goddess of peace, although she frequently is represented in full armor, alluding to her victory for peace through war. However, when she is surrounded by laurel branches and truncated trees with laurel, Minerva the warrior becomes Minerva the peaceful, thus symbolizing governmental peace.

Francesco Laurana's *Minerva Pacifica*, the reverse of the medal of René of Anjou (King of Sicily) (1465), with an inscription "Pax Augusti" (Augustus's Peace), symbolizes the transformation of Minerva from a goddess of war to a goddess of peace (Wittkower, p. 135). She holds a dove in one hand and a laurel in the other. A truncated laurel tree balances her discarded armor, which is no longer needed for protection and is now used as a trophy. In the 1480s, Botticelli, inspired by the imagery of Laurana, executed several drawings of *Minerva Pacifica* in the Uffizi Gallery as a preparatory studies for the tapestry *Minerva Pacifica* for Comte Guy de Baudreuil, (1491, Favelles, France, Collection Vicomte de Baudreuil). Botticelli further expanded this subject in the 1480s with a painting, *Minerva and the Centaur*, for the Medici family, now at the Uffizi Gallery. Between the two columns, a tree with the encircled vine refers to Alciati's Emblem 116, *Prudentes vino absti-*

nent (Those who indulge in wine do not possess prudence). With the laurel crown on the tree, Vasari honors the duke with virtue for his fortitude and prudent political behavior.

The last significant emblem or hieroglyph to be deciphered is the depiction of the flaming helmet. Obviously, Vasari visually quotes Alciati's Emblem 178, *Ex bello pax* (Peace from war). The painter has replaced Alciati's blood-covered helmet with a helmet on fire, alluding to the burning of the arms, a symbol of peace. The helmet clearly alludes to Duke Alessandro as a peace-giving Mars because a glyph of Mars, Roman god of war, is incised in the helmet (unnoticed before). Cox-Rearick has observed that a commemorative medal by Francesco del Prato (1534) portraying the duke as peacemaker contains the inscription "Fundator quietis" (Founder of Peace), and a glyph for Mars derives from Vasari's painting. Originally, the frame of the painting (now lost) contained the inscription "Fundator quietis." All these attributes reinforce the symbolism of peace in the painting. Thus, this painting is a pictorial emblem, with an inscription, the Latin inscription originally painted on the frame; a *pictura*, or painting; and a subscription, Vasari's letter to Ottavio de' Medici explaining the meaning of the images in the painting.

Clare Robertson's study "Annibale Caro as Iconographer: Sources and Method" also informs us that Vasari acquired his knowledge of iconography and emblems through his study of the works of Caro. In his history of Italian Renaissance artists (1550), Vasari praises Caro, poet and translator of classical literature and secretary to Cardinal Farnese, for his clever and creative *invenzioni*. Caro, in turn, considered Alciati's and Cartari's books iconographic manuals and praised them for their significance. Furthermore, Julian Kliemann, in "Il Pensiero di Paolo Giovio nelle pitture eseguite sulle *invenzioni*," has brilliantly demonstrated the influence of Giovio's writings, such as *Gli Elogi* and *Dialoghi*, in Vasari's Roman decorative cycles. Thus, the painter's manner of composing images for a program as a compendium of visual iconography parallels and derives from the literary practices of Alciati, Cartari, Francesco Colonna, Giovio, and Valeriano. Obviously, Giorgio Vasari has been influenced by them.

In addition, Giovio's *Dialogo delle imprese militare et amorse* (1555), Vasari's prefaces to his history, and later Ripa's *Iconologia* (1603) concur that the image should provide visual interest by showing beautiful elements, that its motto should be brief (two or three words or a line of verse), and that its meaning should be suggestively incomplete to intrigue or tease the viewer—in sum, a mannerist conceit.

Renaissance and Baroque paintings also incorporated the Christian iconography of the representation of the dove as a symbol of peace as well as the symbol of the third person of the Trinity, the Holy Spirit, as noted in scenes of the baptism of Christ (Matthew 3:16), the Trinity (Masaccio's *Trinity*, 1427, in the Sta. Maria Novella in Florence), and the Annunciation (Hubert van Eyck, *Annunciation*, circa 1425, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York). The dove as a symbol of divine inspiration and spiritual well-being relates to the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit (wisdom, understanding, counsel, fortitude, knowledge, piety, and fear of the Lord). In cemeteries, stelae or grave markers sometimes represent the dove as a symbol of the spirit or soul of the deceased resting in peace.

In the United States in the eighteenth century, a new symbol of peace grew out of the relations between settlers and Native

Americans. This was the calumet, or peace pipe, which was made from a reed decorated with eagles' quills or women's hair. About two and a half feet long, with a bowl made of catlinite or red pipestone, it was smoked on ceremonial occasions, especially during the making of treaties of peace. Benjamin West's *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians* (1772) depicts Penn, the founder of the colony of Pennsylvania, concluding a treaty with the Lenape shortly after his arrival in 1682. The Quakers, in their sober black costume, contrast with the seminaked forms of the Native Americans, some wearing feather head-dresses and decorated robes. Prominent in the composition is the sheaf of arrows thrown down on the ground in the center foreground as the Lenape examine a roll of cloth offered to them by Penn. The Native American in a central position is holding his peace pipe. West, writing about the painting, explained his motivation:

The great object I had in forming that composition was to express savages brought into harmony and peace by justice and benevolence, by not withholding from them what was their right [sic], and giving what they were in want of, as well as a wish to give by that art a conquest made over native people without sword [sic] or dagger [sic]. (Von Erffa and Staley, p. 207)

In another painting contrasting the two cultures, West painted a seated English officer wearing a red coat and holding an upright musket but also wearing Indian moccasins and an Indian cloak. The Native American standing behind him holds a peace pipe in a position parallel to the musket as he points to a Native American encampment by a waterfall. The identity of the sitters, as well as the date of the painting, is disputed, but again West depicts a certain accommodation arrived at between these men of two cultures. However, as the Native American gestures toward the peaceful scene and the pipe to indicate his intentions, the Englishman firmly grasps the musket.

American painters also looked to the Bible for their symbols of peace. Edward Hicks's *Peaceable Kingdom* (1835–1838), of which there are many versions (one in the Brooklyn Museum in New York), illustrates Isaiah's prophecy of a peaceful world: "The wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them" (Isaiah 11:6). Hicks evoked the new Eden to be found in the natural abundance of the United States, if only the example of the innocent child and belief in the Gospels would prevail.

J. M. W. Turner's *Peace—Burial at Sea* (1842) in the Tate Gallery in London, a memorial painting to his friend the artist David Wilkie, suggested another meaning of peace. Wilkie died on board the ship *Oriental* as he was returning from the Middle East and was buried at sea off the coast of Gibraltar. The funeral aspect of the event is echoed in the black sails of the ship and the black bird in the foreground. Wilkie had achieved final peace.

See also Abundance; Virtue/Virtues

Selected Works of Art

Emblems

Alciati, Andrea, *Peace*, emblem, woodcut, 1546

- Alciati, Andrea, *Prudentes vino abstinent*, emblem, woodcut, 1546
 Borghesi, Antonio, *Idem et alter*, impresa, woodcut, sixteenth century
 Giovio, Paolo, impresa, woodcut, 1550
 Marliano, Luigi, *Plus ultra*, impresa, woodcut, sixteenth century
 Ripa, Cesare, *Peace*, emblem, from *Iconologia*, 1603

Paintings and Drawings

- Eyck, Hubert van, *Annunciation*, circa 1425, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Masaccio, *Trinity*, 1427, Florence, Italy, Sta. Maria Novella
 Botticelli, *Minerva Pacifica*, drawing, 1480s, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery, Gabinetto dei Disegni
 Vasari, Giorgio, *Peace*, fresco, 1548, Arezzo, Italy, Casa Vasari
 Vasari, Giorgio, *Peace Bearing an Olive Branch*, drawing, 1545, Vienna, Austria, Graphische Sammlung Albertina (Inv. 462)
 Vasari, Giorgio, *Portrait of Alessandro de' Medici*, panel, 1534, Florence, Italy, Museo Mediceo
 Vaga, Perino del, *Peace*, drawing, first half of sixteenth century, Vienna, Austria, Graphische Sammlung Albertina
 Guercino, *Peace*, fresco, 1627, Modena, Italy, private collection
 West, Benjamin, *Sir William Johnson*, oil on canvas, 1767–1770, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 West, Benjamin, *William Penn's Treaty with the Indians*, oil on canvas, 1772, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts
 Hicks, Edward, *Peaceable Kingdom*, oil painting, 1835–1838, New York, Brooklyn Museum
 Vigée-Lebrun, Marie-Louise-Élisabeth, *Peace Leading Abundance*, before 1842, Paris, Louvre
 Turner, J. M. W., *Peace—Burial at Sea*, oil on canvas, 1842, London, Tate Gallery

Sculpture

- Sansovino, Jacopo, *Peace*, sculpture, 1540s, Venice, Italy, Loggetta

Graphic Arts

- Picasso, Pablo, *Dove*, lithograph, 1949, Paris
 Picasso, Pablo, *Peace Dove*, poster, 1949
 Picasso, Pablo, *Dove in Flight IV*, poster, 1950

Metalwork

- Laurana, Francesco, *Minerva Pacifica*, medal, 1465, Florence, Italy, Bargello

Tapestry

- Minerva Pacifica*, tapestry, 1491, Favelles, France, Collection Vicomte de Baudreuil

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PEASANTRY

Margaret A. Sullivan

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Peasantry:

ANCIENT

MEDIEVAL

RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Jean-François Millet, *The Sower*, circa 1850, oil on canvas, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Quincy Adams Shaw through Quincy A. Shaw Jr. and Mrs. Marian Shaw Haughton. (Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

The peasantry, as represented in art, has traditionally served the interests of classes other than their own. The attitudes and anxieties of the prosperous and powerful determine how they are depicted, and the peasants' own response to the harsh, often inhuman realities of their lives is rarely in evidence. Industrious and peaceful, they swing their sickles in reliefs on the walls of Egyptian tombs, as in the Eighteenth Dynasty (1570–circa 1342 B.C.) mortuary chapel of Nakht in Thebes, Egypt; decorate the August page of *Queen Mary's Psalter* in the fifteenth century; and cut golden grain in Vincent van Gogh's *Reaper* (1889, after Jean-François Millet). However, the harvest song "The Peasant Speaks," sung by Sicilian peasants and recorded in 1876, tells a different story. To the rhythmic swing of their sickles the peasants sang a vicious litany that called for all landlords to be burned, lightning to strike all priests, "punches and kicks" to rain on the artisans, and hanging for all policemen. This violent and vindictive song, hostile toward all classes, is consistent with the long and bloody history of peasant rebellions from the great Peasant War of 1525 to the uprising of the Mexican peasants in the twentieth century.

Expressed in a visual medium, the viewpoint of real peasants who perform such backbreaking labor might bear little resemblance to the ways in which the peasantry are traditionally represented. The "Potemkinization" of Russian peasants in a Stalinist movie such as *Traktoristy* (*Tractor-Drivers*) is at odds with the actual response of the peasants to the collectivization of Soviet agriculture in the 1930s. The fictionalized and idealized representation of the Irish peasant in the work of William Butler Yeats and John M. Synge justifies the title of Deborah Fleming's study, *A Man Who Does Not Exist* (1995).

The more privileged in a society create, and consume, art in which peasants are the subject. Occupation distances artists even when their roots are in peasant culture. Jean-François Millet, a leading painter of the peasantry in the nineteenth century, was born into a peasant family in the Normandy region of France, but he was influenced by art and literature—the Bible, Virgil, the High Renaissance, and memories of "old Bruegel"—when he produced paintings such as *The Gleaners* (1857), *The Grafter* (1855), and *The Angelus* (1857–1859). Millet read Latin, drew casts after antique sculpture as part of his training, cultivated his contacts with other artists and professionals, and was responsive to the demands of the market, all of which helped him to promote the myth of "peasant Millet."

Art with the peasantry as the subject has traditionally been purchased by the aristocracy and the upper and middle classes, city dwellers more often than country people, those who govern or earn their living in the trades or professions. Millet's cycle *The Four Seasons* (circa 1866–1873), for instance, was painted for a wealthy industrialist who was one of Millet's chief patrons.

During those fortunate times when peasants had energy and resources over and above the minimum required for survival, they tended to focus their artistic efforts on the decoration of their homes, tools, and utensils, and on the elaboration of costumes to be worn on special holiday celebrations. On those rare occasions when peasants depicted themselves, as in the stylized and colorful *Rainbow over a Miao Village* (circa 1980s), a painting by Ou Dehua (Miao), a member of China's Jinshan Peasant Painting Society, a power relationship still dominates the representation. The painting was created at the instigation of others, in a government program, under government supervision, and in terms of governmental goals. The 30-year-old effort to develop peasant art was considered successful when traditional skills such as embroidery and paper cutting were incorporated into art acceptable to other classes. "Hands, more accustomed to the pick and the hoe and to needle and thread, were at a loss with the brush and the palette," according to the publication of the China Social, Culture Editing and Publishing Committee, "but after a short period of practice and patient coaching, real peasant painting flourished" (p. 14).

Defining the Peasantry

The term peasantry, as used here, refers to representations of nameless and obscure persons who occupy a subordinate place in the social hierarchy and earn their livelihood by working the land. It encompasses the figural (anonymous human beings), situational (rural rather than urban settings), occupational (agriculture rather than trade or manufacturing), and hierarchical (whether implicit or explicit, the subordinate place of the peasantry in society is a significant factor in the way they are represented). The urban proletariat are excluded, although the distinction between the two groups can be ambiguous, as in some seventeenth-century Flemish tavern scenes. Adriaen van Ostade's painting of 1652 is known as *Villagers Merrymaking at an Inn*, although a near-contemporary described it as "peasant-like." In the twentieth century the rural peasant and the urban worker are often linked, as in Vera Mukhina's *The Worker and the Collective Farm Girl* (1937), a gigantic sculpture placed on top of the stepped art deco tower of the Soviet pavilion for the 1937 Paris World Exhibition.

The Working Peasant

Although manipulated to serve radically different ends from the most conservative to the most revolutionary, representations of the working peasant are remarkably stable in their imagery. Hand tools and work animals—the spade, scythe, hoe, sickle, and horse-drawn plow—rather than the tractor or mechanized

reaper, identify the working peasant. The implements used by the peasant in van Gogh's drawing *Reaper with Sickle* (1885) are no different than those in Simon Bening's *Book of Hours* (August or September, circa 1540). Even in an era when agriculture is mechanized, the peasant continues to be shown in art using tools that require strength rather than intelligence.

Typically, working peasants are depicted in simple, utilitarian clothes usually of a neutral color—writer Théophile Gautier said of Millet's peasants that they were painted in the colors of the earth they tilled. They are usually in bare feet or wear crude shoes, a head covering for the women, and short, unkempt hair for the men. The everyday garb of the peasants in Millet's drawing *Peasant Family* (before 1875) differs little from that worn by the peasant woman going to market in Albrecht Dürer's drawing of Maximilian II for the *Book of Hours* (1514) or that worn by the peasants in N. M. Kochergin's poster *The First of May* (1920). Three central figures make up Kochergin's poster: a peasant woman, sickle in hand, wearing a kerchief, her head thrown proudly back as she marches with her two male compatriots, one carrying a scythe and the other a spade. The immobility of peasant fashion contrasts with the changing fashions of the more privileged. When variety in peasant dress appears early in the nineteenth century, it is most evident in the clothes worn for leisure rather than work. In costume books such as *A Pictorial History of Costume* (W. Bruhn and M. Tilke), little diversity can be seen in peasant costumes before 1800. After that date there are numerous regional variations and elaborate holiday costumes that for the most part were handed down from generation to generation. As French historian Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie has demonstrated, far from being ancient and rooted in the peasant past, many peasant costumes recorded in nineteenth-century prints and paintings were of recent origin.

The physiognomy of the peasantry tends to reflect the view, common among their social superiors, that peasants are closer to animals than to other people. Although in periods when the peasant is viewed with sympathy, the bestial may be minimized so that body type and physiognomy more closely resemble depictions of the upper classes. Faces and figures are romanticized and idealized in Louis Léopold Robert's *Arrival of the Harvesters in the Pontine Marshes* (1830), in which the peasants look much like the heroes and heroines in history paintings. In the sixteenth century, on the other hand, the distance between classes was more emphasized. The grotesque old man and woman in the woodcut *Rustic Couple* (1526) by Christoph Amberger are exaggerated. In art the peasant represents a type rather than an individual, and their features are often generalized, as in Millet's *The Winnower* (circa 1847), or Diego Rivera's mural *Mexican Peasant with Sombrero and Serape* (1923) in the Court of Labor in Mexico City, Mexico. Even when the peasant is portrayed with more specificity, as in van Gogh's many peasant portraits such as his *Head of a Peasant Woman in a Day Cap* (1885), the title remains general and the peasant unnamed.

Until modern times, working peasants appeared most frequently in cycles of the months, seasons, or estates where their supporting role in a stratified society was made clear by the context, or their labors served to decorate objects intended for

a well-to-do audience removed from actual peasant life. In Egyptian art the context is religious and funerary, with the activities of the peasants organized in registers, an orderly and traditional arrangement, one repeated in tomb after tomb, century after century, with little variation. Peasants harvest and thresh grain, milk cows, plow the fields, tend livestock, mill corn, and slaughter animals in reliefs in the mastabas of Ti in Saqqara, Egypt (Fifth Dynasty, 2225–2134 B.C.). In tomb effigies peasants continue to occupy a fixed and subordinate role in relation to other classes, supplying the needs of the deceased as they did in life.

In Greek art the working peasant has a decorative function in houses, palaces, and bathing establishments. In the relief *Peasant Driving a Cow* (first century B.C.), the peasant brings his cow to market, stooping under his load, a hare hanging from a pole over his shoulder, a basket of fruit in his right hand. Hellenistic sculpture, such as the *Statue of an Old Peasant Woman* (circa second century B.C.), was suited to the tastes of a sophisticated clientele for whom the peasant was slightly exotic. The old peasant woman wears a sleeveless belted chiton, a kerchief on her head, and carries to market a wicker basket filled with fruit, vegetables, and three chickens.

In medieval art, the context is religious, with the working peasant included in seasonal series, especially in cycles of occupations appropriate for the month. Peasants at their tasks appear in books and manuscripts for the wealthy, as in an eleventh-century manuscript, now in the British Museum in London, that includes peasants plowing and sowing in a calendar illustrated by an occupation for each month. The portals of many churches built during this period are decorated with carved calendars. At Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris, a reaper whets his scythe for the month of July, and for December, in preparation for the feasts of the Christmas season, the peasants kill pigs and slaughter beef. Placed below an appropriate sign of the zodiac, these small carved vignettes are emblems of the eternal peasants' bent to their never-ending tasks. Increased urbanization in the fourteenth century broadened the context in Italy to include the secular and political. Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco *Good Government in the Countryside* (circa 1338) in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, Italy, shows peasants plowing with oxen, flailing grain, taking a pig to market, and tending the vineyards.

The Peasant at Leisure

Representations of peasants resting or celebrating their holidays with dancing and feasting appear more sporadically; exhibit greater variation in settings, costumes, and activities; and in general have negative connotations. Snoring on their backs or dancing wildly, engaged in their pastimes and merry-making, corpulent and overfed, with grotesque features, their farm implements laid aside or wielded as weapons, peasants are a problematic image, arousing laughter, fear, and occasionally envy. Representations of the peasant at leisure reached the height of their popularity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, then declined in importance in the modern era. The lazy peasant began to appear in the thirteenth century, a period of increased open revolts. An early example of the bad or lazy

peasant occurs in an English bestiary (circa 1200), in which wolves are about to attack sheep left untended by a sleeping shepherd. The lazy peasant is contrasted with the hardworking peasant in the *Somme le roi* (1279), a treatise on sin and virtue that reflects the viewpoint of both the clergy and royalty (it was written by a Dominican for the king of France Philip III. *Paresse* (Laziness) is illustrated by a sleeping peasant who has abandoned his plow and horses, and contrasted with *Labeur* (Labor), represented by a man sowing corn. In the print *The Good and the Bad Peasant* (second half of the sixteenth century) by Maarten de Vos, a peasant in tattered clothes lies half-asleep on the ground, his decrepit dwelling and a gallows behind him, receiving what he “deserves”—a cudgel and whip from a winged, allegorical figure in the center—while the hardworking peasant, spade in hand, looks up from his work and is rewarded with a crown, scepter, and open book. In Maerten van Heemskerck’s prints of the *Three Estates* (circa 1560) the peasants are shown at their labors, and the text says they must plow, build, dig, reap, and “shun leisure and not tamper with the duties and functions of either king or clergy.” Class lines are clearly drawn.

Already a source of humor—as in the February page of the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* (before 1415) in which the peasants expose themselves in an unseemly way as they warm by the fire—by 1500 negative images of peasants are ubiquitous on playing cards, decorating tapestries, in the Shrovetide plays, and as book illustrations, sculptures, and prints. As the butt of coarse jokes, *peasant* was used as a synonym for *fool*, and peasants were derided for their stupidity, gluttony, boorish manners, blasphemy, lust, violent nature, and envy of their betters. The popularity of peasant satires was a response by the middle and upper classes to the strains of rapid urbanization, the rising peasant discontents that culminated in the great Peasant War of 1525, the upheavals of the Reformation, and increased familiarity with ancient literature. The nineteenth century favored the Virgilian tradition—idyllic peasant imagery in the tradition of Virgil’s *Georgics* (circa 35–29 B.C.)—but the Renaissance preferred the *rusticus* (rustic) of the satires, Horace’s stupid bumpkin waiting for the river to run out (*Epistles*, I. ii. 42), and associated the peasant with the woodland satyrs, the lusty, violent, and uncivilized goat-footed creatures of the ancient world.

Peasant satires were a mechanism for maintaining social boundaries without any direct influence on the peasantry: the peasants were the subject, not the audience. The emphasis on social stratification was reassuring, both to the nobility at a time when they felt their power being undermined, and to the new and upwardly mobile urban audience anxious to differentiate themselves from the lower classes. Wittenwiler, in his peasant satire *Ring*, advises the reader who wishes to become courtly and elegant to keep the peasants in mind, and whatever the peasants do in their boorish way, do exactly the opposite. Shown drinking and dancing, indulging their lust in public, duped by quack doctors, and fighting each other with sword and flail in Hans Sebald Beham’s *Great Country Fair* (1539), or dancing wildly with arms high and feet kicking in Dürer’s engraving *Peasant Couple Dancing* (1514), the behavior of the peasant was the opposite of that appropriate for an urbane gen-

tleman or lady. Erhard Schöen’s woodcut *Peasant Wedding Feast* (circa 1527) is a typical example of these peasant satires, one that is divided between two of its most popular settings: the peasant dance and the peasant wedding banquet. On the left, inside the hut, the peasants are seated around the bride, eating and drinking, their gluttony indicated by one man defecating on the floor and the dog lapping the vomit of another guest. On the right, the peasants dance, one man raising his arm in a familiar, open-handed gesture while another man fondles his partner’s bottom. There is nothing subtle about the satire.

By the middle of the sixteenth century the status of the peasant at leisure is elevated artistically, if not morally. Peasants’ festivities become the focus in large, expensive panel paintings, such as Pieter Aertsen’s *Peasant Company* (1556), filled with visual references to emblem books, ancient proverbs, and other literature favored by educated, urban audiences. The jokes are wittier, with less obscenity, “the ugly” is painted beautifully, and the paintings compare with ancient art. Pieter Bruegel the Elder, who became renowned as a painter of peasants, continued to use many of the traditional settings, as in the print *Fair on St. George’s Day* (circa 1562) or his *Peasant Dance* (circa 1566) in Vienna, Austria. These works are innovative in their complexity and artistry, and like Aertsen he extends the range of peasant subject matter, crossing class boundaries in an unprecedented way. In his *Peasant Wedding Banquet* (circa 1566) a friar, a gentleman, and a scholar share the peasant feast; in his grisaille *Visit to the Farm* (known from copies) well-dressed people dispense charity to a peasant family. The lazy peasant is joined by an equally somnambulant scholar and soldier in the *Land of Cockaigne* (1567); his portraitlike *Head of a Yawning Peasant* (circa 1566) was related to the physiognomic and moralistic interests of his audience; the full range of peasant life—leisure as well as labor—is included in his seasonal paintings. In *The Harvesters* (circa 1565) some peasants reap grain and pick fruit while others eat their noonday meal, one peasant sleeping sprawled at the foot of a tree.

The inclusion of people from other classes in renderings of peasantry, an innovation during this period, has a curiously circumscribed history. Unless outsiders have a punitive role, they are rare in representations of the working peasant. Overseers watch the peasants in Egyptian reliefs, an armed and uniformed man monitors women and children gathering the last grains of wheat in Jules Breton’s *The Gleaners* (1854), and men with whips supervise peasants in ragged clothes in Rivera’s mural *Harvesting Sugar Cane* (circa 1930). There is little visual evidence to suggest that those who enjoy regarding peasants at work wish to share their labors, or even their space. In the illumination for the October page of the *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, the classes are separate. Peasants plow and sow in the foreground, while the city dwellers in the middle distance take their ease on the other side of the River Seine, close to the wall of the Louvre palace. David Teniers the Younger and others continued to elaborate the interaction between the classes in the seventeenth century. In Teniers’s *Kermess Before the Half Moon Inn* (1641) burghers and peasants mix—one male peasant tries to pull a well-dressed female visitor to her feet to join the peasant dance—but such images are rare outside the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

In the seventeenth century the Flemish and Dutch bourgeoisie preferred images of peasant festivities rather than peasants at work. Scenes of plowing and sowing became almost nonexistent, although the peasant continued to arouse condescending laughter and serve as an object lesson. David Vinckeboons's *Peasant Kermis* (1629) follows the conventional schema for a multifigured painting of peasant festivities: an inn prominent in a foreground; clusters of revelers gathered to eat, drink, dance, and fight; a church in the background; and glut-tony emphasized by details such as the family of pigs in the distance. An engraving after the painting calls these peasants "minions of Bacchus" who indulge themselves while health and money ebb away. Both the ancient reference and the didactic message suggest that these images, like their predecessors, are meant to educate as well as amuse.

Conventional settings continued to be used as others were added, including indoor settings such as the tavern and the barn. Adriaen van Ostade's *Villagers Merrymaking at an Inn* (1652) and Adriaen Brouwer's *Peasants Playing Cards in a Tavern* (circa 1631) are typical, and such settings, unlike the peasant fair, underline the distance between the classes because these are places in which the urban, middle-class public would be reluctant to set foot. The theme of the peasant brawl is elaborated, with peasants fighting soldiers instead of the traditional peasant versus peasant melee, as in Vinckeboons's *Boerenverdriet* (before 1632, *The Peasants' Grief*) in which richly dressed soldiers and their camp followers harass the peasants. In the companion painting, *Boerenvreugd* (before 1635, *The Peasants' Joy*), the unwilling hosts send the soldiers flying.

In Italy during the latter part of the sixteenth century, the Bassani—Jacopo dal Ponte (known as "Bassano") and his sons—satisfied the demand of the upper classes for decorative works by painting sober peasants at work, frequently in seasonal series. The more caustic and colorful northern point of view was introduced early in the seventeenth century. Pieter van der Laer, known as "Il Bamboccio," went from Haarlem, The Netherlands, to Rome in 1625 and joined the Bentvueghels, an association of northern expatriate artists. With his small outdoor scenes of peasants intent on some game or on their work, his name became synonymous with paintings of shepherds, peasants, and other "low life." The humorous and grotesque art of the *bambocciate* appealed to wealthy patrons. "What they abhor seeing alive," Salvator Rosa wrote, referring to this audience, "they like to see painted" (Briganti, p. 14).

In France, during the same period, the paintings of the brothers Le Nain (Antoine, Louis, and Matheiu) foreshadowed a shift to the more positive view of the peasantry that prevailed in the nineteenth century. The resting peasant is not criticized in Louis Le Nain's *La charrette* (1641) in which a reserved peasant woman sits in front of a cart and holds her sleeping child while other children pose quietly, some with folded hands, creating a peaceful, classically balanced composition. The respite from work in the Le Nains' *Le Repas des paysans* (1642) is celebrated quietly, with simple food. Peasants drink wine, but there is no sign of excess. A young boy holds a violin rather than a bagpipe, which has traditional sexual connotations, and another man folds his hands in a prayerful gesture.

These peasants are not working, but they invite respect rather than laughter.

The paintings of the Le Nains were exhibited in Paris in 1850, attracting great interest, and many nineteenth-century works exhibit the same positive view of the peasantry. Each of the five panels in Frédéric Léon's *The Stages of a Peasant's Life* (1885–1887), is devoted to a different stage, from youth to old age, children to parents and grandparents, with the peasants placed frontally in somewhat awkward poses as though they had sat for a provincial group photograph. The series recalls the paintings of the Le Nains as well as the medieval and Renaissance cyclical conception of peasant life; the peasant again serves as an image of the eternal, never-ending cycles of human life.

The Cult of the Peasant

The rise of positive peasant imagery in the nineteenth century is coincident with the modernization of European life, and the "cult of the peasant" is, in many ways, a response to the dislocations caused by the Industrial Revolution and the rapidly changing conditions of city and country life. The consumers of art continued to be members of the middle and upper classes, purchasing art to decorate their homes, but their preference shifted from satires that denigrated the peasantry to art that idealized peasant life.

Happy peasants in picturesque costumes celebrate their holidays with grace and decorum in Robert's *Return from the Pilgrimage to the Madonna dell'Arco Near Naples at Whitsuntide* (1827). A madonnalike peasant woman rides a donkey, holds a garlanded child, and is surrounded by dancing peasants in William Bouguereau's *Return from the Harvest* (1878). No longer stigmatized as lazy, the peasant enjoys well-deserved rest in Léon Lhermitte's *The Noonday Rest During the Harvest* (1905) and Camille Pissarro's *The Rest, Young Peasant Woman Lying on the Grass* (1882). These were popular images, but the greatest enthusiasm was reserved for representations of the peasant at work, for scenes of a contented peasantry laboring in pleasant, expansive fields, accepting their lot and intent on their tasks.

The peasants carrying out their labors with quiet devotion embodied the conservative moral values championed by the bourgeoisie: work, family, religion, and patriotism. With raking light and in sunny fields, as in Ferdinand Georg Waldmüller's *The Harvest* (1846), these often nostalgic images offered stability in a period of instability, reassurance in a period of rapid change. In Giovanni Segantini's *Ploughing in the Engadine* (1888) and Rosa Bonheur's *Ploughing Scene* (1854), horse, peasant, and landscape are a seamless whole, a harmonious, interconnected, and eternal universe. For Millet, the peasant at his labors was a symbol of humankind's endless struggle with existence. Millet's *The Sower* (circa 1850), portrays a solitary figure silhouetted against the sky who scatters seed with a gesture unchanged since it was depicted on the walls of Egyptian tombs.

Gustave Courbet, more politically motivated, preferred peasant mediocrity over urban change and innovation, and in paintings such as *Peasants of Flagey Returning from the Fair*

and *Burial at Ornans* (both 1850) the peasantry are cast in the role of guardians of traditional values. Van Gogh shared with Millet a conservative, somewhat nostalgic preference for the traditional countryside: "To feel what has always been and what always will be," wrote van Gogh about being with peasants in the countryside (van Tilborgh, p. 18). In van Gogh's copies after the paintings of Millet, such as *Men Digging* (1889) or *The Sower* (1888), the colors are brighter, but the peasants remain monumental in their gravity, evoking religious prayer rather than political action. Even Pissarro, an avowed anarchist, did not call for rebellion in his paintings of the peasantry. The hardships of peasant life are excluded from *Apple Picking at Eragny* (1888). The painting is an optimistic expression of Pissarro's hope for an agro-industrial state in which everyone would joyfully share in the labors of agriculture.

A call for radical action is not characteristic of the period, but toward the end of the nineteenth century, there are signs of change. The conventional attributes remain, the plain clothes and hand tools, but their function is different and they serve different ends. In Félicien Rops's etching *Le Semeur des Paraboles* (before 1898), an emaciated farmer sows seeds on rocky, unpromising soil, laboring with little promise of reward. In Léon Lhermitte's *The Harvester's Wages* (1882), the farm is prosperous, but the laborer, his fatigue evident as he slumps on a bale of hay in the barnyard, receives a pittance from the proprietor. The title of Angelo Morbelli's painting of five peasant women bent double as they plant the field, *For Eighty Centimes* (1895), calls attention to a similar inequity. Théophile-Alexandre Steinlen, in two lithographic covers made for the journal *Chamade* (1894), is even more explicit. In one lithograph a peasant family—a father and a mother holding a baby in her arms—are yoked like animals to a plow, and their agonizing struggle to pull the plow is overseen by a fat, complacent, cigar-smoking man. In the second print the father, who has broken out of the yoke, grimly pounds the fat proprietor into the ground.

Even though it was a period when agricultural problems were far from being solved—peasants made up more than half of the French population yet had benefited least from the growing prosperity at mid-century—nothing indicates these problems in Jules Bastien-Lepage's etching *Mower Sharpening His Scythe* (1878). He endows the peasant with nobility: the laborer and the expansive landscape are in harmony and the subject is dignified and suitable for an audience that wished to believe in the stability of the social system. Käthe Kollwitz, in one of seven etchings in her series *Peasant's War* (1905), takes the same subject and turns it upside down. In a shadowy, unspecified space a peasant woman hones her huge scythe, her face almost hidden, one eye glaring malevolently over its sharpened edge. The activity of honing the scythe, peaceful and reassuring in Bastien-Lepage's etching, becomes a symbol of intolerable discontent in Kollwitz's print, an image of hatred about to explode into violence. The scythe is destined to cut down human oppressors, not stalks of wheat, and the print recalls the violent song of the Sicilian peasants rather than the images of van Gogh or Millet.

In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, peasant festivities continued to satisfy the taste for the romanticized and

unreal. Paul Gauguin treated the peasants of Brittany as an exotic, primitive people in his painting *The Vision After the Sermon* (1888), and Marc Chagall creates a poetic dream in *The Peasant's Life* (1925). Representations of the peasant at rest, as in Ernst Barlach's sculpture *Two Sleeping Peasants* (1912), or enjoying a meal, as in Arkadi Plastov's painting *Collective Farm Festival* (1937) in which the portrait of Stalin presides over a decorous and abundant peasant feast, continued to have the same positive connotations they had in the nineteenth century. It is the image of the working peasant that underwent the greatest change. When the working peasant—with his scythe, sickle, or spade—is adopted by the revolutionary movements in Russia, Mexico, and China, this once reassuring symbol of a stable society, well-loved by the upper classes, becomes a unifying symbol for those who oppose them.

See also Harvesting; Labor/Trades/Occupations; Shepherds/Shepherdesses

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

Mastabas of Ti, Fifth Dynasty, Old Kingdom, Saqqara, Egypt
Mortuary chapel of Nakht, Eighteenth Dynasty, Thebes, Egypt

Peasant Driving a Cow, Greek relief, first century B.C., Munich, Germany, Glyptothek

Statue of an Old Peasant Woman, Hellenistic sculpture, circa second century B.C., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Medieval

Occupation of the Months, medieval manuscript, eleventh century, London, British Museum (MS. Cottonianus Julius A.VI, no. 33)

Sleeping Peasant, illumination, circa 1200, Aberdeen, Scotland, Aberdeen University Library (MS 24, fol. 16v.)

Paresse, Labeur, manuscript illuminations, from *Somme le roi*, 1279, London, British Library (Add. 54180, Fol. 121v.)

Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, *Good Government in the Countryside*, fresco, circa 1338, Siena, Italy, Palazzo Pubblico

Renaissance

Queen Mary's Psalter, August page, first half of 1400s, London, British Museum (MS. 2B VII, Fol. 78r.)

Limbouurg Brothers, *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, before 1415, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé

Dürer, Albrecht, *Maximilian II*, for *Book of Hours*, drawing, 1514 (Fol. 51v)

Dürer, Albrecht, *Peasant Couple Dancing*, engraving, 1514

Amberger, Christoph, *Rustic Couple*, woodcut, 1526

Schöen, Erhard, *Peasant Wedding Feast*, woodcut, circa

1527

Beham, Hans Sebald, *Great Country Fair*, woodcut, 1539

- Bening, Simon, *Book of Hours*, August and September, circa 1540, London, Victoria and Albert Museum (Satling MS. 2600)
- Aertsen, Pieter, *Peasant Feast*, painting, 1550, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
- Aertsen, Pieter, *Peasant Company*, painting, 1556, Antwerp, Belgium, Museum Mayer van den Berg
- Heemskerck, Maerten van, *Three Estates*, engraving, circa 1560, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
- Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Fair on St. George's Day*, engraving, circa 1562
- Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *The Harvesters*, painting, circa 1565, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Peasant Dance*, painting, circa 1566, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
- Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Peasant Wedding Banquet*, painting, circa 1566, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
- Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Head of a Yawning Peasant*, painting, circa 1566, Brussels, Belgium, Musée des Beaux-Arts
- Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Land of Cockaigne*, painting, 1567, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
- Vos, Maarten de, *The Good and the Bad Peasant*, engraving, second half of sixteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal
- Bassano, Jacopo, *The Seasons*, before 1592, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Seventeenth Century

- Vinckeboons, David, *Peasant Kermis*, painting, 1629, The Hague, The Netherlands, Mauritshuis
- Brouwer, Adriaen, *Peasants Playing Cards in a Tavern*, painting, circa 1631, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
- Vinckeboons, David, *The Peasants' Grief (Boerenverdriet)*, painting, before 1632, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
- Vinckeboons, David, *The Peasants' Joy (Boerenvreugd)*, painting, before 1632, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
- Ostade, Adriaen van, *Peasants Making Merry in a Tavern*, painting, circa 1635, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
- Teniers, David, the Younger, *Kermess Before the Half Moon Inn*, painting, 1641, Dresden, Germany, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
- Le Nain, Louis, *La charrette*, painting, 1641, Paris, Louvre
- Le Nain, Louis, *Le Repas des paysans*, painting, 1642, Paris, Louvre
- Ostade, Adriaen van, *Villagers Merrymaking at an Inn*, painting, 1652, Toledo, Spain, Museum of Art

Nineteenth Century

- Robert, Louis Léopold, *Return from the Pilgrimage to the Madonna dell'Arco Near Naples at Whitsuntide*, painting, 1827, Paris, Louvre
- Robert, Louis Léopold, *Arrival of the Harvesters in the Pontine Marshes*, painting, 1830, Paris, Louvre
- Waldmüller, Ferdinand Georg, *The Harvest*, painting, 1846, private collection

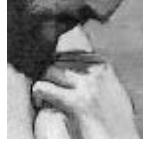
- Millet, Jean-François, *The Winnower*, painting, circa 1847, London, National Gallery
- Millet, Jean-François, *The Sower*, painting, circa 1850, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
- Courbet, Gustave, *Burial at Ornans*, painting, 1850, Paris, Louvre
- Courbet, Gustave, *Peasants of Flagey Returning from the Fair*, painting, 1850, Besançon, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
- Bonheur, Rosa, *Ploughing Scene*, painting, 1854, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery
- Breton, Jules, *The Gleaners*, painting, 1854, Dublin, Ireland, National Gallery of Ireland
- Millet, Jean-François, *The Gifter*, painting, 1855, Munich, Germany, Bayerische Staatsgemaldegammlungen, Neue Pinakothek
- Millet, Jean-François, *The Gleaners*, painting, 1857, Paris, Musée d'Orsay
- Millet, Jean-François, *The Angelus*, painting, 1857–1859, Paris, Louvre
- Millet, Jean-François, *The Four Seasons*, paintings, circa 1866–1873
- Millet, Jean-François, *Peasant Family*, drawing, before 1875, Cardiff, National Museum of Wales
- Bouguereau, William, *Return from the Harvest*, painting, 1878, Paris, Louvre
- Bastien-Lepage, Jules, *Mower Sharpening His Scythe*, etching, 1878, Chicago, Art Institute
- Pissarro, Camille, *The Rest, Young Peasant Woman Lying on the Grass*, painting, 1882, Bremen, Germany, Kunsthalle
- Lhermitte, Léon, *The Harvester's Wages*, painting, 1882, Aisne, France, Hôtel de Ville, Musée de Chateau-Thierry
- Gogh, Vincent van, *Head of a Peasant Woman in a Day Cap*, 1885, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
- Gogh, Vincent van, *Reaper with Sickles*, drawing, 1885, Otterlo, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum Kröller-Müller
- Léon, Frédéric, *The Stages of a Peasant's Life*, paintings, 1885–1887, Brussels, Belgium, Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts
- Segantini, Giovanni, *Ploughing in the Engadine*, painting, 1887–1890, Munich, Germany, Neue Pinakothek
- Gauguin, Paul, *The Vision After the Sermon*, painting, 1888, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland
- Pissarro, Camille, *Apple Picking at Eragny*, painting, 1888, Dallas, Texas, Museum of Fine Arts
- Gogh, Vincent van, *The Sower*, painting, 1888, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh
- Gogh, Vincent van, *Men Digging*, painting, 1889, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Stedelijk Museum
- Gogh, Vincent van, *Reaper*, 1889, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum Vincent van Gogh
- Steinlen, Théophile-Alexandre, two lithograph covers for *Chamade*, 1894
- Morbelli, Angelo, *For Eighty Centimes*, painting, 1895, Vercelli, Italy, Civico Museo Antonio Borgogno
- Rops, Félicien, *Le Semeur des Paraboles*, etching, before 1898, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

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- Lhermitte, Léon, *The Noonday Rest During the Harvest*, painting, 1905, Toledo, Spain, Museum of Art
- Kollwitz, Käthe, *Peasant Woman with Scythe*, etching, from *Peasant's War*, 1905
- Barlach, Ernst, *Two Sleeping Peasants*, sculpture, 1912, Dresden, Germany, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen
- Servaes, Albert, *Peasant Life: Death*, oil on canvas, 1920, Antwerp, Belgium, Museum of Fine Arts
- Kochergin, N. M., *The First of May*, poster, 1920
- Rivera, Diego, *Mexican Peasant with Sombrero and Serape*, mural, 1923, Mexico City, Mexico, Court of Labor
- Chagall, Marc, *The Peasant's Life*, painting, 1925, Buffalo, New York, Albright-Knox Art Gallery
- Miró, Joan, *Head of a Catalan Peasant*, oil on canvas, 1925, England, private collection
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- Rivera, Diego, *Harvesting Sugar Cane*, mural, circa 1930, Cuernavaca, Mexico, Palace of Corte
- Plastov, Arkadi, *Collective Farm Festival*, painting, 1937
- Mukhina, Vera, *The Worker and the Collective Farm Girl*, sculpture, Soviet Pavilion, 1937, Paris, World Exhibition
- Ou Dehua (Miao), *Rainbow over a Miao Village*, painting, circa 1980s

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PENITENCE/REPENTANCE

Christine M. Boeckl

The following iconographic narratives and motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Penitence/Repentance:

ALLEGORIES OF PENITENCE

RELIGIOUS PENITENTS

MARY MAGDALEN

PRODIGAL SON

ST. JEROME

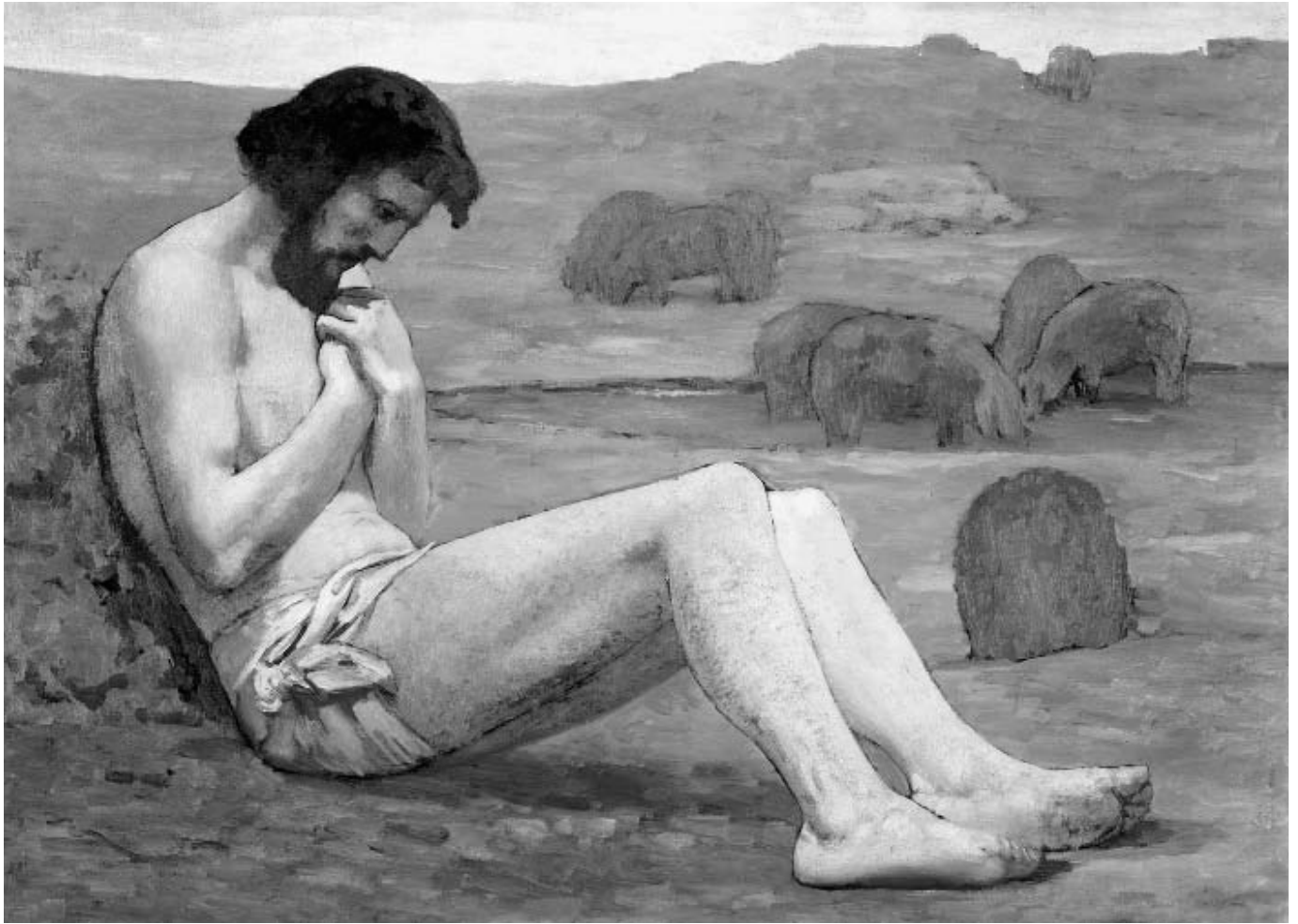
ST. CHARLES BORROMEO

ST. PETER

OTHER SAINTS

SACRAMENT OF PENANCE

SECULAR PENITENTS



Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, *The Prodigal Son*, circa 1879, canvas, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Chester Dale Collection. (Courtesy of the Board of Trustees, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.)

In Judeo-Christian theology, penitence is closely related to the concept of sin. Repentance insinuates that the offender regrets the transgressions against divine laws and wants to redeem himself or herself spiritually or with good deeds. In Western religious art, the most important penitent of the New Testament is St. Peter, who was contrite for having forsaken Jesus Christ. Even more frequently depicted is St. Jerome, who withdrew from the world, trading his bishop's seat and his scholarly study for a life in the wilderness to repent. Images of Mary Magdalen, the harlot whom Jesus found worthy to redeem and who would spend the rest of her life in solitude to atone for her sins, are especially prevalent during the Counter-Reformation. Hendrick Goltzius's engraving *Mary Magdalen Crying over Her Sins*, which shows the penitent saint sparsely dressed as a half-length figure in a rocky landscape, is dated 1582. The saint is surrounded by her attributes: the skull, a book, and the jar with which she had anointed Christ's feet. Magdalen is pictured once more in the background, kneeling under the cross.

Other familiar contrite figures from the New Testament are the Good Thief (good malefactor) and the Prodigal Son. The former is mostly seen in three-cross Crucifixion scenes, yet the latter's story repeatedly appears in secular settings. The Old Testament subject of King David's Remorse also represents repentance. The king had disregarded Jehovah's commandments and brought death to his people; for his sin David did penance (this event is more thoroughly discussed in the essay *Plague/Pestilence*). A rueful Adam and Ahadab represent themes from the old law as well, but they are rarely seen in the visual arts. Penance (confession) is one of the sacraments of the Eastern, Roman, and some Anglican churches that are briefly discussed in this essay. Although allegorical figures representing penitence are uncommon, the concept is centuries old. Of course, outside the religious realm, repentance also can indicate grief for actions taken or compunction for omissions and resolve to amend one's life. The most charming contrite figure in Greco-Roman mythology is Psyche, the bride of the god of love, Cupid. Her story is told by the Latin writer Apuleius and illustrated by Raphael and his followers in numerous palaces from Italy to England.

As already noted, allegories illustrating repentance are rare. One of the first, if not the first, such figures appears in Botticelli's *Calumny of Apelles*. The subject is based on an Albertian concept: Calumny drags her victim before Midas, the unjust judge. Penitence wears a tattered Dominican habit. Equally rare in monumental art is the demurely veiled penitent figure depicted in an allegory for the Sala della Pazienza in the residence of Duke Ercole II in Ferrara, Italy. Girolamo da Carpi's *Chance and Penitence* belongs to a large, impressive cycle of *Justice, Peace, and Patience*. Together the series represents the virtues of a Christian ruler.

In the seventeenth century, Cesare Ripa, in *Iconologia*, represents Penitenza (Penance) as a woman holding a fish, which indicates that fasts are an appropriate way to do penance. In his rococo edition, *Poenitentia* resembles depictions of Mary Magdalen chastising herself with a whip, and in a vignette farther toward the back of the book, John the Baptist preaches repentance in the wilderness. Philip Galle's *Allegory of Penitence* also depicts a figure holding a rod in one hand and a water vessel in the other, which alludes to the words that penitence "not only beats but also purifies." *Contritione* (Contrition) is not illustrated in Ripa but is described as a crying woman with her eyes turned toward heaven to seek God's forgiveness, a pose frequently chosen to represent lamenting penitents.

The largest group of religious repentant sinners is made up of male and female saints. Most commonly, a repenter is characterized as a figure clutching his or her chest with the left hand (the heart, according to St. Augustine the seat of sin, was thought to be located on the left). St. Jerome's image, most favored in Italy during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was closely related to contemporary literature on penitence. He spent three years as a hermit battling impure thoughts and sexual temptations to atone for his sins by self-chastisement. Leonardo da Vinci's unfinished painting *St. Jerome in the Wilderness* is probably the most haunting treatment of this subject. The saint appears in a beautiful rocky landscape; no unnecessary accoutrements clutter the painting, the lion in the foreground being his only companion. The saint's body language expresses remorse. Crouched low to the ground, kneeling on one foot, St. Jerome fills the whole panel. His left hand covers his chest in the customary gesture. His eyes seem to ask forgiveness, and he presents himself to God through a sweeping gesture with his right arm. Palma Giovane shows the kneeling saint pointing toward Christ, symbol of salvation, while he reads the Bible—indicating St. Jerome as the author of the Vulgate. Lucas Cranach's early painting *St. Jerome as a Hermit* shows strong emotions and the urgency of his self-punishment. The saint holds the stone in his rigid right hand while the left pulls his beard in despair. The religious fervor is echoed in the dense woods of the Danube School landscape. On the right, toward the back, an expressive Crucifixion scene becomes visible. The saint does not kneel exactly in front of Christ's image, as seen frequently in other works, such as *Jerome Contemplating the Cross* by Cima da Conegliano, Tintoretto, and others. A variation of the topic appears in Guido Reni's *St. Jerome and the Angel*, in which a messenger from God visits the hermit in the wilderness. The saint's leathery skin contrasts sharply with the smooth complexion of the angel.

Although St. Jerome is the most important ascetic saint pictured in seclusion, he frequently is replaced by other contrite hermits conveying similar didactic messages: St. John

Chrysostomos (Albrecht Dürer, *Penance of St. Chrysostomos*), Onuphrius (Palma Giovane, *St. Onuphrius*), and others. The life of St. Francis inspired many penitent orders. Seventeenth-century Dutch artist Gerrit Dou conceived his *Hermit* less spiritually and more like a genre painting. The religious zest of the previous centuries seems lost, yet the visual tradition is still strong: The lonely figure is surrounded by *vanitas* (vanity) symbols, such as a skull and a lantern.

The subject of a repentant St. Peter involves most commonly a half-length view of the apostle. Spanish artists are especially fond of showing St. Peter's contrite heart. They emphasize his tear-filled eyes turned toward heaven and his sensitive hand that rests on the saint's chest, trying to ease his pain of guilt for betraying Jesus Christ. This expressive tradition was started by El Greco and continued until Francisco de Goya in the late eighteenth century. Georges de La Tour's *The Penitent Peter* handles the night scene with the highlight and shadow of a Caravaggio. The bearded saint stares wide-eyed in despair at the cock, referring to Christ's prediction of his betrayal.

The main female character representing penance was undeniably Mary Magdalen; her conversion was already mentioned in the Bible and elaborated further by Pseudo Bonaventura as well as in the *Legenda aurea*. Over the centuries, the image of Mary Magdalen changes, with different traits emphasized according to local customs and beliefs. The saint's narrative iconography was first consolidated circa 1285 by the Magdalen Master. The large panel is dominated by the central figure in a long, hairy chemise. Magdalen's life is told in several smaller scenes: anointing Christ's feet, doing penance, under the Cross, after the Resurrection, and others. In contrast to this early ascetic version, in most later perceptions of the saint, Magdalen's beauty is part of her iconography. She is often found meditating, standing, kneeling, or humbly seated on the ground.

Although the former sinner was renowned for her devotion, it was probably the alluring submission of the female that inspired so many different versions of the Magdalen, all painted by male artists (for male patrons?). Titian, working for the Spanish court, created several versions of the most sensuous nude saint expressing her undying love for God. The canvas, documented to be shipped to Philip II in 1562, was placed in the sacristy of Spain's El Escorial (destroyed by a fire in 1841). This type shows Magdalen turning her teary eyes toward heaven while covering her nakedness with her beautiful tresses. La Tour's version emphasizes the long nights spent in prayer; the saint ponders her life as she gazes into the candle, holding the whip and skull on her lap. One of the most dramatic narratives is by Charles Le Brun. His *Repentant Mary Magdalen Renounces All the Vanities of the World* shows Magdalen's inner turmoil before she goes into the wilderness. The beautifully dressed and coiffed saint, with her treasures at her feet, gestures emotionally. She is saying farewell to her accustomed life and will henceforth turn to God. Nineteenth-century artist Jean Béraud, in *Mary Magdalen in the House of the Pharisee*, presented the saint in the dress code of the 1890s. Although Christ is depicted in the traditional classical garb, the sinner prostrate at his feet is dressed by a Parisian couturier. The rest of the dinner guests wear black tie and include a number of recognizable notables of the day. The artist's intention was to depict contemporary social mores, for which he was praised as

well as criticized in the Salon. It has recently been proposed that Paul Cézanne, in his early work *The Harrowing of Hell and Mary Magdalen*, intended to link the two themes visually as well as thematically, drawing on the Provençal tradition of Pasqual plays. (The iconography of Mary of Egypt, a sixth-century saint whose biography also was included in the *Legenda aurea*, often is indistinguishable from that of the penitent Magdalen in the wilderness.)

Although painting is by far the most appropriate medium to describe the emotional state of redress, a few sculptors attempted this theme with various degrees of success. Donatello's wood carving *Mary Magdalen* represents the repentant saint in what is probably the most expressive depiction of her ascetic lifestyle. Her beauty gone, she has conquered vanity. Dressed only in her hairy shirt, she is the female hermit who becomes a counterpart to John the Baptist. A Baroque sculpture by Jérôme Duquesnoy was designed to engage our emotions. His *Repentant Mary Magdalen in a Cave*, which presents the saint in the state of an "elegant dishabille," is situated in the secluded, natural setting of a park in Brussels, Belgium. The viewer is invited to enter her world and follow the saint's example.

Generally, single penitent figures are the rule, yet at times a number of sinners were grouped together to address the complete issue of remorse. Abraham Bloemaert's *Series of the Penitents* includes, with the more familiar biblical types, some rare examples of sinners grouped in three pairs to indicate their common mistakes. First, Saints Peter and Paul appear in penitent poses. St. Peter wrings his hands in front of a crowing cock; St. Paul points toward a scene in the background that shows his fall from the horse when he was on his way to Damascus to persecute Christians. The two apostles had sinned against God but were absolved because of their contrite prayers. Next, Magdalen and Zacchaeus were mundane sinners. They demonstrate their foibles: Magdalen's vanity and Zacchaeus's ill-gotten gold. The two penitents that would not be forgiven are King Saul and Judas Iscariot. They committed the gravest sin, suicide, and would be condemned for all eternity. Some painters grouped a number of penitents in the company of Christ. For example, Otto van Veen's *Christ and Penitent Sinners* depicts King David, Mary Magdalen, the Prodigal Son, and the Good Thief (holding his cross). Peter Paul Rubens followed van Veen's, his teacher's, iconography by surrounding Jesus with the same penitents, but his Baroque work gained in liveliness through emotional gestures and expressions.

The sacrament of penance was another infrequent yet important subject for artists. In Catholic theology, Mary Magdalen is most closely associated with this sacrament (a necessary step to regain grace after committing a sin); therefore, she is frequently depicted on confessionals. Before this type of liturgical furniture was invented, the priest would hear confession in public places. To induce expiatory sentiments, the confessor held a rod in his hand, as illustrated in books of *Doctrina Christiana* (several versions were printed in Rome in the sixteenth century). One of the few paintings of the sacrament of penance that comes closest in spirit to the catechetical illustration is the depiction of a Catholic priest hearing confession from a penitent in Antonio de Bellis's *St. Charles Borromeo Administers the Viaticum to a Plague Victim*. Ruefully, the sinner kneels before the clergyman, who leans heavily on a cane.

In Rogier van der Weyden's *Altarpiece of the Seven Sacraments*, Confession and Absolution are depicted as a small figure group in the left background.

Nicolas Poussin treated the *Seven Sacraments* twice in very similar compositions. His primary source for the two canvases of penance was the text describing the supper at Simon (Luke 7:36–50), where Christ forgave Magdalen's sins because "she loved much." Poussin was very intent on literary accuracy in religious art, yet in the earlier series (commissioned by the antiquarian Cassiano del Pozzo), Poussin displays his erudite grasp of authentic classical interiors. In the first *Sacrament of Penance*, he depicts Christ reclining at the banquet on a triclinium. The weeping sinner kneels at her Savior's feet (closest to the viewer) in the lower left-hand corner and demonstrates great emotion. Poussin sent the second version to his French benefactor Freart de Chantelou. Although the two sacrament series are less than 10 years apart, the second *Sacrament of Penance* presents Magdalen adhering even closer to the biblical text, which reads that she "stood at his [Christ's] feet behind him" (Luke 7:38), convincingly showing that the reason for Magdalen's changed position refers to the Jansenist controversy over the four essential parts of the sacrament of penance: contrition, confession, satisfaction, and absolution. Because Christ's gesture signifies granting Magdalen absolution, it was important to emphasize the sinner's deep inner feelings (*affetti*) describing her remorse. The theological concept of contrition rather than attrition advocated by the Jesuits (an imperfect form of penance) is guaranteed by the pose of Magdalen, "whose very name suggested life-long repentance and expiation."

Two more aspects of the sacrament of penance were illustrated by artists: one concerned the sanctity of the confession and the second the power of the Catholic clergy to absolve from sins (power of the keys). Giuseppe Maria Crespi treated the first in his *St. John Nepomuc Confessing the Queen of Bohemia*. The painting describes the confessional: The saint attentively listens to the queen, yet unbeknownst to both, one of the king's spies eavesdrops. It was common knowledge that St. Nepomuc refused to divulge the queen's secrets and preferred martyrdom by drowning in the Moldava River. The second scene, Heinrich von Angeli's *At the Confessional*, relates to the sacrament of penance as well. The painting depicts the stony countenance of a priest leaving a young woman, who cowers at his feet and raises her arms in a gesture of sheer desperation, without absolution. It must have expressed the anxiety of a great many people because the scene was reproduced in *Gartenlaube*, one of the most popular German magazines of the nineteenth century.

The Roman Catholic Church frequently staged propitiatory processions to express penitence. Medieval flagellants (*Les Belles Heures du Duc de Berry*) or St. Charles Borromeo (G. B. Rovere and Pietro da Cortona, among others) led such public displays of repentance of communal sins. To avoid divine punishments, the faithful would humble themselves before God. Dressed like sinners, often barefoot, they would walk through city streets. Baroque *penetente* figurines are small wood carvings, produced in the Hispano-American culture, that were carried during Lenten processions. They have their roots in Catholic Spain. The sculptures represent saints, the Immaculata, and death imagery.

Penitence also is an integral part of the Prodigal Son parable. Although it is frequently debated whether any particular pictorial version is Protestant or Catholic, it is seldom proved beyond the shadow of a doubt. Protestant artists chose the subject of the *filius prodigus* (prodigal son) because it indicated a personal conversion. According to their beliefs, people are saved by faith and Christ's mercy rather than by their own merits. The aged Rembrandt van Rijn treated this theme most memorably in his version in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, Russia. In his *Return of the Prodigal Son*, the father opens his arms to the repenting youth, seemingly embracing the whole world. The impoverished son kneels before the old man in perfect harmony and peace. According to Catholic doctrines, the assumption would have been that the contrite son had repented, confessed, and atoned before he would be absolved from his sins. Seventeenth-century Counter-Reformation art favored the scenes of the return, as in Bartolomé Esteban Murillo's recounting of the story in epic breadth. Not only is the penitent received by his forgiving father, but even the dog rejoices in the reunion. The preparations for the feast and the clothing of the "lost son" are illustrated in minute detail.

Guercino, too, depicted the return of the son numerous times, yet he limited the narrative features. All his three-figure compositions are only half-length and appear close to the observer. Guercino's earlier versions emphasize the outer changes by including the servant with the new clothes (Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria; Galleria Borghese in Rome). Yet, his later paintings are more indicative of the son's contrite state of mind (the importance of contrition already was mentioned in the context of Poussin's *The Sacrament of Penance*)—crying, he confesses his sins (Diocesan Museum in Włocławek, Poland; Tim Ken Museum in San Diego, California). The servant of the earlier scenes is replaced by the "model brother" who had stayed home with his parent. However, a century later, in Pompeo Batoni's *Return of the Prodigal Son*, the emphasis on the religious doctrine is less obvious. The artist dazzles the viewer with the grandeur of the oriental costumes.

Even in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the topos remained popular. Again artists chose between a descriptive narrative style and an emphasis on the inner conversion. The latter is clearly intended by Pierre Puvis de Chavannes's *The Repentant Prodigal Son*. A large, almost nude figure is seated in a monotone landscape. The man is self-absorbed and lost in thought. Similar scenes, painted by Lovis Corinth, Max Slevogt, and others, displayed greater psychological finesse than in the previous centuries. On the other hand, Eduard von Gebhardt's *Return of the Prodigal Son* accents the outer drama of the reunion. Following tradition, the son kneels before the old man, yet Gebhardt places the scene inside a quaint farmhouse—following not scripture but Jean-Baptiste Greuze's non-biblical story of *The Punishment of the Son* (in which the young man returns too late to make peace with his father).

A secular version of the Prodigal Son, a girl finding forgiveness, paralleling the biblical parable, appeared in the nineteenth century. The Victorian period's fondness for the "fallen woman" was mentioned earlier. George Morland's *The Fair Penitent* is a narrative series about a rural heroine, Laetitia. The young woman, after a life of sin in the city, returns to the bosom of her family in the country. Humbly, the girl sits on the

front steps, where her kind relatives find her. The Laetitia theme was popularized and disseminated in a series of engravings. The Pre-Raphaelite Dante Gabriel Rossetti painted a variation of the theme. *Found* shows a woman down on her luck, seated in the gutter in London, turning away in shame from a young farmer (perhaps her former suitor) who extends his helping hands.

One of the most endearing penitents is the mortal Psyche in Apuleius's *Golden Ass*. This work recounts the endless trials and tribulations the beautiful girl endured to prove herself worthy to wed the god of love. Although this tale is based on an ancient Greek myth symbolizing the union of Cupid (love) with Psyche (soul) and is known in ancient sculpture, the first narrative fresco cycles appeared during the Renaissance. The archetypes in the myth can be interpreted in many different ways, which gave the artists and patrons the liberty to suggest a great variety of symbolism. In Raphael's Farnesina frescoes (possibly commissioned for a wedding), *Psyche Received on Olympus* and *Wedding Celebration* take the lion's share of the decorations. Comparatively little space is given to the contrite bride and her redeeming tasks. A subordinate scene, *Psyche Before Venus*, depicts her humiliation; contrite, the girl kneels before her future mother-in-law. Psyche offers as a sign of atonement the vase she had retrieved from the river Styx.

It was Giulio Romano who expanded the iconography of the fairy tale for Duke Federico Gonzaga of Mantua, Italy. (Parallels can be drawn between the story and the prince's relationship with his mother.) The Sala di Psichi in the Palazzo del Te in Mantua displays most of the obstacles the young woman had to overcome to regain Cupid's trust. She loses her lover when she disobeys the god's command not to gaze at him during their "trial marriage." Psyche, finding herself abandoned by Cupid, resolves to devote her whole life to reclaiming his love. The soap-opera events continue as the regretful and humbled Psyche delivers herself into the power of the goddess of love, Venus. The jealous Venus takes revenge, abusing Psyche mentally as well as physically. Romano depicts Psyche being whipped by Sorrow (*Sollicitudo*) and Sadness (*Tristitia*). Apuleius describes this incident, and *The Scourging of Psyche* appeared on fifteenth-century wedding chests. The viewer also feels empathy with the young girl's dilemma as she faces Cinderella-like chores, as in *Psyche Sorting Grains*. In her seated pose in Dürer's *Melancholia*, she seems overwhelmed by the futility of the labor. To comply with Venus's whims, Psyche finishes one dangerous mission after another, often receiving outside help. Finally, Cupid convinces the gods to make his bride immortal and win his mother's approval, and the lovers are united.

About 20 years after the Mantua frescoes were executed, the subject of Cupid and Psyche was taken up again in the bed chamber of Pope Paul III in Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome. Perino del Vaga, another Raphael follower, used the format of a narrow frieze *all'antica* (in the antique style). The mood of the paintings seems more serious (Psyche's disobedience has at times been interpreted as analogous to the Fall of Man). The political and religious climate had changed, and although the *concetto* (concept) has not yet been fully analyzed, it stands to reason that the pontiff, who called the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and reinstituted the Inquisition, would have read the myth's meaning differently than people did in the preceding

hedonistic period. Again, *The Scourging of Psyche* appears in a prominent spot. The moralizing tone of the *cassone* (wedding chests) paintings seem to have been partly responsible for Perino del Vaga's iconography in the papal chamber, a subject worthy of further research.

Another secular topic is Emperor Henry IV's proverbial, penitential Walk to Canossa. This event took place in 1077, yet it is rarely seen in the visual arts before the nineteenth century. This incident ended imperial superiority in papal elections and curtailed lay appointments in the clergy. However, the theme was little in demand because it describes the defeat the German emperor had suffered at the hands of Pope Gregory VII when the penitent ruler had to wait for three days, barefoot in the snow, for an audience to have his Roman Catholic Church ban lifted. Historic re-creation of Canossa found great favor in nineteenth-century Germany. The subject involving a supreme pontiff and the German emperor was used to communicate various political slogans. Much has been written about its conveyance of antipapal tendencies in the years before Germany's reunification (Friedrich Gross, *Jesus, Luther und der Papst im Bilderkampf 1871 bis 1918*, among others). German artists did not try to portray a humbled penitent but rather a powerful emperor, unbroken in spirit. In 1863, Hermann Freihold Plüddemann, as well as Hermann Wislicenus, conceived the victim in *Henry IV in Canossa* as a reflective yet determined man. Henry IV, a commanding figure, stands in front of the papal palace while the papal court appears much reduced in size on a balcony in the background. Otto Friedrich, in his version of 1890, sees Henry IV as accuser. At the same time, Pope Gregory VII seems shaken and regretful about his own inhuman treatment of the emperor. The tables are turned.

Penitents in art are often touchingly human and quite emotional subjects. Unless the stories can be assumed to be common knowledge, their inner struggles do not lend themselves well to depiction; therefore, at times the images appear stereotyped (St. Jerome, Mary Magdalen). Moreover, fervent experiences of repentance occur far more often in religious scenes than in secular works.

See also Betrayal; Calumny; Plague/Pestilence; Protestantism

Selected Works of Art

Allegories of Penitence

Botticelli, *Calumny of Apelles*, 1485–1490, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Girolamo da Carpi, *Chance and Penitence*, circa 1541, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Galle, Philip, *Allegory of Penitence*, from *Prosopographia*, circa 1600

Ripa, Cesare, *Penitenza*, from *Iconologia*, circa 1603, p. 389

Ripa, Cesare, *Poenitentia*, from *Iconologia*, Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany, circa 1758, plate 176

Religious Penitents

Limbourg Brothers, *Flagellants*, from *Les Belles Heures du Duc de Berry*, before 1415, New York, The Cloisters

Veen, Otto van, *Christ and the Penitent Sinners*, 1586, Mainz, Germany, Mittelrheinisches Museum
 Abraham Bloemaert (engraved after), *Series of the Penitents*, circa 1611
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Christ and the Penitent Sinners*, circa 1615, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
 Laer, Pieter van, *Flagellantes*, before 1642, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
 Dou, Gerrit, *The Hermit*, 1670, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Goya, Francisco, *Flagellants*, oil on panel, 1794, Madrid, Spain, Academia de San Fernando

Mary Magdalen

Magdalen Master, *Repentant Mary Magdalen*, circa 1285, Florence, Italy, Accademia
 Donatello, *Mary Magdalen*, sculpture, 1454, Florence, Italy, Baptistery
 Titian, *Repentant Mary Magdalen*, 1560s, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage
 Goltzius, Hendrick, *Mary Magdalen Crying over Her Sins*, engraving, 1582
 Gentileschi, Artemisia, *The Penitent Magdalen*, oil on canvas, circa 1619–1620, Florence, Italy, Galleria Palatina, Palazzo Pitti
 La Tour, Georges de, *Repentant Mary Magdalen*, circa 1621–1623, Paris, Louvre
 Duquesnoy, Jérôme, *The Repentant Mary Magdalen in a Cave*, sculpture, circa 1650, Brussels, Belgium, Parc de Bruxelles
 Le Brun, Charles, *The Repentant Mary Magdalen Renounces All the Vanities of the World*, circa 1656, Paris, Louvre
 Sirani, Elisabetta, *The Penitent Magdalene in the Wilderness*, oil on canvas, 1660, Bologna, Italy, Pinacoteca Nazionale
 Cézanne, Paul, *The Harrowing of Hell and Mary Magdalen*, 1869, collection of John Rewald
 Béraud, Jean, *Mary Magdalen in the House of the Pharisee*, 1891, collection of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Walker

Prodigal Son

Dürer, Albrecht, *The Prodigal Son's Conversion Among the Swine*, engraving, 1496
 Guercino, *Return of the Prodigal Son*, 1619, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Guercino, *Return of the Prodigal Son*, 1627–1628, Rome, Galleria Borghese
 Guercino, *Return of the Prodigal Son*, 1651, Włocławek, Poland, Diocesan Museum
 Guercino, *Return of the Prodigal Son*, circa 1655, San Diego, California, Tim Ken Museum
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Return of the Prodigal Son*, circa 1668, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage
 Murillo, Bartolomé Esteban, *The Return of the Prodigal Son*, circa 1670, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Batoni, Pompeo, *Return of the Prodigal Son*, 1773, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Puvis de Chavannes, *The Repentant Prodigal Son*, 1879, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Corinth, Lovis, *The Prodigal Son Among Swine*, 1891, private collection
 Slevogt, Max, *The Prodigal Son Triptych*, 1898–1899, Stuttgart, Germany, Staatsgalerie
 Gebhardt, Eduard von, *Return of the Prodigal Son*, 1908, location unknown
 Lipchitz, Jacques, *Return of the Prodigal Son*, bronze sculpture, 1931, New York, Marlborough Gallery

St. Jerome

Botticini, Francesco, *Saint Jerome in Penitence with Saints Damascus, Eusebius, Paula, Eustochium, and Donors*, tempera on panel, circa 1460, London, National Gallery
 Leonardo da Vinci, *St. Jerome in the Wilderness*, 1481, Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana
 Cima da Conegliano, *St. Jerome Contemplating the Cross*, 1495, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, *St. Jerome as a Hermit*, 1502, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Tintoretto, *Saint Jerome*, 1570s, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Palma Giovane, *Jerome Contemplating the Cross*, circa 1603, Riva del Garda, Italy, Santuario della Madonna Involata
 Reni, Guido, *St. Jerome and the Angel*, circa 1635, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

St. Charles Borromeo

Rovere, Giovanni Battista della, *St. Charles Leads the Procession of the Holy Nail*, 1602, Milan, Italy, Cathedral
 Palma Giovane, *St. Charles Borromeo*, circa 1603, Riva del Garda, Italy, Santuario della Madonna Involata
 Pietro da Cortona, *St. Charles Borromeo Leads the Procession of the Holy Nail*, 1667, Rome, San Carlo di Catinari

St. Peter

El Greco, *Repentant Peter*, 1603–1607, Toledo, Spain, Hospital de San Juan Bautista de Afuera
 La Tour, Georges de, *The Penitent Peter*, 1645, Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art
 Goya, Francisco de, *Repentant Peter*, 1820–1824, Washington, D.C., Phillips Collection

Other Saints

Dürer, Albrecht, *Penance of St. Chrysostomos*, engraving, before 1495
 El Greco, *St. Francis in Meditation*, 1587–1597, Valencia, Spain, Montesinos Collections
 Palma Giovane, *St. Onuphrius*, circa 1603, Riva del Garda, Italy, Santuario della Madonna Involata
 Nolde, Emil, *Mary of Egypt with Sinners; Conversion; Death in the Desert*, triptych, 1912, Hamburg, Germany, Kunsthalle

Sacrament of Penance

Angeli, Heinrich (print after), *At the Confessional*, illustration in *Gartenlaube*, vol. 9, 1874
 Bellis, Antonio de, *St. Charles Borromeo Administers the Viaticum to Plague Victims*, circa 1640, Naples, Italy, San Carlo alle Mortelle

- Crespi, Giuseppe Maria, *St. John Nepomuc Confessing the Queen of Bohemia*, 1743, Turin, Italy, Galleria Sabauda
- Poussin, Nicolas, *The Sacrament of Penance*, 1630s, destroyed
- Poussin, Nicolas, *The Sacrament of Penance*, 1640s, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland
- Weyden, Rogier van der, *Altarpiece of the Seven Sacraments*, circa 1453, Antwerp, Belgium, Musée des Beaux-Arts
- Secular Penitents*
- Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *The Scourging of Psyche*, Florence, Italy, Villa I Tatti
- Raphael, *Psyche Before Venus*, fresco, 1519, Rome, Farnesina, Loggia di Psichi
- Giulio Romano, *Psyche Sorting Grains; The Scourging of Psyche*, circa 1527, Mantua, Italy, Palazzo del Te, Sala di Psichi
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PHYSIOGNOMY

Margaret A. Sullivan

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Physiognomy:

RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH AND
EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

NINETEENTH CENTURY



Pieter Bruegel the Elder, *Head of a Lansqueniet*, circa 1566, Montpellier, France, Musée Fabre.
(Courtesy of Musée Fabre)

As it relates to the visual arts, physiognomy can be defined as that which involves the relatively dispassionate and analytic rendering of the human face, as distinct from both caricature and portraiture. Broadly defined, physiognomy can refer to any representation or description of facial features, especially when linked to science and medicine.

A portrait involves the depiction of a specific individual and is frequently a commissioned work that presents the subject as he or she wishes to be seen. In Diego Velázquez's *Portrait of Pope Innocent X* (1650), the novelty of the sitter's rueful response—*tropo vero* (too true)—is a reminder that portraits rarely reveal the subject's inner person. The artist is usually constrained by stereotypes, the image he produces normalized and adjusted to the aspirations and social position of the sitter. In caricature, the situation is reversed. The personal bias of the artist dominates, and whether representing a specific individual, an occupational group, or racial type, the caricaturist uses deformation and exaggeration to create a terse, often defamatory image that emphasizes those aspects of a person's features that are most readily identifiable.

The physiognomic study differs from both portraiture and caricature in the degree to which it reflects the scientific knowledge current at the time the artist is working. If the artist's purpose is uncertain, however, it can be difficult to identify. When Thomas Rowlandson gave labels such as "The Pernicious," "The Ostentatious," and "The Suspicious" to a series of faces and on the same sheet layered a series of profiles, it is likely that the profiles were physiognomic studies distinct from the labeled caricatures. On the other hand, it is not known whether Leonardo da Vinci intended his "grotesques" as physiognomic studies (see the essay *Caricature/Caroon*). The sculptures Austrian artist Franz Xaver Messerschmidt created in the eighteenth century are even more problematic. In each of these 49 busts a man displays a different, grossly distorted expression. But Messerschmidt's purpose in producing these renderings is not known, and his history of mental difficulties complicates the question of motivation even further. It is not certain whether these are physiognomic studies, caricatures, or projections of Messerschmidt's own volatile personality.

In a physiognomic study, the attitude of the artist toward his or her subject tends to be analytical, either to suit the artist's own research interests, or as a response to the scientific concerns of a doctor, psychologist, or other professional who wishes to have facial features recorded accurately for a diagnostic or investigative purpose. When Albrecht Dürer created physiognomic studies for his treatise on human proportions, he was pursuing his interest in rationalized art. According to his own statement, Dürer investigated "about two or three hundred living persons," coordinated their images into types, and presented his findings in a schematic way, as in his print of overlapping heads in a profile series. For

Dürer, this research and codification of the beautiful and the ugly was seen as necessary preparation for his paintings, such as *Christ Among the Doctors* (1506), in which grotesque faces communicate inner ugliness.

On the other hand, the series of portraits French artist Théodore Géricault painted around 1822 reflect a different scientific perspective, and were probably created as a response to the medical concerns of doctors involved in the treatment of mental illness. Only five of the paintings are known today, but each represents a patient suffering from some form of monomania (obsessive concentration on a single idea). The portraits became the property of Étienne-Jean Georget, a doctor at Salpêtrière, an institution for the mentally ill in France where the affliction was originally described. Géricault's physiognomic paintings were probably created as contributions to the "archive of the iconography of nervous illness" begun by the doctors in Georget's circle—a kind of gallery of clinically classifiable types. They also may have been painted records made for diagnostic purposes, painted as examples of certain mental disorders for training medical personnel or painted for use in bolstering Georget's argument that medical experts should testify in criminal cases. In any case, some degree of collaboration between the artist and the medical world had to have occurred because the subjects were mental patients, the project was private rather than commercial, and the portraits were not exhibited in the Salon or sold on the art market.

The belief that facial features predict mental states, character, health, occupation, and even an individual's life span first appears as an important topic in the literature and painting of the ancient world. The classical, and classic, formulation of the physiognomic point of view is Cicero's declaration in *De oratore* (circa 50 B.C.) that *image animi vultus vultu* (The face is the image of the soul) (III. lviii. 221). Ancient ideas were also formulated in the pseudo-Aristotelian fragment *Physiognomics*, which stressed the importance of the "region around the eyes, forehead, head and face" (314b), as well as in allusions to physiognomy in the writings of Seneca, Pliny the Elder, and the ancient satirists. Juvenal, the Roman satirical poet, wrote, "One can detect in a sickly body the secret torments of the soul, as also its joys: the face takes the stamp of either" (*Satire IX*, 19–21). Other ancients noted parallels between the features of humans and animals, used facial features to divide humans into races and indicate behavioral differences, and recognized facial expressions as the outward manifestation of differing emotional states. The ancient world widely accepted that occupational aptitude, susceptibility to certain diseases, character, and even the future could be read from facial features. In both its permanent and temporal aspects—as genetic endowment, but also as the traces left on the face by habit, experience, and fleeting emotions—physiognomy was important in ancient literature, and from its inception the artist and the physiognomist became related. Pliny

praised the portraits of the fourth century B.C. Greek painter Apelles that were

so absolutely lifelike that incredible as it sounds . . . one of those persons called “physiognomists,” who prophesy people’s future by their countenance, pronounced from their portraits either the year of the subjects’ deaths . . . or the number of years they had already lived. (Pliny, *Natural History*, XXXV. xxxvi. 88–89)

The sixteenth century saw a resurgence of interest in physiognomy, with classical views widely disseminated in the popular physiognomy books of Jean de Indagine and Bartolomeo Cocles—which included crude woodcuts and were obviously indebted to ancient literature. Hans Baldung Grien’s *Head of a Fool* (circa 1520s)—a charcoal drawing of a man with large lips, open mouth, lowered brows, and a long, sharp nose—was recognizable as a fool on the basis of the contemporary physiognomy texts even if the artist had not made the identification explicit by giving him the fool’s traditional eared hood. Grien was clearly familiar with these books as his *Portrait of Jean de Indagine* (1522) appears in Indagine’s *Introductiones apotelesmaticae elegantes, in chyromantiam, physiognomiam, astrologiam* (1522) published in Strasbourg, France. Other artists, including Pieter Bruegel the Elder, depict occupational types in ways that are consistent with the physiognomy books. The faces of the peasants in Bruegel’s *Peasant Dance* (circa 1566) are related to the physiognomy books, as are his tiny physiognomic paintings such as *Head of a Lansqueniet* (circa 1566) in Montpellier, France. This study of a wide-eyed, mustached soldier, only about three inches in diameter, is minutely detailed. He has wide-open eyes that slightly protrude, the whites entirely visible around the iris; a subtle red shade of skin; taut facial muscles; and a fierce expression, all of which exemplify the choleric individual as described in the physiognomy books contemporary to Bruegel.

The view that character can be communicated by means of a physiognomic repertoire increasingly influenced artists, audiences, and art criticism. Francesco Bocchi’s response to Donatello’s sculpture of St. George, written in 1571 and published in 1584, revealed his familiarity with physiognomic books and physiognomic theories. The codification of features that began with the physiognomy books of Indagine and Cocles continued in Giambattista della Porta’s *De humana physiognomonia* (1583, *On Human Physiognomy*), first published in Naples, Italy. Della Porta visited prisons and gallows to see the dead, observing the bodies of criminals who had been hanged and taking plaster casts of their faces; he was especially concerned to elaborate parallels between men and animals. A typical illustration from della Porta’s physiognomy book places the head of a young boy with slanted eyes and long nose next to the head of a pig with the same features.

In the seventeenth century, these same physiognomy books continued to be influential. In Velázquez’s painting *Aesop* (1639–1640), some see a bovine type with “great forehead, fleshy face, and very large eyes” as described in della Porta’s physiognomy book. Johann Caspar Lavater’s *L’Art de connaître les hommes par la physionomie* (1806–1809, *The Art of Knowing Men by Physiognomy*) continued the tradition of reading faces from physiognomic signs. The influential works of Charles Darwin and Charles Bell, specifically Bell’s *The*

Anatomy and Philosophy of Expression as Connected with the Fine Arts (1844) published in London, followed Lavater’s efforts.

Cautions about judging character solely on the basis of physiognomy are present from its beginnings. They appear in the Bible—“Judge not according to the appearance” (John 7:24)—and in classical literature. When Hippocrates’ face was “read” by a physiognomist as that of a fraud and a voluptuary, he responded that while his “natural tendencies and evil desires” were accurately identified, reason had allowed him to suppress them. Predictions made on the basis of inherited facial structure (the more permanent aspect of physiognomy), as well as magical and astrological subfields such as metoposcopy (predictions made from observing the lines of the forehead), were frequently under attack. During the Renaissance, for example, Leonardo da Vinci dismissed physiognomy as “false,” although he accepted the assumption that the face shows some indication of the nature of people, their vices and character. Dutch scholar and theologian Desiderius Erasmus tempered his generally positive view of physiognomic forecasting by admitting that appearances could be deceptive.

By the nineteenth century, however, few took these caveats seriously, and physiognomy, profiting from its affinities with the emerging sciences of ethnography and anthropology, reached the high point of its influence. Artists could count on the physiognomic literacy of their audience and their willingness to accept its premises. For the English artist William Powell Frith, a self-confessed physiognomist, criminals had low brows; Irishmen looked like apes; the “bull-terrier type” was common in England; and virtue, vice, race, and social class could all be recognized from facial features. In his panoramic paintings of mid-Victorian urban society, *Derby Day* (1858) and *Railway Station* (1862), Frith includes dozens of types in which physiognomic distinctions are made between so-called embezzler, cockney gamester, fake country squire, man about town, aristocrat, and country bumpkin. Frith could depend on his audience to study all these faces, identify them accurately, and recognize them as representatives of familiar types.

Vincent van Gogh, in similar fashion, used physiognomic criteria when selecting peasant subjects for his paintings. In one of his letters, van Gogh reports he has found among the peasants “physiognomies reminding one of pigs or crows,” and in another he writes that he is continuing his search for “rough, flat faces with low foreheads and thick lips” (Uitert, p. 160). Van Gogh’s terminology reflects the belief, common to nineteenth-century artists and audiences alike, that the face reveals character, intelligence, occupational aptitude, and even criminal propensities.

In recent times, photography has replaced the recording function of the artist, and in the process has helped demolish many of the physiognomic stereotypes that were widely accepted in the nineteenth century. In “The Physiognomy of Murderers” (1889), a visitor to a British prison noted the “ape-faces . . . angry dog-faces, heavy sullen ox-faces” of the criminals, confirming the belief that there was an identifiable criminal physiognomy, but when Charles Goring in *The English Convict* (1913) compared drawings of 30 English criminals with an equal number of portraits based on photographs of criminals, he found that an identifiable criminal physiognomy existed only in the minds of

the observers (artist and audience alike). Physiognomic stereotyping began to be eroded.

Art and science have tended to go separate ways in the modern period, at least as far as the human body is concerned; science has discredited physiognomy, which has left it to matters of historical interest. The camera has replaced paintbrush and pencil, and with the exception of the study of facial expression as it communicates temporary emotional states, physiognomy has lost legitimacy.

However, even if artists are no longer concerned with physiognomy or engaged in a scientific collaboration that focuses on facial features, many premises of the physiognomist are still operative in daily life. Recent studies of the responses electorates have to their political leaders suggest we continue to believe we can read character from the face. Anyone sitting for a portrait may still be concerned that the outcome will be *tropo vero*. Doctors continue to use exterior evidence to make deductions about physical condition and inner states, and the art of “reading” faces is still considered a valuable asset in the conduct of daily life.

See also Caricature/Cartoon; Fools/Folly; Humors; Madness; Self-Portraits I: Men; Self-Portraits II: Women

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- Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Peasant Wedding Banquet*, circa 1566, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
- Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Head of an Old Man*, oil on wood, circa 1566, Bordeaux, France, Musée de Beaux-Arts
- Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Head of a Lansquenet*, oil on wood, circa 1566, Montpellier, France, Musée Fabre
- Bruegel, Pieter the Elder, *Head of a Yawning Peasant*, oil on wood, circa 1566, Brussels, Belgium, Musée Royaux de Beaux-Arts

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

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- Velázquez, Diego, *Aesop*, oil on canvas, 1639–1640, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Messerschmidt, Franz Xaver, series of 49 sculptured busts, eighteenth century, Vienna, Austria, Österreichische Galerie Lower Belvedere

Nineteenth Century

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- Géricault, Théodore, *Portrait of a Woman Addicted to Gambling*, oil on canvas, circa 1822, Paris, Louvre
- Géricault, Théodore, *Woman Suffering from Obsessive Envy*, oil on canvas, circa 1822, Lyons, France, Musée de Beaux-Arts
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- Frith, William Powell, *Railway Station*, oil on canvas, 1862, Egham, Surrey, Royal Holloway College
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PLAGUE/PESTILENCE

Christine M. Boeckl

The following motifs and iconographic narratives are covered in the discussion of the theme Plague/Pestilence:

VOTIVE COMMISSIONS

ALLEGORIES

DEVASTATION OF THE
PLAGUE

ST. CHARLES

ST. ROCH

OTHER SAINTS

AIDS POSTERS



Plague Victim and Her Children, drawing after Nicolas Poussin, *Plague at Ashdod*, 1631, chalk on blue-gray paper, Leipzig, Germany, Museum der bildenden Künste. (Courtesy of the Museum der bildenden Künste)

Plague and pestilence, like death, war, and famine, are universal themes and have been mentioned by Homer and in the Bible. Yet, plague scenes appear only late in Western art and, as far as we know, do not exist in any other culture. In both the Judeo-Christian tradition and classical antiquity, early literature equates plague with divine punishment for human transgressions. The sun god Apollo is said to have sent epidemics by shooting his arrows from heaven. However, no illustration of his punishment for the rape of Chryseis from the *Iliad*, “which kept the Greek funeral pyres burning,” has survived. The delay in developing a specific plague iconography can be attributed to the difficulties in characterizing the medical symptoms and, more important, the disease’s absence from Europe between the sixth and fourteenth centuries. In 1347, the Black Death returned from Asia with a vengeance and remained a constant threat in the West throughout the next 400 years. (In this essay, except when specified as bubonic plague, the terms *pestilence* and *plague* are used indiscriminately to mean an epidemic disease.)

Unquestionably, the Black Death was a cataclysmic event of almost unprecedented proportions that drastically altered medieval European civilization. An estimated one-third to one-fourth of Europe’s population perished during the period from 1347 to 1353. Giovanni Boccaccio, in his *Decameron*, vividly describes the terror that had gripped the city of Florence, Italy. The resulting changes in postplague society have occupied scholars for years.

In the arts, a debate concerns the fascination with the “power of death,” a topos prominent since the beginning of the fourteenth century. In 1951, Millard Meiss proposed that the Pisan fresco *Triumph of Death* reflected a reaction to the Black Death. However, the fresco is now dated prior to 1347; therefore, scholarly opinions are more apt to blame trecento theological controversies regarding eschatology for its morbid iconography. Still, after the onslaught of bubonic plague we find new adaptations of already existing themes of memento mori or of the Madonna of Mercy. Completely new subjects appeared as well. Because the true cause of the plague was an enigma until the 1890s, many fantastic theories circulated about its origin and its infectious nature. It was commonly thought that the disease was transmitted by air, so one characteristic sign was a figure holding his nose. The man protecting himself against contagious vapors while trying to save a child who clings to his dead mother is a cliché repeated for hundreds of years in both profane and religious works.

Plague images can be grouped into two major categories. The first includes votive commissions that show the Trinity, the Virgin, and saints such as Sebastian, Anthony, and Roch invoked as healers—their thaumaturgic powers characterized by a Greek as well as by numerous early Christian martyrs. These religious figures appear in plague banners and devotion-

al altarpieces created to ensure health, to give thanks, and to avert future epidemics. The second category—religious and secular paintings describing the devastation of the plague—is more diversified. Most of the narratives describe events from the lives of saints who had been actively involved in comforting victims of the bubonic plague. St. Charles Borromeo was the favorite subject for altar paintings that serve didactic and messianic functions. Over the centuries, a progressive secularization becomes apparent. During the romantic period, plague paintings allude to new, threatening diseases, such as cholera and yellow fever. Even today, the word *plague* is often used as an analogy for a force unknown to and uncontrollable by humans. In this sense, it describes the latest scourge: AIDS.

Plague ex-votos are numerous, and they fulfilled a specific function in sacred art. Their complex iconography draws on literary and visual sources. Many votive paintings refer to the Second Coming of Christ. Eschatological scenes are based on the New Testament, which prophesied earthquake, war, famine, and plague to precede the final cataclysm. Although many of the works refer to epidemics, they do not depict the victims. Frequently, plague symbols such as skeletons, skulls, arrows, swords, and crosses, indistinguishable per se from death allegories, imply the Middle Age’s favorite theme: memento mori. The Parisian “dance of death,” painted on the walls of the Cimetière des Innocents (now lost) is specifically plague related, as its visual realization was inspired by Jean Lefebvre’s plague poem. The fresco *Triumph of Death* in Palermo, Italy (circa 1447), differs iconographically from Francesco Traini’s in Pisa, Italy: Its victims are wasted by plague arrows. Death as a metaphor for pestilence remains the most lasting tradition in the north and in the graphic arts. The grim reaper, swinging his scythe, rides a haggard mare in Albrecht Dürer’s drawing *Plague*.

A sense of guilt and attempts to placate God appear in many devotional images showing the merciful Virgin and plague saints in prayer (in an effort to save the suffering people). The icons that were said to have been painted by the physician-evangelist St. Luke, such as *Madonna of Constantinople*, were especially popular for plague commissions. The Nikopoia, as well as the misericordia type, also was believed to shelter the faithful from pestilence. One of the earliest specifically plague-related examples of the Madonna of Mercy is Barnaba da Modena’s *Madonna della Misericordia*. The Virgin spreads her mantle over some of the members of a confraternity while the figures outside her protection are struck by plague arrows. Raphael’s *Madonna di Foligno* shows the typical compositional pattern of ex-votos: the Madonna and Christ seated on clouds in the celestial region. The city of Foligno is visible below, and several saints can be seen interceding for the city and the donor. It has been convincingly shown that eschatological connotation can be read into the little nude boy, holding a

cartello (poster), standing in the center of the terrestrial zone. This schematic view of heaven and Earth was repeated by Guido Reni, Anthony Van Dyck, Luca Giordano, and Jacques-Louis David, to name the best-known examples. Giovanni Battista Tiepolo adheres to the established tradition in his commemorative painting *St. Thecla Interceding for the City of Este*; however, his late Baroque aestheticism renders the dramatic scene ineffective. The work appears to be routine and fails to convince the viewer either of its religious fervor or of the serious threat posed by the disease.

In Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia*, Pest/Pestilentia is described as an ugly old woman with hanging breasts, holding a flagellum. She becomes the most lasting allegory for plague in the visual arts. In Ripa's 1760 edition, Pestilence is illustrated next to King David. However, Plague is found more frequently in religious sculptures than in painting. The very fact that Ripa made use of a disease in *Iconologia* should alert us to the metaphorical use of the word. After the Protestant Reformation, written documents frequently implied a simile of plague with heresy, a concept less readily traceable in the visual arts. A rare painting is found in the Jesuit House in Antwerp, Belgium, *The Triumph of the Cross over the Plagues of Heresy*.

The second group, the plague paintings that narrate the horrors of an epidemic, chose this unappealing subject for a number of reasons. The earliest visual recordings can be dated back to the late Middle Ages, when, as might be foreseeable, most of the images remain in the realm of religion. Only a few secular medieval chronicles depict the multitude of victims and the overwhelming task of burying the dead as well as the phenomenon of flagellants who hoped to appease God by self-castigation. The fourteenth-century burning of Jews falsely accused of spreading the disease is recorded in rare woodcuts. Many of these dramatic events were revived in romantic paintings, as in Eugene Beyer's *The Burning of the Jews in Strasbourg in 1349*.

Interest in medical subjects and aspirations to realism swayed artists in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to paint the characteristic symptoms, the plague buboes, for the first time. A scene depicting a surgeon operating on a plague sore, rendered with clinical objectivity, is preserved in a fifteenth-century fresco of Savoyard Sebastian's Chapel in Lansleville, France. The only religious references are the plague angel and a demon who appear in the upper right-hand corner; their images are based on the *Golden Legend*. Numerous plague altars are surprising because of the physicality in their renditions of an angel lancing and thereby healing St. Roch's leg wound. Tintoretto, in *St. Roch*, described for the first time the plight in a plague hospital; the scene was comparable to a setting in a cancer ward. Renaissance humanism is expressed in the heroic quality of the victim as he points to his plague sore, hoping to be miraculously cured by St. Roch.

The verism of painting skin lesions, discolorations, and swelling of the flesh was abandoned after the Council of Trent (1545–1563) called for decorous art. This directive necessitated the introduction of stereotyped plague motifs to ensure legibility. Raphael, in *The Phrygian Plague*, first introduced the appropriate gesture of holding the nose against the miasmatic air, an age-old convention to indicate the smell of death, in a plague subject. The medical facts that women miscarry at the onset of the disease and that children under the age of five months have the best chance of surviving are borne out in another Raphael

invention: the dead or dying mother with a healthy baby on her breast. A third but rarely seen motif is the man covering his head to show grief. In the two latter examples, Raphael had translated antique figures taken from nonplague subjects (the capture of a city and the sacrifice of Iphigenia) mentioned by Pliny in a descriptive plague narrative. These groups were further publicized in Nicolas Poussin's *Plague at Ashdod*, after which they become the symbol for plague itself.

The change of spiritual climate after the council is documented by the domination of religious plague themes and a lessened concern for the physical condition of the sick, who show acceptance of death in the hope of life everlasting. This view was adopted from plague sermons, which spoke for the first time of a merciful God who sends epidemics as a reminder to repent and reform. *Ars ad propaganda fidem* (art for the propagation of faith) emphasized the importance of the spiritual sustenance of prayer, sacraments, and piety during times of pestilence. These sentiments are reflected in a new topos: a priest, most often St. Charles Borromeo, dispensing the Eucharist to plague victims. This emphasis, developed from the Last Communion of a Saint, is now on the salvation of the common man. This innovative and polemic subject was used by the Roman Catholic Church to defend doctrines against Protestant teachings because it focused on theological issues, such as communion for laity in one species only, and upheld the Catholic clergy's priestly status. The painting that proved most influential in European Catholic regions during the Baroque period was Pierre Mignard's *St. Charles Administers the Viaticum to a Plague Victim*, which was proliferated in numerous prints. It depicts the Milanese archbishop among the sick and shows his self-sacrificing concern, humility, and devotion. In the foreground, the mother with a child on her lap receives communion *per modum viatici* (in the manner of a traveler), which during an epidemic frequently replaced the last rites. The communicant is seated on the ground and is reminiscent of a penitent Mary Magdalen supported by her loving husband or father and surrounded by other plague victims in makeshift beds.

Apart from the ever-popular St. Charles, other saintly priests, such as Saints Camillus, Francis of Regis, and Anthony of Florence, show their ministries on Earth as designated "pestilentiarius" (a clergyman assigned to comfort the plague stricken). In every one of these Eucharistic scenes, the Communion wafer, the spiritual and compositional focal point, gives the artist the welcome opportunity to display a chalice-shaped ciborium (container for consecrated hosts). The most popular Flemish plague saint was the eleventh-century bishop of Ghent, Belgium, who is depicted in Jacob van Oost the Younger's *St. Macarius Administers the Viaticum*. The touching scene portrays in seventeenth-century dress an elderly, devoutly kneeling couple about to receive communion. Close to the picture plane lies a dead mother with her two infants. One has already died, and a charitable man who cautiously covers his nose helps the surviving child. At times, the custom of distributing blessed pieces of bread, *eulogia* (not consecrated hosts), to prevent plague is shown, as in Karel Skreta's *Nicolas da Tolentino*.

Plague scenes were especially suited to depict other sacraments as well—a neglected subject in Christian art. Common variations of the Eucharistic theme were baptism, penance,

confirmation, and last rites, all set in the gruesome surroundings of an outbreak of pestilence. These scenes are invaluable records not only because they show the human condition during an epidemic but also because they accurately portray Catholic rituals that were implemented after the Council of Trent until Vatican II. The large canvases show an idealized world: The clergy wear festive liturgical paraments, although ordered to abandon them for hygienic reasons; the priests also abstain from the use of communion tongues to reach quarantined people. Moreover, religious history paintings convey an idyllic picture of family support and impeccable ethical behavior. The attending figures show loving care and even refrain decorously from pipe smoking, which was commonly used as a disinfectant. The *raison d'être* for these frightening plague documentaries was the didactic message that the clergy would never abandon their parishioners. There is a lacuna of plague subjects in Protestant northern countries until the romantic period, when William Blake, for his *Europe a Prophecy*, would create his relief etching *Plague*—one of his most gripping images.

Scenes depicting nonordained plague saints were commissioned to promote religious figures of charitable nursing orders, such as the Olivetans and the Camillians. Because the Roman Catholic Church granted martyr status to people who gave their lives nursing during an epidemic, these didactic paintings present positive role models for the communities. Related themes include the Seven Acts of Mercy, especially the call to tend to the sick and bury the dead. A typical example is Giuseppe Maria Crespi's *Blessed Bernhard Tolomei Comforting the Plague Victims*. The fourteenth-century Olivetan lay brother, who had given his life in Siena, Italy, during the Black Death, is surrounded by a suffering crowd. The artist has transposed this historic event into his own time: Monks perform charitable deeds, and a parish priest, walking under a baldachin, brings the Eucharist to the plague encampment outside the city walls. This design has been repeated in a number of workshop copies. Only the canvas in the Academy in Vienna, Austria, diverges from the original in one important figure, the torch-bearing acolyte having been replaced by a skeleton clad in the garment of a ministrant. Although it would seem contradictory that death should precede the life-giving sacrament, one has to consider the painting's older prototypes in print. Hans Holbein's *Parish Priest of his Totentanz* series introduced such a skeleton accompanying the clergyman on his last errand of mercy.

Another saint especially venerated for his love of his fellow man was St. Roch. Peter Paul Rubens's altar design was disseminated in prints throughout Europe. In *St. Roch*, Rubens sums up the saint's legendary life in a few key motifs. In the upper half, St. Roch, dressed as a pilgrim, is accompanied by an angel and received by Jesus Christ. Below, in a dungeonlike abyss, the plague victims are bedded down on straw. They express a variety of emotions, ranging from despair to hope. Many eighteenth-century Italian and French paintings emphasize St. Roch's Christlike qualities of self-sacrifice and his healing powers (*manus imponens curabat*) by portraying him like the Savior. At times, only the pilgrim hat, staff, and St. Roch's faithful dog distinguish the saint from Christ.

Although now lost, Jean-François Millet's Salon entry *St. Roch in a Plague Hospital Healing by Laying on Hands*

(1761), commissioned for St. Louis in Versailles, France, would have supplied a link between the old regime and Antoine-Jean Gros's *Napoleon Visiting the Pesthouse of Jaffa*. Clearly, the implications in the propagandist painting, which portrays the dictator touching a soldier's plague sore (the event never occurred), refer to the healing powers of the venerated saint as well as to the legendary thaumaturgic gifts of the French kings, especially those invoked against the plague, such as those of the sainted Louis IX. Gros's text speaks of the "moral-raising effects" of Napoleon's death-defying courage, which is described as "having healing powers of its own"—a current medical opinion.

A political figurehead as plague intercessor is an old and frequent motif in art that can be traced back to the most important text in the Old Testament relating to pestilence: King David's Remorse. Many illustrated Bibles depict David kneeling before the plague angel with the city of Jerusalem appearing in the background. David atones for his sin by building an altar, and that sacred site was predestined to be chosen by Solomon for his famous temple. (This accounts for the common Christian practice of dedicating plague votive chapels and churches, for example, the "Spanish Chapel"; Santa Maria Novella in Florence; Santa Maria della Salute in Venice, Italy; and Karlskirche in Vienna.) A cityscape remains part of the plague iconography throughout the centuries, be it Foligno, Milan, Naples, or Marseilles, to name a few examples. The grandiose stair decorations in the Scuola di San Rocco in Venice show Pietro Negri's commemorative painting *Plague in Venice*, the female figure of the Serenissima humbling herself before Christ, the Virgin, and Saints Michael, Mark, and Roch. Allegories of Christian virtues surround her, the Salute Church visible in the background. In another section of that large painting, frightened crowds shy away from the allegorical figures of Death and Plague.

The counterpart to the political figurehead interceding for the good of his people is the high church official who prays to lift the collective guilt from his flock. The subject of Pope Gregory's intercession is mentioned in the *Golden Legend* and will become the prototype for other propitiatory plague processions. The changes in the iconology of this theme can be observed over a period of 400 years. One of the oldest plague frescoes can be found in San Pietro in Vincoli in Rome. St. Gregory is depicted in full papal regalia descending the stairs of that church as his clergy follow him. God had commanded an angel and a demon to bring death to Rome. These representatives of good and evil are pounding on the door of a house on the right. The emphasis on an angry God in the story changes to a more conciliatory mood in later versions: a vision of the plague angel sheathing his sword over Castel Sant'Angelo (also based on a quote from the *Golden Legend*). Therefore, in Federico Zuccaro's *St. Gregory Interceding for the Cessation of the Plague*, a ray of hope replaces the feeling of despair. Similarly, the theme is treated by Agnolo Solimena and others, among them Sebastiano Ricci, who depicts the pope on his knees in front of a heavenly vision of the Virgin with her Son blessing the crowd. A deceased mother is placed in the foreground, and a man takes charge of her orphaned children.

Although the demons are omitted in the Baroque versions, by the nineteenth century art has come full circle. Jules-Élie

Delaunay, who knew the prototype in the Eternal City, painted *Plague in Early Christian Rome*. On the basis of the text of a nineteenth-century French translation of *Golden Legend*, the artist replaced the medieval demon with a dark but handsome wingless creature, “le mauvais ange” (the bad angel) who assists the plague angel in knocking down the door to the temple of Asclepius, the god of medicine. The foreground is littered with corpses while farther back and to the left the pope is holding his procession. Delaunay emphasizes the true Christian faith triumphing over false hope in the pagan idols.

A variant of the propitiatory procession is presented by Pietro da Cortona in *St. Charles Leads the Procession of the Holy Nail*, which shows the saint in defiance of secular health ordinances demonstrating to the world his conviction that divine obligations precede human laws. A charming, smiling angel swings a censer above the saint’s baldachin (fumigation was used to cleanse houses of plague air), seemingly incongruous to the modern viewer in a scene describing an epidemic; yet, to the seventeenth-century faithful, he represents the messenger from a better world, thereby mirroring the Roman Catholic Church’s philosophy on the ultimate questions of life and death.

True profession of faith and divine chastisement are juxtaposed in Lodovico Carracci’s *St. Sebastian Resting on the Niobe Sarcophagus*. The saint’s innocence is emphasized by his heroic endurance as he proudly displays his arrow wounds (they resemble plague lacerations). The Christian martyr rests his foot on an antique sarcophagus that depicts the slaughter of Niobe’s children by Apollo and Artemis, thereby linking two plague subjects. The queen’s punishment for her pride and insolence in taunting Leto, the mother of Apollo and Artemis, has been interpreted by Boccaccio and Carel van Mander, to name the most popular authors, as sudden death by pestilence. Luca Giordano paints the Niobe subject a number of times after the devastating Neapolitan epidemic, possibly as a profane alternative for a plague subject. Other plague-related commissions chose the theme of St. Michael punishing the rebel angels’ resurrection. Exodus in the Old Testament describes the 10 Egyptian plagues. Bernardino Luini depicts a number of these divine scourges in his painting *The Slaying of the Firstborn*, emphasizing in the foreground mothers mourning the slaying of their firstborns (often identified with pestilence). In the middle ground appear cadavers of domestic animals. Antonio Tempesta’s series of prints individually illustrating all 10 plagues can be found in both Christian and Hebrew texts.

Divine interference for blasphemy is implied in Poussin’s *Plague at Ashdod*, where the Philistines are punished for capturing the Ark of the Covenant (II Samuel 4–7). The artist characterized the scourge (until then thought to be dysentery) for the first time as the bubonic plague. Because the Bible does not specify the disease as pestilence (Hebrew *deber*, Greek *loimos*), it was not considered a traditional plague text. Therefore, Poussin’s masterpiece, although frequently copied and quoted in part, did not inspire other versions of the Samuel text. However, the Raphael-Poussin tradition mentioned above is responsible for developing the psychological responses to the cataclysmic events. Some individuals show despair, others are stoic in the face of death, some attempt to escape the epidemic, and a few assist the less fortunate. Because of his innovative

painting, Poussin was associated with the subject of pestilence, and the litter bearers in his *Phocion’s Funeral* (Oakley Park, Plymouth Collection) are often included in other artists’ plague scenes (e.g., Pierre Mignard).

Although no physician appears in a religious painting, Johannes Lingelbach’s *Carnival in Rome* shows a birdlike creature wearing the typical protective garb of a plague surgeon, which makes him indistinguishable from the other carousing masked revelers. In the same picture, a physician with a tome under his arm and a doctor sign on his back rides in the foreground. The whole scene reflects the artist’s distrust of medicine. The reality of suffering during an epidemic, the breakdown of morality induced by fear that caused inhumane treatment, the abandonment of family members, and calloused people turned into stone (Niobe), all so frequently described in literature, are less popular in the visual arts. Only a few secular works describe such plights. Micco Spadaro, who survived the 1656 Neapolitan epidemic, faithfully records the microcosm of human suffering in *Plague in Naples* by showing the sick and the agony of the dying. Galley slaves, hired to clear the streets, drag bodies to mass burials. Violators of city ordinances were punished on the wheel or other instruments of torture.

France produced plague scenes long after the last major European epidemic of 1721, reviving some of the earlier traditions. In fact, poet Charles Baudelaire speaks of “*les pestiférés de Scio*,” indicating that in the nineteenth century, suffering and the color of corpses were still associated with plague paintings, which had played such a decisive role in the development of French romanticism. Some secular nineteenth-century plague scenes show little concern for traditional iconography and iconology. Hans Makart, in *Plague in Florence*, depicts a lusty orgy. He emphasizes the corruption and lack of moral principles during the chaotic times as frequently deplored in plague literature. On the other hand, Arnold Böcklin’s *Plague*, painted only a few years after the final discoveries of its causative agents, depicts the disease as Death riding on a dinosaur, a resurgence of a fossil from times past. Finally, Max Klinger’s print *Plague*, from a series of etchings on death, introduces the ancient topos into the twentieth century. It shows plague as an invisible force against which the humans in the hospital wards are powerless.

Although the plague bacillus is still with us, its terror has subsided. Modern authors, most famous of all Albert Camus, expressed the isolation experienced in a quarantined city in *La Peste* (1947, *The Plague*). Still, we find few plague scenes in the twentieth century. In 1956, Ingmar Bergman’s film *The Seventh Seal* (referring to the Revelation of St. John the Divine) gives a compelling description of a medieval epidemic in Sweden.

Some AIDS posters draw on traditional plague iconography, reviving a sense of memento mori, showing unrelenting symbols that signify death: skulls and crossed bones. Others show St. Sebastian, and a few posters appeal to the viewers’ compassion. One print shows a child, infected with the HIV virus, reaching out, saying, “Please hug me.” A similar campaign to save the children has often been depicted in plague scenes.

See also Death; Misfortune

Selected Works of Art

Votive Commissions

- Barnaba da Modena, *Madonna della Misericordia*, circa 1372, Genoa, Italy, Santa Maria dei Servi
- Raphael, *Madonna di Foligno*, circa 1513, Rome, Pinacoteca Vaticana
- Van Dyck, Anthony, *Rosary Madonna*, circa 1625, Palermo, Italy, Oratorio del Rosario
- Reni, Guido, *Palla della peste*, 1630, Bologna, Italy, Pinacoteca
- Giordano, Luca, *The Virgin and San Gennaro Interceding for Naples*, circa 1662, Naples, Italy, Santa Maria del Pianto
- Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista, *St. Thecla Interceding for the City of Este*, circa 1759, Este, Italy, Cathedral
- David, Jacques-Louis, *St. Roch Interceding for the Plague-Stricken*, circa 1780, Marseilles, France, Museum

Allegories

- Dürer, Albrecht, *Plague*, drawing, 1505, London, British Museum
- The Triumph of the Cross over the Plagues of Heresy*, 1617, Antwerp, Belgium, Jesuit University
- Corte, Josse de, *Queen of Heaven Expelling the Plague*, sculpted high altar, 1670, Venice, Italy, Santa Maria della Salute

Devastation of the Plague

- Traini, Francesco, *Triumph of Death*, fresco, mid-fourteenth century, Pisa, Italy, Campo Santo
- Triumph of Death*, fresco, circa 1447, Palermo, Italy, Palazzo Sclafani
- Plague Doctor Performing an Operation*, fifteenth century, Lansleville, Savoy, France, Sebastian's Chapel
- Raphael, *The Phrygian Plague (Il Morbetto)*, circa 1513, print by Marcantonio Raimondi
- Luini, Benardino, *The Slaying of the Firstborn*, circa 1515, Milan, Italy, Brera
- Lepautre, Jacques, or Jean, *The Plagues of Egypt*, engraving, seventeenth century
- Poussin, Nicolas, *The Plague at Ashdod*, 1631, Paris, Louvre
- Lingelbach, Johannes, *Carnival in Rome*, circa 1650, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
- Spadaro, Micco, *Plague in Naples*, 1660s, Naples, Certosa di San Marino
- Negri, Pietro, *Plague in Venice*, 1673, Venice, Italy, Scuola di San Rocco
- Blake, William, *Plague*, print, from *Europe a Prophecy*, plate 11, 1793
- Gros, Antoine-Jean, *Napoleon Visiting the Pesthouse of Jaffa*, 1804, Paris, Louvre
- Blake, William, *Pestilence*, pen and watercolor over pencil, circa 1805, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
- Beyer, Eugene, *The Burning of the Jews in Strasbourg in 1349*, circa 1850, Strasbourg, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
- Gérôme, Jean-Léon, *Bishop Belzunce During the Plague in Marseilles*, 1854, Paris, St. Severin
- Vedder, Elihu, *The Plague in Florence*, 1867, Lee B. Anderson Collection

- Makart, Hans, *Plague in Florence*, 1868, Schweinfurt, Germany, Collection Georg Schafer
- Warwick, Frank William Topham, *Rescued from the Plague*, 1898, London, Guildhall Art Gallery
- Böcklin, Arnold, *Plague*, 1898, Basel, Switzerland, Kunstmuseum
- Klinger, Max, *Plague*, print, from Death Series II, plate no. 3, 1903

St. Charles

- Landriani, Paola Camillo, *St. Charles Confirms Adults During the 1575 Epidemic*, 1602, Milan, Italy, Cathedral
- Borgianni, Orazio, *St. Charles Accepts the Care of an Infant During the Plague in Milan*, 1613, Rome, Chiesa da Casa Generalizia dei Padre Mercedari
- Carracci, Annibale, *St. Charles Baptizes an Infant in a Plague Encampment*, circa 1613, Nonatola, Italy, Abbey Church
- Mignard, Pierre, *St. Charles Administers the Viaticum to a Plague Victim*, 1657, Le Havre, France, Museum
- Pietro da Cortona, *St. Charles Leads the Procession of the Holy Nail*, 1667, Rome, San Carlo ai Catinari
- Luti, Benedetto, *St. Charles Administers the Extreme Unction*, 1713, Schleissheim, Germany, Schloss Museum

St. Roch

- Tintoretto, *St. Roch*, 1549, Venice, Italy, Chiesa di San Rocco
- Rubens, Peter Paul, *St. Roch*, 1623, Alost, Belgium, St. Martin

Other Saints

- St. Gregory Interceding for Rome*, fresco, 1476, Rome, San Pietro in Vincoli
- Zuccaro, Federico, *St. Gregory Interceding for the Cessation of the Plague*, 1581, Bologna, Italy, Sta. Maria del Baraccano
- Carracci, Lodovico, *St. Sebastian Resting on the Niobe Sarcophagus*, circa 1610, Rome, Vatican, Pinacoteca
- Skreta, Karel, *Nicolas da Tolentino*, circa 1635, Vienna, Austria, Erzbischöfliches Dom-und Diözesan Museum
- Oost, Jacob van, the Younger, *St. Marcellus Administers the Viaticum*, 1673, Paris, Louvre
- Solimena, Agnolo, *St. Gregory Interceding for Rome*, circa 1698, Sarno, Italy, Cathedral
- Ricci, Sebastiano, *St. Gregory Intercedes for the Cessation of the Plague*, circa 1701, Padua, Italy, Santa Giustina
- Crespi, Giuseppe Maria, *Blessed Bernhard Tolomei Comforting the Plague Victims*, circa 1735, Los Angeles, California, J. Paul Getty Museum
- Crespi, Giuseppe, School of, *Blessed Bernhard Tolomei Comforting the Plague Victims*, eighteenth century, Vienna, Austria, Akademie der Bildenden Künste
- Delaunay, Jules-Élie, *Plague in Early Christian Rome*, 1869, Paris, Musée d'Orsay

AIDS Posters

- Dead Give Away, Don't Share Needles: Don't Get Stuck with AIDS*, Michigan Department of Public Health, Bethesda, Maryland, National Library of Medicine
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POINTING/INDICATING

Fritz Laupichler

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Pointing/Indicating:

ANCIENT

MEDIEVAL

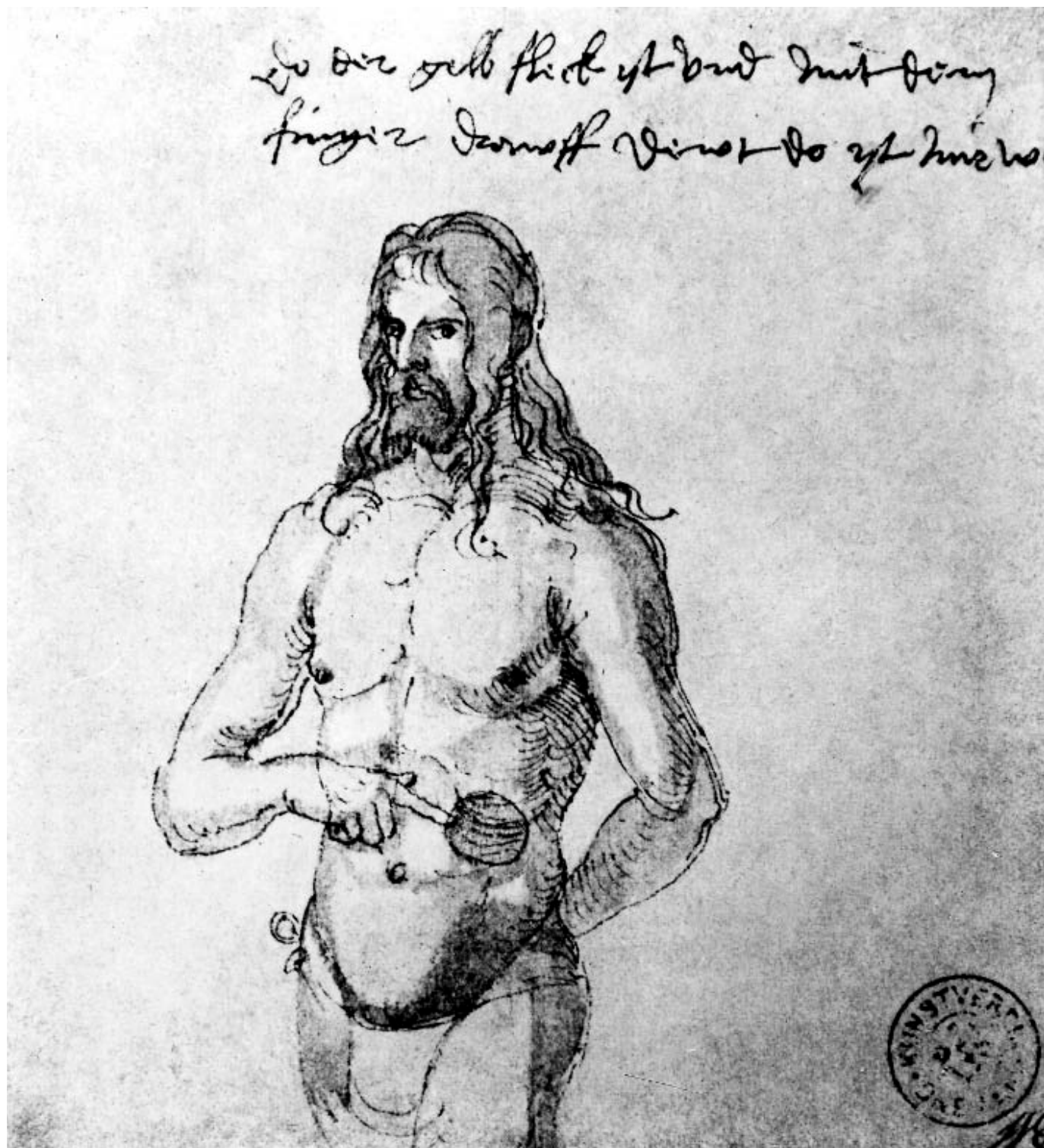
RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Albrecht Dürer, *Self-Portrait, Nude*, circa 1519, drawing, Bremen, Germany, Kunsthalle. (Courtesy of Foto Marburg)

Generally speaking, a gesture of indication is a form of nonverbal communication by means of bodily signs that conveys information and supplements or replaces speech. It is dialogic and can be performed by the index finger, the hand, or the whole arm stretched out. The pointing/indicating gesture can be specifically used in the sense of showing a direction, displaying something to someone, or presenting or accusing someone. Gestures of indication have occurred frequently in art because they produce relations between persons, between persons and objects, and between the work of art and the viewer.

In ancient Greek art, gestures of indication were reserved almost exclusively for vase paintings. The arrival of spring is the theme of a pelike by Euphronius (circa 500 B.C.) in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg, Russia. In it, three men point their index fingers or widely stretched arms at a swallow, the first messenger of spring. On Euphronius's calyx krater (circa 500 B.C.) in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, a young guardian points an index finger at a discus thrower who is being given instructions for his training.

Christian iconography contains numerous examples of gestures of indication, such as *The Fall* portrayed on the bas-reliefs of Bernward's doors (1015) at the Cathedral of Hildesheim, Germany. Reproved by God, Adam blames Eve by pointing at her as she simultaneously points at a serpent, transferring the blame. Similarly, in Masaccio's fresco *The Expulsion* (circa 1420–1428) in the Brancacci Chapel at Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence, Italy, an angel points Adam and Eve the way out of Paradise.

In the Bible, Abraham's nephew Lot was said to have been ordered by God to leave the doomed town of Sodom. In Hendrick Goltzius's engraving *Lot's Flight from Sodom* (before 1617) after Anthonie van Blocklandt, one of the advising angels shows Lot and his family the way. In another Bible story, Abraham, following the birth of his son Isaac, was said to have banished his concubine Hagar and their son Ishmael after providing them with bread and water (Genesis 21:9–21). In depictions of this scene, such as Jacob Matham's engraving *The Dismissal of Hagar* (before 1631) after Abraham Bloemaert, Abraham very clearly shows Hagar and Ishmael with his stretched arm that they have to leave. In representations of the sacrifice of Isaac, the angel who is said to have restrained Abraham's hand from killing his son sometimes points at a ram caught in a thicket, as in Caravaggio's painting *The Sacrifice of Isaac* (circa 1603–1604) in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence.

New Testament depictions of the Annunciation often include the angel Gabriel pointing at a dove as symbol of the Holy Spirit, as in Jacob Matham's engraving *The Annunciation* (before 1631) after Giuseppe Valeriani. In a similar fashion, representations of the Adoration of the Magi sometimes show

a Magus pointing at the star of Bethlehem, as in the Cologne School panel painting *The Adoration of the Magi* (circa 1340) in the Louvre in Paris. In Benoit Audran the Elder's engraving *The Flight to Egypt* (before 1721) after Nicolas Poussin, an angel (floating or going with them) directs the Holy Family during their flight to Egypt.

John the Baptist, the forerunner of Jesus Christ, has often been depicted pointing with one hand at a lamb that he is holding in the other, as in Martin Schaffner's wing panel *John the Baptist* (1521) in the Münster in Ulm, Germany. Sometimes John the Baptist is depicted with the disciples Peter and Andrew, pointing at Christ and thus identifying him *Ecce Agnus Dei* (Behold the Lamb of God), as in Paolo de'Matteis's painting *John the Baptist with Peter and Andrew, Pointing at Jesus* (before 1728) in the Certosa di San Martino in Naples, Italy. John the Baptist can also be seen pointing at Christ in representations of the Crucifixion, the most famous example of which may be Matthias Grünewald's *Isenheim Altarpiece* (1510–1515) in the Musée Unterlinden in Colmar, France. In the center panel, John stands beside the cross and points at the crucified Christ with an abnormally large index finger.

Of course, sometimes a gesture of indication is used to refer to oneself. Matthew points at himself at the moment of his calling, unbelieving and astonished, in Caravaggio's *The Calling of Saint Matthew* (before 1610) in San Luigi dei Francesi in Rome. In the Bible's parable of the rich man Dives and the diseased beggar Lazarus (Luke 16:19–31), it is usually the final scene that is depicted: Lazarus in paradise and Dives in hell. Sometimes Dives is represented pointing at his tongue in thirst as he regards Lazarus in paradise, as in the *Prayer Book of Mary of Geldern* manuscript illumination (1415–1425, folio 132v) in Berlin.

Gestures of indication occur frequently in works that portray trials or acts of judgment. During the trial of Christ before the high priest Caiaphas (Matthew 26:57–70), a servant girl is said to have pointed at the apostle Peter and asked him if he was a disciple of Christ. This scene is depicted by Bernardo Strozzi in *The Denial of Peter* (before 1644), a painting in the Collection Carvalho in Villandry. Since the late Middle Ages, *Ecce Homo* (behold this man) representations have shown Pontius Pilate, the Roman procurator of Judea, Samaria, and Idumaea, gesturing toward Christ, whom he condemned. In Honoré Daumier's *Ecce Homo* oil painting (before 1879), for example, Pilate points at Christ in a dramatic gesture.

One scene from the acts of Peter has seldom been depicted: when Peter, fleeing from Rome, meets Christ, who is carrying the cross and shows him the way back to town. Annibale Carracci's *Domine, quo vadis? (Christ Appearing to Saint Peter on the Appian Way)*, 1601–1602) in the National Gallery in London depicts this rare scene, Peter's right arm widely stretched.

In Italian painting since the quattrocento, assistant figures called *festaiuolo* have often been used to call attention to the work's central scene. An angel points at the Christ Child, who lies on the ground adored by Mary, in Filippo Lippi's painting *The Virgin Adoring the Christ Child* (circa 1465) in the Uffizi Gallery. Similarly, Leonardo da Vinci depicts an angel pointing at John the Baptist as a child, instead of the Christ Child, in *The Grotto-Madonna* (circa 1483–1485) in the Louvre. In his altarpiece *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz* (1586) in Santo Tomé in Toledo, Spain, El Greco depicts a boy pointing at the dead count, a device that urges the viewer of the painting to contemplate him.

In about 1519, Albrecht Dürer drew *Self-Portrait, Nude*, now in the Kunsthalle in Bremen, Germany, which included an inscription: "Where I point with my finger, it hurts." Although reminiscent of *Ecce Homo* representations, it was presumably made to be sent to an out-of-town physician. Preparatory drawings for the apostles in Dürer's *Heller Altarpiece* such as *The Right Hand of the Hooded Apostle* (1509) contain impressive hand studies that show the relevance of the pointing gesture in relation to the spatiality of the composition, as well as the accentuation of indicated persons or objects.

The showing gesture serves an important function in situations of choice or designation. The most prominent examples of this derive from the story of the Judgment of Solomon, when a quarrel between two prostitutes, each claiming to be the mother of a disputed child, is settled before King Solomon. This scene is depicted by Giorgione in *The Judgment of Solomon* (circa 1506) in the Uffizi Gallery, and by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo in a fresco of the same title (circa 1726–1728) in the Archbishop's Palace in Udine, Italy.

Accusation is another function of the gesture of pointing. In medieval legend, King Mark of Cornwall is said to have sent the knight Tristan to Ireland to bring back the princess Yseult to be his bride. On the way back, Tristan and Yseult fall tragically in love. In the manuscript illumination *Roman de Tristan* (1401–1450, folio 186) in the Musée Condé in Chantilly, France, the lovers are accused by King Mark of having slept together.

Gestures of accusation have also been portrayed in relation to the early Germanic poem *Nibelungenlied* (circa 1200). In the poem, Siegfried, a member of the Burgundian court at Worms, is murdered after winning the hand of Kriemhild, King Gunther's sister. Siegfried had previously helped win King Gunther the hand of Brunhilde, an Icelandic queen. Brunhilde, however, displayed an affinity for Siegfried, and circumstances eventually forced her to bid Hagen, Gunther's uncle, to kill Siegfried. The scene in which Kriemhild stands beside the corpse of Siegfried and points at Hagen, accusing him of murder, is depicted in both Julius Schnorr von Carolsfeld's fresco *Kriemhild Accuses Hagen of Murder* (1846) in the Residenz in Munich, Germany, and Henry Fuseli's drawing of the same title (1805) in the Kunsthau in Zurich, Switzerland.

The nonreligious history paintings of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries offer many examples of gestures of indication. In Greek mythology, Sarpedon, the son of Zeus and Europa, is said to have been killed by the Greek warrior Patroclus during the Trojan War. In Jean-Simon Berthélemy's painting *Apollo and Sarpedon* (before 1811) in

the Musée Didier in Langres, France, Sarpedon's body is carried away by Hypnos (Sleep) and Thanatos (Death), while the god Apollo shows them the way to Lydia (in what is now Turkey). In Roman mythology, Venus, the goddess of love, is said to have brought weapons forged by Vulcan, the god of fire and forge, to the Trojan leader Aeneas to be used in the battle of Latium (in what is now Italy). In Nicolas Poussin's painting *Venus Bringing Arms to Aeneas* (1639) in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Rouen, France, Venus gestures toward Vulcan's weapons. In Theodor van Thulden's *Croesus Displays His Treasures to Solon* (before 1669), an oil painting of yet another Greek mythological scene, Croesus, the rich king of Lydia, displays his treasures to the Athenian philosopher and statesman Solon. Finally, in Théodore Géricault's *The Raft of the "Medusa"* (1819) in the Louvre, the weary shipwrecked passengers are depicted pointing at a barely visible ship on the horizon.

A gesture of indication can simply be the attitude of presenting someone or something to someone else. In the Bible, Joseph, one of 12 sons of Jacob, was sold into Egyptian slavery by his jealous brothers but soon became an Egyptian official (Genesis 30:22–24; 37; 45). In Ferdinand Bol's painting *Joseph Presenting His Father to the Pharaoh* (before 1680) in the Gemäldegalerie in Dresden, Germany, Joseph points a stretched hand toward Jacob, presenting his father to the pharaoh. In *Michelangelo Presenting the Model of St. Peter to Pope Paul IV* (before 1638), Domenico Cresti (Passignano) portrays Michelangelo pointing his index finger at the model of St. Peter in a presentation to Pope Paul IV.

In portrait paintings and portrait prints, the gesture of indication is often used to accentuate the rank, positive attributes, or profession of the portrayed person. In the eighteenth century, Antoine de Favray painted the Grand Master Pinto of Malta in the "grand manner style." In the portrait (before 1791), the Grand Master Pinto points at a king's crown and thus exaggerates his real importance. Similarly, gestures of indication are often used to call attention to *vanitas* (vanity) symbols. In Jan Muller's engraving after Michiel Janszoon van Miereveld, Johann Neyer of the Order of St. Francis points his index finger at an hourglass.

Another example of a prominent gesture of indication is that of the military general directing his troops, as in Jacques-Louis David's oil painting *Napoleon Crosses the Saint-Bernard* (before 1825) in the Musée de Versailles in France. This also appears in Antoine-Jean Gros's painting *The Battle of the Pyramids* (1810), also at the Musée de Versailles.

The madwoman portrayed in Giacomo Balla's painting *The Madwoman* (1905) in the Donazione alla Galleria d'Arte Moderna in Rome points her index finger and stares out at the viewer of the painting. The mysterious etching *The Philosopher* (1909) by the German graphic artist Max Klinger, held in the Museum der bildenden Künste in Leipzig, Germany, depicts a standing nude man who points at his own reflection, yet is unable to recognize it.

Propaganda and political posters employ the appellative form of gestures of indication. Probably independently, artists of several countries discovered the emotional effectiveness of the gesture of pointing: the index finger pointed directly at the viewer to stimulate involvement and send a message to the individual. The United States recruiting poster emblazoned with the

slogan “I want you for the U.S. Army,” by James Montgomery Flagg (1917), is a famous example. In it, a respectable nineteenth-century Uncle Sam, with the stars of the nation on his hatband, establishes eye contact with, and directly points at, the viewer. Roy Lichtenstein produced the drawing *Finger Pointing* (1961) with likely knowledge of Flagg’s poster. Lichtenstein’s drawing depicts only a large closed hand with an index finger that points at the viewer.

Artists have incorporated gestures of indication in many different situations. Whether to explain or further a story line, emphasize the central focus of a work, play a part in the composition of a work, highlight an attribute of a subject, or to make reference to an earlier work, gestures of indication provide an important means by which artists might tell a story in visual terms.

See also Arms Raised; Gaze

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

- Euphronius, pelike, circa 500 B.C., St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage
 Euphronius, calyx krater, circa 500 B.C., Berlin, Germany, Staatliche Museen

Medieval

- The Fall*, Bernward’s door, bronze bas-relief, 1015, Hildesheim, Germany, Cathedral
 Cologne School, *The Adoration of the Magi*, panel painting, circa 1340, Paris, Louvre

Renaissance

- Roman de Tristan*, manuscript illumination, circa 1401–1450, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé (fol. 186)
Prayer Book of Mary of Geldern, manuscript illumination, 1415–1425, Berlin, Germany, Staatliche Museen (fol. 132v)
 Masaccio, *The Expulsion*, fresco, circa 1420–1428, Florence, Italy, Brancacci Chapel
 Lippi, Filippo, *The Virgin Adoring the Christ Child*, painting, circa 1465, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Leonardo da Vinci, *The Grotto-Madonna*, circa 1483–1485, Paris, Louvre
 Giorgione, *The Judgment of Solomon*, circa 1506, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Dürer, Albrecht, *The Right Hand of the Hooded Apostle*, drawing, 1509, Vienna, Austria, Graphische Sammlung Albertina
 Grünewald, Matthias, *Isenheim Altarpiece*, center panel, 1510–1515, Clomar, France, Musée Unterlinden
 Dürer, Albrecht, *Self-Portrait, Nude*, drawing, circa 1519, Bremen, Germany, Kunsthalle
 Schaffner, Martin, *John the Baptist*, wing panel, 1521, Ulm, Germany, Münster
 El Greco, *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, painting, 1586, Toledo, Spain, Santo Tomé
 Goltzius, Hendrick, *Lot’s Flight from Sodom*, engraving, before 1617, after Anthonie van Blocklandt

Seventeenth Century

- Carracci, Annibale, *Domine, quo vadis? (Christ Appearing to Saint Peter on the Appian Way)*, panel, 1601–1602, London, National Gallery
 Caravaggio, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, painting, circa 1603–1604, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Caravaggio, *The Calling of Saint Matthew*, before 1610, Rome, San Luigi di Francesi
 Matham, Jacob, *The Dismissal of Hagar*, engraving, before 1631, after Abraham Bloemaert
 Matham, Jacob, *The Annunciation*, engraving, before 1631, after Giuseppe Valeriani
 Cresti, Domenico (Passignano), *Michelangelo Presenting the Model of St. Peter to Pope Paul IV*, before 1638, Florence, Italy, Casa Buonarrotti
 Poussin, Nicolas, *Venus Bringing Arms to Aeneas*, painting, 1639, Rouen, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Strozzi, Bernardo, *The Denial of Peter*, painting, before 1664, Villandry, Collection Carvalho
 Thulden, Theodor van, *Croesus Displays His Treasures to Solon*, oil painting, before 1669, private collection
 Rosa, Salvator, *Lo Spavento (Fear)*, oil on canvas, before 1673, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Bol, Ferdinand, *Joseph Presenting His Father to the Pharaoh*, painting, before 1680, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Eighteenth Century

- Audran, Benoit, the Elder, *The Flight to Egypt*, engraving, before 1721
 Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista, *The Judgment of Solomon*, fresco, circa 1726–1728, Udine, Italy, Archbishop’s Palace
 Mattei, Paolo de’, *John the Baptist with Peter and Andrew, Pointing at Jesus*, before 1728, Naples, Italy, Certosa di San Marino
 Favray, Antoine de, *Grande Master Pinto*, painting, before 1791, Valetta, Malta, Conventual Church of St. John

Nineteenth Century

- Fuseli, Henry, *Kriemhild Accuses Hagen of Murder*, drawing, 1805, Zurich, Switzerland, Kunsthaus, Graphic Collection
 Gros, Antoine-Jean, *The Battle of the Pyramids*, painting, 1810, Versailles, France, Musée de Versailles
 Berthélemy, Jean-Simon, *Apollo and Sarpedon*, painting, before 1811, Langres, France, Musée Didier
 Géricault, Théodore, *The Raft of the “Medusa,”* oil painting, 1819, Paris, Louvre
 David, Jacques-Louis, *Napoleon Crosses the Saint-Bernard*, oil painting, before 1825, Versailles, France, Musée de Versailles
 Schnorr von Carolsfeld, Julius, *Kriemhild Accuses Hagen of Murder*, fresco, 1846, Munich, Germany, Residenz
 Daumier, Honoré, *Ecce Homo*, oil painting, before 1879, Essen, Germany, Folkwangmuseum

Twentieth Century

- Balla, Giacomo, *The Madwoman*, painting, 1905, Rome, Donazione alla Galleria d’Arte Moderna
 Klinger, Max, *The Philosopher*, etching, 1909, Leipzig, Germany, Museum der Bildenden Künste

- Flagg, James Montgomery, *I Want You for the U.S. Army*, recruiting poster, 1917
 Lichtenstein, Roy, *Finger Pointing*, drawing, 1961, New York, collection of Kiki Kogelnik

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PREGNANCY

Beth Gersh-Nešic

The following motifs and iconographic narratives are covered in the discussion of the theme Pregnancy:

FERTILITY GODDESSES

SCIENTIFIC OBSERVATION

IMPREGNATION:
ANNUNCIATION TO THE
VIRGIN

IMPREGNATION: DANAË

IMPREGNATION: LEDA

MATERNITY

PORTRAITURE

POVERTY

SORROW

SHAME



Venus of Willendorf, circa 25,000–15,000 B.C., Paleolithic sculpture, Vienna, Austria, Naturhistorisches Museum. (Courtesy of the Naturhistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria)

Perhaps the oldest extant works in art history are representations of a pregnant woman. With bulbous breasts and swollen belly, Paleolithic fertility goddesses, such as the *Venus of Willendorf*, testify to a time when the portrayal of pregnancy inspired reverence and hope. However, pregnancy in art does not always signify fertility and optimism. In some contexts, it is the premise for sorrow or shame. This essay examines the iconography of fertility, medieval and Renaissance scientific illustrations of embryos, impregnation, maternity, portraits of pregnant women, and pregnancy in scenes of poverty, sorrow, and shame.

Fertility

Humans first worshiped mother-goddesses who would intercede to bring forth bounty from the earth. Fashioned during the Paleolithic and Neolithic periods, statuettes of fertility goddesses had round pregnant bellies, small heads, and short pointed legs. They were also very small: The Austrian *Venus of Willendorf* (circa 25,000–15,000 B.C.) and the Romanian *Fertility Goddess* of Cernavoda (circa 5,000 B.C.) are only 4.75 inches and 6.25 inches high, respectively. It is believed that worshippers would push the pointed legs into the earth to erect a temporary shrine for this itinerant culture.

The Neolithic *Fertility Goddess* (circa 6000 B.C.) of Çatal Hüyük in Anatolia, Turkey, sits on a birthing chair. Enthroned, she becomes a sign of fertility and a site of power. In early matriarchal societies, the queen would sit on the lap of the enthroned mother-goddess to symbolize her union with the goddess's power. Enthronement as a sign of power continues through the history of art in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, and Western Europe and among the Ashanti in West Africa (Sjöö and Mor, pp. 72–73).

Sacred mountains or mounds were considered sites of enthronement (“sitting” on the earth) and fertility. The earth was the divine body of the Mother-Goddess (Sjöö and Mor, p. 73), and the sacred mountain or mound was the primordial pregnant belly from which sprang the water of chaos, “the world egg born from the primordial sea of night” (Sjöö and Mor, p. 104).

Silbury Hill at Wiltshire Downs in southwestern England is an example of a sacred mountain. More than 4,500 years old, it is 130 feet high and 520 feet in diameter. Silbury Hill is one of more than 1,500 sites that have an enclosure at the top and earthen banks arranged in circles or coiled in a spiral around its circumference. The circles or spirals may have been sacred mazes (Sjöö and Mor, p. 104).

The sacred maze gave rise to the labyrinth as a metaphor for the womb. Among the Hopi Indians of the southwestern

United States, the Minoans of ancient Crete, and the prehistoric peoples of Ireland, the symbol of the labyrinth as earth-womb is similar. An eighth-century B.C. Etruscan bronze amulet shows a labyrinth of three concentric circles, each incomplete at one end so that they form a passageway, like the uterus opening into the birth canal. A long shaft piercing through the three circles ends in a cruciform with a rounded “head” that fills the center of the womb. The cruciform seems to be the fetus. This amulet may have been used to protect women during labor and delivery.

In ancient Egypt, the goddess Ta-Urt/Taweret/Thoeris was the protectress of women in childbirth. She had the body of a pregnant hippopotamus and carried an ankh to symbolize life. In an ivory amuletic wand from the Middle Kingdom (circa 2000 B.C.), Ta-Urt stands with Bes, a dwarf-deity with leonine features; he is the helper of women in childbirth. She also stands with Thith, scribe to the gods, and a number of snakes, lions, and other animals. Again, this object may have been used to protect women during childbirth.

Reminiscent of prehistoric sacred mounds is Diego Rivera's mural painting *El Cárcamo* for the Lerma Water Supply System in Chapultepec, Mexico. Commissioned in 1951, its theme is “Water, Origin of Life on Earth,” and it features the workers, architects, and contractors who made this hydrodynamic facility possible. Outside the building is a sculptured pool with the rain lord and master spirit Tlaloc lying outstretched on the bottom. Inside the building on the chamber's walls and floor a giant mural depicts a fertile body of water teeming with fish, crustaceans, protozoa, and fossils. Giant hands cradle the gushing flow, and two nude people—a pregnant Mongoloid woman (whose unborn child in utero is painted on her abdomen) and a Negroid man—stand half submerged in the depicted water. They represent the roots of Mexico's population and are seen rooted in the life that fills the water's underworld. Thus, the fertility of the water and that of their bodies intermingle, each enriching the other.

Scientific Illustrations

The first drawing of an actual fetus in the womb appears in Leonardo da Vinci's notebooks (circa 1510–1512). Previously and subsequently, manuals on midwifery provided copies of illustrations found in a book written in the sixth century by Moschion. It was a translation of Soranus of Ephesus's *Gynaecia* (*On Gynecology*) from the early second century A.D. The earliest extant copy of the Moschion manuscript is a ninth-century codex, now in the Bibliothèque Royale in Brussels, Belgium. This ninth-century copy and subsequent copies from the thirteenth through the sixteenth century show a series of

flasklike forms with cherubic bodies representing the fetus in utero. Moschion's influence can be clearly seen in Eucharius Rösslin's book on midwifery *Rosengarten* (1513), Scipione Mercurio's *La Comare* (1595), and Andrian Spiegel's *De Formato foetu* (1626), among many others. In the eighteenth century, William Hunter departed from copies of Moschion's illustrations by basing his drawings on direct observation. His book *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus* was published in 1774, 350 years after Leonardo sketched from life in his notebooks.

Impregnation

The illustrations in medieval and Renaissance books on embryology show that Aristotle's explanation for conception in *On the Generation of Animals* (fourth century B.C.) remained the main source of information among theologians, medical practitioners, and the general public. According to Aristotle, the woman provided "Matter" with her menstrual blood in her womb and the man provided "Form" in his semen. The "Form" transformed woman's "Matter" into a human being, Aristotle explained, like rennet transformed milk into cheese.

Art historian Susan Koslow, in her essay on Rogier van der Weyden's *Columba Annunciation*, discussed the influence of Aristotelian ideas on contemporary images of the Annunciation in early Netherlandish art and concluded that the "curtain-sack"—the balled-up swag hanging from the canopy of the bed, which resembles the cheese-maker's cloth wrapped around the finished product—seems to describe Aristotle's notion that conception was a kind of cheese-making process. Koslow supported her thesis by pointing out that the Holy Ghost in the form of a hovering white bird (not necessarily a dove) or homunculus appears near the curtain-sack, thus signifying the moment of impregnation, when the Word was made flesh and "Matter" united with "Form."

Whereas Koslow's article decodes fifteenth-century Netherlandish Annunciations, Michael Baxandall decodes fifteenth-century Italian Annunciations in his book *Painting and Experience in Fifteenth Century Italy* (pp. 48–56). According to Baxandall, the priest and the painter interpreted the Gospels for each other. For example, in Fra Roberto Caracciolo da Lecce's sermons on the Annunciation, he discussed three principal mysteries: the Angelic Mission, the Angelic Salutation, and the Angelic Colloquy. The Angelic Colloquy was the exchange between the archangel Gabriel and the Virgin Mary. Caracciolo described five moments that occurred during their conversation that account for the different expressions of the Virgin in fifteenth-century Italian Annunciations. Baxandall describes these moments with the following examples: *Conturbatio* (Disquiet—when the angel Gabriel first appears suddenly, as in *Annunciation in Florence* by Fra Filippo Lippi); *Cogitatio* (Reflection—the Virgin understands the meaning of his presence, as in *Annunciation* by the Master of the Barberini Panels); *Interrogatio* (Inquiry—the Virgin asks why she has been chosen, as in *Annunciation* by Alesso Baldovinetti); *Humiliatio* (Submission—the Virgin accepts her fate, as in *Annunciation in Florence* by Fra Angelico and *Virgin*

Annunciate by Antonello da Messina); and *Meritatio* (Merit—the Virgin meditates on the divinity of her condition).

Paralleling the impregnation of a mortal virgin by a divine source, the story of Danaë was viewed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a prefiguration of the Annunciation. Danaë, the daughter of Acrisius, king of Argos, was shut away in an underground bronze chamber when her father learned from the oracle of Delphi that his daughter would give birth to a son who would kill him. The room had one opening, and through this opening Zeus, king of the gods, came to Danaë in a shower of golden rain (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4:611). The seduction produced Perseus, who accidentally slew Acrisius with a discus during athletic games in Greece.

Paintings from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries demonstrate the prefiguration of the Annunciation through their iconography: Danaë (the virgin), a putto (the angel), and the shower of golden rain (the divine source of impregnation). Correggio's nude Danaë lies on her bed as one putto lifts her cover to facilitate the entry of a shimmering glow (paralleling Gabriel's facilitation of the union between the Virgin and the Holy Ghost). Two other putti at the side of Danaë's bed dip their arrows in a love potion (reminding us that this extraordinary event belongs to pagan mythology). Titian's nude Danaë lies on her bed, resting her head against the pillows as she stares at a golden cloud hovering above. In the Naples version, a lively little putto strides in, looking over his right shoulder at the golden mist; in the Prado version, an old woman chaperon lifts her apron as the golden shower comes drifting in. Francesco Primaticcio and Rembrandt van Rijn included the maidservant and the putti: Primaticcio's maidservant and putto play together while the cloud hovers above the nude virgin sitting upright in bed, and Rembrandt's maidservant sweeps aside the curtains of the bed to let in a golden mist while a putto flies over the head of the enchanted nude Danaë. The mood of these paintings is quietly erotic: an occasion to show off young female flesh placed in a tantalizing pose of expectation and wonder. Such scenes call forth associations with Venus rather than the Virgin, for they portray Danaë as an odalisque (passive and inviting) whose womanly beauty, availability, and innocence constitute most of her charm.

Similarly, the mortal Leda, wife of Tyndareus, king of Sparta, is impregnated by Zeus, who came to her as a swan. In paintings by Michelangelo, Correggio, and André Lhote, this supernatural event provided the opportunity to depict sexual intercourse, a far cry from Leonardo's earlier *Leda*, which depicts her standing under the shelter of the swan's wing gazing lovingly at her four children, who have just hatched from two large eggs. Michelangelo's *Leda* was painted in 1529 for Alfonso d'Este to reciprocate his hospitality (Panofsky, p. 146).

Maternity

During the Hellenic and Hellenistic periods, small statues of women were popular images. Among them are depictions of pregnant women. In ancient Greece, women were valued as breeders of healthy children, preferably sons. Funerary stelae

and vases commemorate women who died in childbirth, such as the Attic lekythos with the scene of a midwife holding the limp body of a dead pregnant mother while the husband looks on in grief.

The Christian era continued the veneration of the pregnant woman, influenced by the cult of the Virgin Mary (Warner, pp. 177–205; Kristeva, “Stabat Mater”). However, unlike previous mother figures, the Virgin’s pregnancy connotes not fertility but self-sacrifice—the giving of oneself (and one’s most prized possession, virginity) for the greater good. Thus, statues of the pregnant Virgin become devotional images and paradigms of the ideal woman.

Three sculptures from Europe show the pregnant Virgin alone: a fifteenth-century Spanish sculpture of a standing figure with her right hand raised and left hand resting on her rounded abdomen, a fifteenth-century Bohemian seated figure with her right hand over her gravid stomach and her left hand resting on her left knee; and a seventeenth-century Spanish standing figure whose abdomen remains open to reveal the Holy Child. These figures were probably appealed to by expectant mothers, as was Piero della Francesca’s fresco *Madonna del Parto*, where the pregnancy protrudes through a vaginally shaped opening in her robe, an indication of her “supreme femininity” (Lavin, p. 104).

The pregnant Virgin also appears in scenes of her life awaiting the Nativity. In a fourteenth-century French ivory carving, Mary and Joseph sit under an elaborate arch, Joseph’s outstretched hand touching the rounded stomach of his wife; in a fourteenth-century apse fresco in San Abondio Basilica in Como, Italy, a very pregnant Virgin lumbers along on the back of a donkey heading for Bethlehem.

The Visitation, the meeting between the newly pregnant Virgin and her six-months-pregnant cousin, Elizabeth (who carries St. John the Baptist), was often included in scenes of the life of Jesus Christ or the Virgin Mary. In early Byzantine versions from the fifth and sixth centuries, tiny children in mandorla-shaped uteri were placed on the mothers’ abdomens, like a window to their wombs; in sculpture, these exposed wombs were called *platytera* (Hall, p. 337). The exposed womb appeared in Europe during the Middle Ages (especially in Germany). It resembled the embryos illustrated in contemporary copies of Moschion’s translation of Soranus’s *On Gynecology*. Examples of these Visitation scenes with exposed wombs include a painting by the Master of the Cologne School (circa 1410); a fresco in St. Georg zu Rhäzüns in Graubünden, Switzerland (1375); an initial in a Cistercian gradual (circa 1340); and a miniature from the *Pontificale di Würzburg* in Germany (circa 1507). The in utero infant Jesus appears again about 250 years later in Gottfried Bernhard Goz’s fresco *Maria, die Mutter der schönen Liebe* (circa 1750), although here the Christ Child seems to be a sunburst applied to a Virgin floating in majesty. Around 1900, Margaret MacDonald MacKintosh painted an art nouveau version of *The Visitation* wherein the two mothers overlap and intertwine at the stomach, sharing one womb that holds one child.

The Child in utero rarely appeared outside Germany. More typically, the Visitation simply showed the two women greeting

each other, as depicted on the west portal of Reims Cathedral (circa 1225–1245), where jamb figures of the Virgin and Elizabeth turn toward each other. In the sixteenth century, the Visitation becomes a more emotional event, and the pregnancies become quite full. Jacopo da Pontormo and Albrecht Dürer show the expectant mothers embracing, whereas Giulio Romano has Elizabeth taking hold of the Virgin’s right hand while embracing her with her left arm.

References to maternity also appear in secular art, as in Jan van Eyck’s *Arnolfini Wedding* (*Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami*), in which the “curtain-sack” hangs from the canopy of the bed and a carving of St. Margaret of Antioch (patron saint of childbirth) appears in the center background. These symbols either promise fertility in the marriage or announce the pregnancy of the bride. Jan Vermeer’s paintings *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter* and *Woman Holding a Balance* (both circa 1660–1665) seem to incorporate pregnancy into a *vanitas* theme, representing life surrounded by material goods and subject to the vicissitudes of fate. In his book on Vermeer, John Nash claims that the reader in blue “represents the truth that though her love is physical and fruitful its fundamental reality is spiritual” (Nash, p. 92) and that the woman with a balance may represent the weighing of one’s soul because she stands before a picture of the Last Judgment (Nash, p. 98).

Such sober and serene images of pregnant women contrast with Samuel van Hoogstraten’s *The Sick Lady* from the late seventeenth century, wherein a doctor performs a uroscopy before the pale and wan female patient. The humor of detecting pregnancy can also be found in the early nineteenth-century satiric print *Time the Best Doctor*, in which four doctors try to explain the cause of a female patient’s swollen stomach. Some years later, Honoré Daumier ridiculed the pregnant woman’s hearty appetite in his lithograph *Une envie de femme grosse* (1840). Here, a pregnant bourgeois wife tries to take a bite out of the butcher’s arm while he carries a tray full of meat. Meanwhile, her husband grabs her arm and pulls her back, exhibiting his annoyance and exercising the manly duty of controlling his wife.

Far from finding humor in the subject of pregnancy, Gustav Klimt selected the pregnant woman as a symbol of hope for his 1903 painting of that title. This young expectant mother, with flaming red hair and ghostly white skin, stands before specters of death and decadence, representing the “truism,” art historian Alessandra Comini believes, “that life and death are equally present in the great continuum of biological renewal” (p. 15).

In a happier vein is Marc Chagall’s *The Pregnant Woman* (1912–1913), a childlike description of maternity wherein the “window to the womb” returns to painting about a decade after Margaret MacDonald MacKintosh depicted it in her *Visitation*. Otto Dix’s playful postcubist pregnant woman follows in 1920 with the display of a colorful nude body composed of disks that look like bubbles converging into an S-curve. The mother rides a diminutive cow, her face aglow with stars in her eyes and a star in her womb. This fanciful image of pregnancy may be another symbol of hope in response to the horrors of World War I.

Faith Wilding wove the *Womb Room for Womanhouse*, a project created by the Feminist Art Program at the California Institute of the Arts in 1972. Comprised of a web vault that represents “everybody’s first room” (Raven, p. 443), this piece produces an atmosphere of comfort and enclosure while it asserts the language of feminist rhetoric in Wilding’s choice of medium and execution, something reminiscent of crocheting and macramé, which are usually considered women’s crafts.

In Japan, an artist painted five upper bodies and five lower bodies of nude pregnant women tumbling through the air, overlapping one another to form nine different bodies in nine different positions with nine different wombs—all on a novelty fan (undated). In an undated Japanese print (perhaps from the same era), several pregnant women, nude from the waist up, display the different stages of fetal development on their exposed wombs.

Portraits

Portraits of pregnant women also vary in their spirit of presentation. Raphael’s *La Gravida* (1505–1507) is a very plain woman in fine Renaissance clothes who puts her left hand on her belly and clasps her gloves in her right hand, which rests on a book (perhaps the Bible). The gloves in her hand symbolize trust and openness. She looks at the spectator with an implacable stare, revealing nothing, as if her pregnancy should speak for itself.

Thomas Couture portrayed his pregnant wife Marie-Héloïse Servent walking toward the open gate of a garden in his painting *La Lecture* (1860). Lost in a book as she walks, the pregnant woman is enfolded in a large shawl that hides the contours of her body. The iconography refers to approaching a change and the prospect of entering another phase of one’s life.

Berthe Morisot, too, suppressed the look of pregnancy in the portraits of her sister that she painted during Edmé’s two confinements: *Madame Morisot and Her Daughter Madame Pontillon* (1869–1870), *Interior* (1871), *Portrait of Madame Pontillon* (1871), and *Madame Pontillon and Her Daughter, Jeanne* (1871). Both Couture and Morisot reflect the Victorian preference for hiding the look of pregnancy from public view.

Contrary to this Victorian attitude, two German artists, Lovis Corinth and Paula Modersohn-Becker, celebrate the physicality of pregnancy in portraits that clearly highlight the condition. Corinth painted a portrait of his wife, Charlotte Berend-Corinth, while she was in her ninth month. Dated October 8, 1904, in the upper right-hand corner, *Im Seidenmantel* (In a Silk Coat) shows off Frau Corinth’s full pregnant stomach in profile. She faces the viewer with a serene expression and holds a small handbag at her side as if she is about to go out. Their son Thomas was born on October 13, 1904.

Paula Modersohn-Becker painted a self-portrait in which she envisioned her own pregnancy before she had even conceived. A three-quarter length nude with amber necklace, she encircles her rounded stomach with her two hands and seems to peer into a mirror. *Self-Portrait on Her Sixth Wedding*

Anniversary (1906) marked her fifth wedding anniversary. She married Felix Modersohn on May 25, 1901. She became pregnant in early 1907, gave birth to a daughter on November 2 of that year, and died three weeks later from an embolism.

Alice Neel’s portraits of pregnant women are less sentimental. In an early work from 1930, she drew a young couple sleeping on a train, the wife quite pregnant. Later she painted *Pregnant Maria* (1964) and *Pregnant Woman* (1971), in which she focuses on frank sexuality and womanly pride, as these two nude women lie recumbent, gazing directly at the viewer as in Édouard Manet’s *Olympia*. Neel’s *Margaret Evans Pregnant* (1978) lacks the confidence exuding from the earlier two. Also nude, Margaret sits upright, grasping the sides of an armless yellow stuffed chair, her eyes wide and her mouth and chin set firmly. Less graceful with her pale skin and a sunburn on her neck and shoulders, she seems vulnerable and ill at ease as an expectant mother.

Poverty

While the blessings of fertility and maternity inspired many artists in many cultures, the burden of caring for too many children concerned others. Alphonse Levy dramatized this situation in his 1880 lithograph *Ça, c’est pour les riches*, which depicts a poor pregnant woman standing outside a bakery shop with a baby in her arms and a toddler at her side, eyeing the cakes and chocolates in the window. Here, pregnancy augments a pictorial commentary about poverty and class consciousness with the issue of birth control, a topic that gained attention with urbanization and its attendant problems.

Käthe Kollwitz’s etching *Woman with Folded Hands* (*Pregnant Woman*) (1898) focuses on a pregnant woman whose simple clothes and haunting eyes convey the anxiety, helplessness, and resignation of poor pregnant women among the peasants and working class. Kollwitz’s “At the Doctor’s” from *Scenes of Poverty* (1908–1909) shows a pregnant woman knocking on the door of her physician, her downcast face in shadow, her large powerful hands strengthened by hard work, and her body slightly bent with the physical and psychological strain of bringing a new life into a poor family. Compounding the hardship of pregnancy and poverty, Kollwitz added the burden of loss in a woodcut entitled *The Widow I* (1922–1923), which portrays a young pregnant woman shrouded in black, her large hands enfolding her chest above a swelling stomach and her head turned to the right and resting on her shoulder. She is lost in her pain, lonely, and desperately in need of solace. With her 1924 poster *Down with the Abortion Paragraph!* Kollwitz added her voice to the fight for birth control. Reminiscent of Levy’s lithograph, it also depicts a pregnant woman with an infant in her arms and a toddler at her side holding her hand. The exhausted face of the mother, her eyes sunken into two black hollows, becomes a poignant plea to relieve women who are trapped by their biological and economic circumstances.

Similarly, in his painting *The Soup* (1903), Pablo Picasso portrays a poverty-stricken pregnant woman who wearily offers her small daughter a bowl of piping-hot soup. Bent over

with eyes closed and Madonnaesque in her draped mantel, this mother reflects the continued influence of the pregnant Virgin as the symbol of humility and self-sacrifice.

Sorrow

In his book *La Femme*, French historian Jules Michelet wrote, "Happy the man who liberates a woman, who frees her from the physical frailty to which Nature condemns her, from the weakness which is her lot in her loneliness, from so many chains, and miseries" (translated in Seznec, p. 132). These words surely influenced Vincent van Gogh while he composed *Sorrow* (1882), a drawing of a seated nude pregnant woman folded in on herself, hiding her head in her arms to show her loneliness and suffering. Clasina (Sien) Maria Hoornik, who posed for this drawing, was van Gogh's mistress and had been abandoned by the man who had made her pregnant.

In the first version of *Sorrow*, given to his brother Theo, the figure appears with the word *Sorrow* written in English in the lower right-hand corner. Two other drawings were made at the same time by pressing down on three sheets of paper. Of those two drawings, one was embellished with landscape elements and a quote from Michelet's *La Femme*: "Comment se fait-il qu'il y ait sur la terre une femme seule—délaissée. Michelet" (How is it that on earth there can be a woman alone—and forsaken. Michelet). With this subsequent version we can ascertain van Gogh's state of mind as he identified Sien with Michelet's everywoman.

Pablo Picasso's *The Embrace* (1903) describes the sadness of two lovers affected by an untimely pregnancy. With bodies entwined and heads resting on each other's shoulders, they seek mutual support and comfort for a problem they both must share. Their nudity obviates their socioeconomic identities and directs attention to the sexuality of pregnancy, his penis resting on her large belly. Three preparatory sketches executed in January 1903 inform us about the implicit narrative for *The Embrace*: *Man Kneeling at a Woman's Feet*, wherein a nude pregnant woman stands and a nude man kneels, reaching toward her feet pleading for forgiveness; *The Surprise*, wherein a nude man stands with raised hands in rejection while a nude pregnant woman clings to him desperately; and *The Reconciliation*, wherein a nude pregnant woman walks toward her solicitous lover, her face buried in her hands, weeping. In these sketches, Picasso seems to have worked out his meditation on the threat of an unwanted pregnancy, and at the age of 22 it seems likely that he or a close friend had been involved with this sort of situation. Mary Matthews Gedo suggests that these sketches may "relate to Picasso's guilt and ambivalence about his sexual desires and activities" (Gedo, p. 52).

Untimely pregnancy may be the subject again in Picasso's little-known painting of Marie-Thérèse Walter titled *Figure* (dated April 15, 1936). The woman, Picasso's lover, was pregnant at this time. Here, two yellow ovals form a face, and one pale blue oval forms the round belly. In a surreal cubist manner, the anxious face seems divided between happiness and fear while the third oval, like a robin's egg, promises life—perhaps hope eternal. The colors in this work certainly appear gay, if

not celebratory, although the eyes again betray Picasso's ambivalence about fatherhood.

Less than 15 years later, Picasso's stiff *Pregnant Woman* and awkwardly skinny *She-Goat Great with Kid* (two sculptures from 1950) seem to represent another kind of sadness brought about by pregnancy. According to Françoise Gilot, Picasso's lover during the late 1940s and early 1950s, Picasso wanted more children after the births of Claude (May 15, 1947) and Paloma (April 19, 1949) but was disappointed that Gilot was too ill at the time to consider it (Gilot and Lake, p. 320). Mary Matthews Gedo views *Pregnant Woman*, *She-Goat Great with Kid*, and *Baboon with Young* (1951) as evidence of Picasso's jealousy and anger, Gilot having become so caught up in her role as mother that she had little time to devote exclusively to Picasso. Gedo proposes that the sculptures may be his "efforts to master deep disturbance and ambivalence" (Gedo, p. 212).

Sadness brought about by pregnancy also appears in Judy Chicago's *Birth Project* (1980–1985), a collection of works that celebrates the personal, political, and mythological significance of childbirth. Having talked to experienced and new mothers, Chicago focused her vision on their anxiety and sadness. In *Smocked Figure* (1984), the artist drew an outline of a pregnant woman in profile with the hands covering the face to show weeping and her dress clinging to her body, as if it were a metaphor for her confining condition. Mary Ewanoski, who embroidered *Smocked Figure*, said it reminded her of the time her mother cried when she learned she was pregnant for the fifth time (Chicago, p. 73). In another series of five pregnant figures, Chicago depicted mothers worrying about their unborn babies: "One is staring at her bulging stomach in dismay; the next gazes at the milk pouring from her breasts; the third sees a monster growing in her womb; and the last figure ponders with horror the miscarriage that is carrying away the child she wants to bear" (Chicago, p. 78). The fifth figure from this series is a pregnant woman, swaddled like a mummy, and a newborn child—"a metaphor for the containment of the self and the ego that childbearing requires" (Chicago, p. 80). Chicago also created birth garments that she hoped would "speak of power and imprisonment simultaneously" (Chicago, p. 122).

From Zaire, a father from the Keenge in the northeastern Kuba kingdom carved a sculpture of his daughter who died in childbirth. The sculpture follows Kuba artistic traditions, with only the pregnancy as a mark of identification (Vansina, p. 112). In another work from Kuba country, a standing pregnant woman seems to have a sad expression, which art historian Jan Vansina relates to the sadness of womanhood, the result of being taken from one's family to live among strangers (Vansina, p. 205).

Shame

Pregnancy also signifies the loss of virginity, sometimes a shameful revelation for a young, unmarried woman. For Callisto, a nymph and one of the attendants of Artemis (Diana), goddess of childbirth and wild animals, pregnancy was the result of a rape. She had been duped by Zeus (Jupiter),

king of the gods, who approached her disguised as Artemis and then defiled her while ignoring her protests. Some months later, while Artemis and her nymphs were bathing in a stream, the other nymphs tore off Callisto's clothes to reveal her pregnancy to Artemis. According to Ovid, Artemis immediately banished Callisto from her retinue, and Callisto was forced to wander. After she gave birth to her son, Arcas, the jealous Hera (Juno), wife of Zeus, transformed Callisto into a bear, thus depriving her of motherhood. When Arcas grew up, he and a hunting party found his mother. Callisto recognized her son and approached. Arcas raised his spear to kill the menacing bear, but Zeus stayed his hand and transformed the mother and son into the constellations Ursa Major and Arctophalax. Incensed by this honor, Hera asked the river god Oceanus and his wife, the sea goddess Tethys, to prevent the two constellations from resting in their cool water. Thus, these constellations never fall below the horizon (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 2:407–461).

In two woodcuts from the sixteenth century and paintings by Annibale Carracci, Titian, Jan Saenredam, Peter Paul Rubens, and Rembrandt, the Callisto tale is reduced to the revelation of her pregnancy and Artemis's angry response. Although this moment dramatizes Callisto's humiliation and shame, in the hands of these male artists, the plethora of female nudes brings an erotic element to a moralistic subject.

During the medieval and Renaissance periods, interpreters of Ovid ignored Callisto's rape and decided that she willingly succumbed to Zeus's advances (Wall, p. 28). The significance of the story became her misfortune, which parallels the story of Actaeon, who accidentally discovered the bathing Artemis, was turned into a stag by the goddess and was then devoured by his own dogs. Titian and Rembrandt made this parallel clear: Titian painted pendants of the stories, and Rembrandt painted both stories in one work. Their focus portrays Callisto as a victim, and her story becomes allegorical, with Artemis the personification of fortune.

The shame of lost virginity and illegitimacy is given a much more straightforward treatment in Godfried Schalcken's *La consultation indiscrete* (1680–1685) and its pendant *La remonstration inutile* (1685–1690). In the former, a young woman stands behind her father and a doctor who examines a flask of urine in which a tiny fetus floats. The daughter holds a kerchief to her closed, tearful eyes. Her father sneers at his daughter in disdain. In the latter, a young woman sits next to a table with her hand on an elaborate box. The lid of the box is slightly ajar, and the head of a bird emerges; the bird is about to fly away, symbolizing her lost virtue. An older man (presumably her father) stands before the young woman lecturing her in vain. The two paintings inform each other, and it appears that the spectator should sympathize with the frail young women (as one should sympathize with the victimized Callisto) but still agree with the condemnation of the older men. Thus, pregnancy in art infers a wide range of meanings and provokes a wide range of sentiments, from reverence to sadness to censure.

See also Annunciation; Birth/Childbirth; Visiting/Visitation

Selected Works of Art

Fertility Goddesses

Venus of Willendorf, Paleolithic sculpture, circa 25,000–15,000 B.C., Vienna, Austria, Museum of Natural History

Fertility Goddess, Neolithic sculpture, circa 6000 B.C., from Shrine A. H. 1, Çatal Hüyük, Turkey, now in Ankara, Turkey, Archeological Museum

Fertility Goddess, Neolithic sculpture, circa 5000 B.C., originally from Cernavoda, Romania, now in Bucharest, Romania, National Museum

Silbury Hill, Wiltshire Downs, southwestern England

Egyptian amuletic wand, ivory, circa 2000 B.C., London, British Museum

Foetus in Utero, Etruscan amulet, eighth century B.C., Zurich, Switzerland, Sammlung Grünwald

Rivera, Diego, *El Cárcamo: El Agua Origen de la vida en la tierra*, mural painting, 1951, Chapultepec, Mexico, Cámara de Distribución del Agua del Lerma

Scientific Observation

Positions of the Fetus in Utero, manuscript, ninth century, copy of sixth-century Moschion manuscript (translation of Soranus of Ephesus, *On Gynecology*, first century A.D.), Brussels, Belgium, Bibliothèque Royale

Positions of the Fetus in Utero, Moschion manuscript, thirteenth century, Munich, Germany, Universitätsbibliothek

Positions of the Fetus in Utero, Moschion manuscript, thirteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

Anatomy of a Pregnant Woman, 1400, drawing, Leipzig, Germany, Universitätsbibliothek

Positions of the Fetus in Utero, Moschion manuscript, fifteenth century, Erlangen, Germany, Universitätsbibliothek

Leonardo da Vinci, *Fetus in Utero*, drawing in notebooks, circa 1510–1512, Windsor, England, Windsor Castle

Rösslin, Eucharius, *Positions of the Foetus in Utero*, from Rosengarten, 1513

Vogtherr, Heinrich, *Anatomy of a Pregnant Woman*, from *Tabula foeminae membra demonstrans*, 1539, Strasbourg, France

Anatomy of a Pregnant Woman, in *Propleumata Aristotelis*, 1543, Strasbourg, France

Ryff, Walter Hermann, *Anatomy of a Woman*, from *Description anatomiques de toutes les parties du corps humain*

Estienne, Charles, *Anatomy of a Pregnant Woman*, from *De dissectione partium corporis humani libri tres*, 1545, Paris

Dryander, Johannes, *Abnormal Positions of the Foetus in Utero*, from *Artzenei Spiegel*, 1547, Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany

Rueff, Jacob, *Anatomy of a Pregnant Woman*, from *Du conceptu et generatione hominis*, 1580, Frankfurt-am-Main, Germany

Mercurio, Scipione, *Positions of the Foetus in Utero*, from *La Comare*, 1595

Spiegel, Andrian, *Anatomy of a Pregnant Woman*, from *De formato foetu*, 1626, Padua, Italy

Berrettino, Petro, *Anatomy of a Pregnant Woman*, from *Tabulae anatomicae*, 1741, Rome
Stages of the Foetus in Utero, sculpture, mid-eighteenth century, Bologna, Italy, University of Bologna, Teatro Anatomico
 Hunter, William, *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus*, 1774, Birmingham, England

Impregnation: Annunciation to the Virgin

Lippi, Filippo, *Annunciation in Florence*, painting, 1440–1460, Florence, Italy, San Lorenzo
 Angelico, Fra, *Annunciation in Florence*, fresco, 1440–1460, Florence, Italy, Museo di San Marco
 Christus, Petrus, *Annunciation*, altar wings, panel from *Annunciation and Nativity and Last Judgment*, 1452, Berlin-Dahlem, Germany, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen
 Weyden, Rogier van der, *The Annunciation*, panel from *The Columba Triptych*, 1460–1462, Munich, Germany, Pinakothek
 Bouts, Dirck, *Annunciation*, painting, mid-fifteenth century, Los Angeles, California, J. Paul Getty Museum
 Master of the Barberini Panels, *Annunciation*, painting, fifteenth century, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Baldovinetti, Alesso, *Annunciation*, painting, fifteenth century, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Antonello da Messina, *Virgin Annunciate*, painting, circa 1473, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek

Impregnation: Danaë

Correggio, *Danaë*, painting, 1531, Rome, Borghese Gallery
 Titian, *Danaë*, painting, circa 1554, Naples, Italy, Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte
 Titian, *Danaë*, painting, 1554, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Primaticcio (after), *Danaë*, tapestry, sixteenth century, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Danaë*, painting, 1636, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage

Impregnation: Leda

Leda, drawing after classical relief, Veste Coburg, Germany, Kunstsammlungen (MS. HZ II, *Codex Coburgensis*)
 Leonardo da Vinci (after), *Leda and the Swan*, painting, 1506, Rome, Spiridon Collection
 Rosso Fiorentino (after Michelangelo), *Leda*, painting, 1529, London, National Gallery
 Correggio, *Leda and the Swan*, painting, 1530–1532, Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen
 Lhote, André, *Leda and the Swan*, painting, 1934, Paris, Stiebal Collection

Maternity

Death of a Woman in Childbirth, Attic gravestone, sixth–fourth century B.C., originally from Oropus, Greece, now in Athens, Greece, National Archaeological Museum

Pregnancy with Abdominal Binder, terra-cotta statue, fifth century B.C., Athens, Greece, National Archaeological Museum
Woman Dying of Childbirth, Attic lekythos, fourth century B.C., Athens, Greece, National Archaeological Museum
Pregnant Woman, Hellenistic statue, second century B.C., Izmir, Turkey, Gulf of Smyrna
Visitation, sculpture, circa 1225–1245, Reims, France, Cathedral
Saint Joseph and the Virgin, French ivory carving, fourteenth century, Paris, Musée de Cluny
Mary on the Road to Bethlehem, fresco, fourteenth century, Como, Italy, San Abondio Basilica, Apse
The Visitation, initial in Cistercian gradual, from Wonnenthal Cloister, circa 1340, Karlsruhe, Germany, Badische Landesbibliothek
The Visitation, fresco, circa 1375, Grädunden, Switzerland, St. Georg zu Rhäzüns
 Piero della Francesca, *Madonna del Parto*, painting, fifteenth century, Arezzo, Italy, Chapel of Monterchi
 Master of the Cologne School, *Mary and Elizabeth: The Visitation*, circa 1410, Utrecht, The Netherlands, Aaetsbisschoppelijk Museum
Die Schwangerschaft der Heiligen Maria, Bohemian sculpture, circa 1430, Prague, Czech Republic, National Gallery
 Eyck, Jan van, *Arnolfini Wedding (Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami)*, 1434, London, National Gallery
 School of Amiens, *The Expectant Madonna with Saint Joseph*, oil on panel, circa 1437, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
The Pregnant Mary, Spanish sculpture, circa 1450, Santiago de Compostela, Spain, Diocese Museum
 Dürer, Albrecht, *The Visitation*, woodcut from *The Life of the Virgin*, circa 1500–1505
 Giulio Romano, *The Visitation*, painting, sixteenth century, Madrid, Spain, Museum of Madrid
The Visitation, German miniature, circa 1507, from *Pontificale di Würzburg*, Florence, Italy, San Lorenzo
 Pontormo, Jacopo da, *The Visitation*, circa 1530, Camignano, Italy, Parish Church
The Virgin, Spanish sculpture, seventeenth century, Amiens, France, Bibliothèque Municipale
 Vermeer, Jan, *Woman Holding a Balance*, circa 1660, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Vermeer, Jan, *Woman in Blue Reading a Letter*, circa 1665, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
 Hoogstraten, Samuel van, *The Sick Lady*, late seventeenth century, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum
 Goz, Gottfried Bernhard, *Maria, die Mutter der schönen Liebe*, fresco, circa 1750, Bernau am Bodensee, Wallfahrtskirche San Marien
Time, the Best Doctor, English print, 1804 (Speert, p. 47)
 Daumier, Honoré, *Une envie de femme grosse*, lithograph from *Moeurs Conjugales*, 1840
 MacKintosh, Margaret MacDonald, *The Visitation*, relief, circa 1900, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Klimt, Gustav, *Hope*, 1903, Ottawa, Ontario, National Gallery of Canada
 Chagall, Marc, *The Pregnant Woman*, 1912–1913, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Stedelijk Museum
 Dix, Otto, *Schwangeres Weib*, circa 1920, Berlin, Galerie Nierendorf
 Wilding, Faith, *Womb Room*, installation, mixed media, 1972, collection of the artist
Pregnant Women with Fetus in Utero at Various Stages of Development, Japanese print, undated
Positions of the Fetus in Utero, Japanese novelty fan, undated

Portraiture

Raphael, *La Gravida*, 1505–1507, Florence, Italy, Pitti Palace
 Couture, Thomas, *La Lecture*, 1860, painting, Compiègne, France, Musée de Compiègne
 Morisot, Berthe, *Madame Morisot and Her Daughter Madame Pontillon (Mother and Sister of the Artist)*, 1869–1870, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Chester Dale Collection
 Morisot, Berthe, *Interior*, circa 1871, private collection
 Morisot, Berthe, *Portrait of Madame Pontillon*, 1871, Paris, Louvre, Cabinet de Dessins
 Morisot, Berthe, *Madame Pontillon and Her Daughter, Jeanne*, 1871, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Alisa Mellon Bruce Collection
 Corinth, Lovis, *Im Seidenmantel*, 1904, oil on paper, Linz, Germany, Neu Galerie de Stadt Ling, Wolfgang-Gurlit-Museum
 Modersohn-Becker, Paula, *Self-Portrait on Her Sixth Wedding Anniversary*, 1906, Bremen, Germany, Ludwig-Roselius Sammlung, Böttcher-Strasse
 Neel, Alice, *Pregnant Maria*, painting, 1964, New York, Robert Miller Gallery
 Neel, Alice, *Pregnant Woman*, painting, 1971, New York, Robert Miller Gallery
 Neel, Alice, *Margaret Evans Pregnant*, painting, 1978, New York, Robert Miller Gallery

Poverty

Levy, Alphonse, *Ça c'est pour les riches*, lithograph, circa 1880
 Kollwitz, Käthe, *Woman with Folded Hands (Pregnant Woman)*, etching, 1898 (Kl. 41.)
 Picasso, Pablo, *The Soup*, painting, 1903, Toronto, Canada, J. H. Grang Collection
 Kollwitz, Käthe, *At the Doctor's*, 1908–1909, reproduction of a drawing published in *Simplicissimus* 14 (November 29, 1909)
 Kollwitz, Käthe, *The Widow I*, woodcut, 1922–1923 (Kl. 180.*)
 Kollwitz, Käthe, *Down with the Abortion Paragraph!*, lithograph-poster commissioned by the KPD, 1924 (Kl. 189.)

Sorrow

Gogh, Vincent van, *Sorrow*, lithograph, 1882, Laren, Germany, Sammlung V. W. Van Gogh

Picasso, Pablo, *The Embrace*, pastel, 1903, Paris, Collection Walter-Guillaume, Musée de l'Orangerie
 Picasso, Pablo, *Man Kneeling at a Woman's Feet*, drawing, 1903, Barcelona, Spain, Museu Picasso
 Picasso, Pablo, *The Surprise*, drawing, 1903, Barcelona, Spain, Museu Picasso
 Picasso, Pablo, *The Reconciliation*, drawing, 1903, Barcelona, Spain, Museu Picasso
 Picasso, Pablo, *Figure*, painting, 1936, Marina Picasso Collection, courtesy of Jan Krugier Gallery, New York
 Picasso, Pablo, *Pregnant Woman*, sculpture, 1950, New York, Museum of Modern Art
 Picasso, Pablo, *She-Goat Great with Kid*, sculpture, 1950–1951, New York, Museum of Modern Art
Female Figure, sculpture, circa 1953, from Mapey, Kuba country, Zaire, now in Tervuren, Koninklijk Museum voor Midden Afrika
Figure of a Pregnant Woman: Portrait of the Daughter of the Carver, sculpture, circa 1956, Keenge, northeastern Kuba kingdom (Vansina, p. 112)
 Chicago, Judy, *Smocked Figure*, executed by Mary Ewanoski, from *The Birth Project*, smocking and embroidery on linen, 1980–1985, collection of the artist
 Chicago, Judy, *Birth Figures*, constructed by Sally Babson, from *The Birth Project*, fabric, 1980–1985, collection of the artist
 Chicago, Judy, *Swaddled Figures*, fabricated by Sally Babson and weaving by Jan Cox-Harden, from *The Birth Project*, weaving, 1980–1985, collection of the artist
 Chicago, Judy, *Birth Garments*, fabricated by Sally Babson and Pamela Nesbit, from *The Birth Project*, appliqué and embroidery, 1980–1985, collection of the artist

Shame

The Story of Callisto, woodcut, from *P. Ovidii Metamorphosis*, Venice, Italy, 1513, p. xxii
 Duke, Lodovico, *The Story of Callisto*, woodcut, from *Les Transformationi*, Venice, Italy, 1553, p. 44
 Titian, *Diana Discovering the Pregnancy of Callisto*, 1559, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Titian, *Diana Discovering the Pregnancy of Callisto*, 1559, Edinburgh, National Museum of Scotland
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 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Jupiter and Callisto*, 1613, Kassel, Germany, Kgl. Galerie
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PROTESTANTISM

Christine M. Boeckl

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Protestantism:

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Lucas Cranach the Younger, *Differences Between Lutheran and Catholic Services* (and detail), circa 1545, print, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, Sammlung der Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik. (Courtesy of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin)

Protestant religious art, works generated by the reformers who had caused the sixteenth-century schism within the Roman Catholic Church, is defined primarily by its scarcity. Although German Reformation leader Martin Luther and the dukes of the German state of Saxony were keen on inventing a new iconography that would distinguish itself from the established tradition, their efforts were short lived. Iconoclasm—first advocated by German theologian Andreas Bodenstein and echoed by Swiss reformer Huldrych Zwingli, French reformer John Calvin, and Henry VIII of England—soon dampened the Protestants' enthusiasm for religious imagery altogether. Total abstention from religious art was promoted after the desecration and destruction of churches in Paris; Basel, Switzerland; Strasbourg, France; and Antwerp, Belgium. Moreover, Muslims who invaded Europe from the East had strong aversions to representational art and further reinforced these iconoclastic tendencies.

Although it is difficult to make a definitive statement about the views on religious imagery that were held by the countless individual sects that were founded in Europe and later in the Americas, they all distinguished themselves from Catholicism through their basic belief in *fide sola* (that man is ultimately saved through faith) and *gratia sola* (divine grace), which is believed to operate independently of human merit and good works. Another common concern was the Roman Catholic Church's refusal to grant the chalice to laity in the Eucharistic feast. A meaningful image after the Reformation was that of *communio utraque*, two men serving the paten and chalice to the congregation, such as in a detail taken from Lucas Cranach the Younger's woodcut *Unterscheid zwischender waren Religion Christi und falschen Abgottischenlehr des Antichrists in den furnemsten stucken* (circa 1545, *Differences Between Lutheran and Catholic Services*). The Protestants' most prolific and creative output consisted of *kampfbilder* (propagandistic prints) aimed at educating the masses and persuading people to join their ranks. Many polemic pamphlets, even catechisms and Bibles, derided Catholicism.

The most important artists known to have been sympathetic to reformatory teachings were Albrecht Dürer, the Cranach family, Hans Holbein the Younger, Jacob Jordaens, and Rembrandt van Rijn. The few biblical subjects commissioned by Protestants usually depicted episodes of Jesus Christ's life, most importantly the Crucifixion and parables such as the Prodigal Son. Depictions of biblical sermons were preferred by Protestants because preaching was an integral part of their liturgical services. Religious subjects, of course, were popular with the Catholics as well as with the reformed churches, and it is remarkable how few paintings (sculpture was even less in demand because of the commandment "Thou shalt not make thee any graven image") can be recognized specifically as Protestant commissions. The biblical stories may have been

deliberately treated ambiguously to avoid detection and possibly persecution by intolerant governments. Numerous prints recorded cruel and inhuman treatment administered to Protestants—in the name of faith—or scenes of the Bartholomew Massacre of French Huguenots.

For centuries most European regions were governed by the principle *cuius regio eius religio*, which meant that the civil ruler determined a given territory's religion. Over the years, a few Protestant countries such as Holland gained religious freedom. Yet, even in Protestant regions where the climate was tolerant, religious subjects remained rare. Secular, moralizing history paintings and landscapes became popular—honoring the "Invisible Creator." Moreover, artists in Protestant countries began producing more portraiture celebrating the individual. Secular post-Reformation art, such as that recording the history of Protestantism, remained scarce until the nineteenth century, at which time budding nationalists, particularly in Germany, chose Reformation events to express current political ideas.

Finally, a distinction must be made between Protestant works and art created within the Catholic Church that referred to different denominations, as they conveyed disparate views and served dissimilar functions. The first group consists of dogmatic art commissioned by Protestant patrons and executed by artists with similar religious convictions. Although sixteenth-century Protestant factions held more or less iconoclastic views about church decoration, they emphasized images on the printed page. Nowhere are the basic differences between the two main Western religious philosophies better illustrated than in Cranach the Younger's aforementioned woodcut *Differences Between Lutheran and Catholic Services*. The print is a masterpiece that conveys the chasm that opened in the Christian community following Luther's publication of his *95 Theses* in Wittenberg, Germany, in 1517. Cranach the Younger's work, divided into two parts, addresses the main issues of both denominations. The right-hand side represents the Catholic Church with all its shortcomings, as seen through the Protestants' eyes. The left-hand side corresponds visually to the right, but the details reveal the dogmatic changes of the Reformation. As the Protestant preacher proclaims the word of God from an open Bible, his right arm points to a banderole that connects him to the Agnus Dei symbol and the kneeling figure of Christ before God the Father, thus giving him direct access to heaven. Since the Protestants recognized only two of the traditional seven sacraments—baptism (in the Lutheran rite by scooping by hand the water from the baptismal font rather than poring it from a liturgical vessel) and the Eucharist—these are the only ones depicted in Cranach the Younger's print. (A variation of the Communion detail appears in a woodcut *Luther and Hus Serving Communion in Both Spheres* [third quarter of the sixteenth century].) On the right-hand side, the artist directs his biting sarcasm at all traditional teachings of

the Roman Catholic Church. The Catholic priest has no visible link with God and a devil is sitting on his shoulder. Cranach the Younger also mocks religious customs such as the cult of the Virgin, and above all attacks the papacy. He hints at the sale of indulgences by filling the foreground with money bags collected by an insatiable pope who rakes in the ill-gotten riches. Other popular Cranach woodcuts represent the pope as Antichrist, most importantly in the 26 plates of *Passional Christi und Antichristi* (1521).

Apart from polemic rhetoric, the most productive and innovative dogmatic designs that expressed Protestant piety treated the two remaining sacraments that needed redefining in the wake of the Reformation. A few Protestant altar paintings represent the new liturgical practices of baptism and the Eucharist. Otto Wagenfeldt's *Baptism* (circa 1650) and *Communion in Both Species* (circa 1650) repeat representations of the Protestant liturgical ceremonies first seen in Cranach the Younger's print.

Last Supper altarpieces were most likely to be displayed in Protestant churches. Lucas Cranach the Elder's altar (1547) for the City Church in Wittenberg, finished a year after Luther's death, updated the traditional subjects by replacing the apostles with important personalities of the Reformation: one of the side panels shows Philipp Melancthon, Protestant scholar and Luther's associate, baptizing an infant. Lucas Cranach the Younger's *Last Supper Altar* (1565) for the Palace Church in Dessau, Germany, repeats the use of contemporary portraits and gives some of the apostles the likenesses of Luther, Melancthon, and others (Cranach the Younger included himself as a servant serving the wine).

Another influential innovative composition, credited to Cranach the Elder, is the *Allegory of the Law and the Gospel* (circa 1529), which refers to Luther's proclamation that the harsh mosaic Old Law was doomed in the light of Christ's grace. It is effectively a visual sermon of Lutheran doctrine. Again, Cranach the Elder divided the composition into two halves. The tree in the center has barren branches that reach toward the side, where the Fall of Man is depicted along with a traditional Last Judgment scene where a damned soul is pursued by death and the devil. The other side of the painting displays the tree of life's green branches that point toward a saved man praying before the crucified Christ, the risen Savior blessing a saved soul. Cranach the Elder's pedagogical panel, also referred to as *Rechtfertigung des Sunders durch den Glauben* (*Fall of Man/Salvation*), was frequently copied in the graphic arts as well as in painting. The most famous version is attributed to Hans Holbein the Younger. His *Allegory of the Law and the Gospel* (circa 1535) differs from Cranach's Gotha version in a few details. Latin inscriptions help clarify its meaning, and three figures have been added in the foreground. In the center, a seated man turns his body toward an Old Testament prophet. This half bears the superscript *Lex* (Law). The man's face, on the other hand, looks at St. John, who points emphatically to the side of the painting labeled *Gratia* (Gospel [literally Favor]). The allegory is clear: humankind, caught in the age-old dilemma, must decide between good and evil as well as damnation and eternal life.

The Protestant North preferred Christian topics to Old Testament themes. As already mentioned, in the reformers' opinion, the crucified Redeemer, whose sacrifice saved

humankind, was one of the most important images (as Good Friday is the most revered day in the Lutheran liturgical year). Generally speaking, in the Protestant repertoire the treatment of Christ on the cross was traditional, although eighteenth-century Protestant Crucifixions may have differed from Catholic depictions in small details. For example, Protestants were instructed in writings such as Huldericus Pulsnicensis's *Erbauliche Nachrichten von allerhand Irrtümern deren Mahler, so sie in Entwerffung der Biblischen Geschichte Alten und Neuen Testaments zu begehren pflegen* (1723), published in Leipzig, Germany, not to follow tradition but to acknowledge the updated biblical research that suggested that four rather than three nails had pierced the Savior's extremities. (No study has been made to determine whether Protestant artists did indeed follow such suggestions.)

Because of the Cranachs' personal acquaintance with Luther, Cranach the Elder's canonical scenes of the Crucifixion—diagonally placed thieves and a painfully distorted figure of Christ—carried great authority and were frequently quoted by later artists: in the sixteenth century by Protestant sympathizers such as Jörg Breu and Georg Lehmberger, among others; in the nineteenth century by artists such as Eduard Gebhardt. Gebhardt, a German Protestant, refused to follow the fashionable, neo-Byzantine school of the Benedictine Monastery of Beuron, Germany (*Crucifixion* [circa 1868] after the designs of Peter Lenz in the St. Maurus Chapel near the Monastery of Beuron) and interpreted his *Crucifixion* (1873) in a novel, veristic style using Cranach's prototype to great advantage. The figures under the cross in Gebhardt's work are not iconic saints but human beings, a realistically conceived crowd that expresses anguish over the Savior's death.

Not all nineteenth-century Protestants painted narrative versions of the Crucifixion; a number created symbolic crosses. New ground was broken by Caspar David Friedrich in his innovative *Tetschen Altar* (*Cross in the Mountains*) (1808). The intense luminosity and stillness of his landscape give it a spiritual quality even though it does not display any obvious doctrinaire details. The cross is represented from an unusual vantage point, the view of a bird in flight. Attacked as being too vague and mystical, Friedrich defended his work's symbolism, stating that the setting sun represents the old order before Christ, and the gilded figure on the cross reflects the last sun rays back to Earth. He also mentioned that the rock on which the cross stands symbolizes faith, and the green trees, the color of hope, represent people's confidence in their salvation through Christ. A simpler version by the same artist, *Cross on the Baltic Sea* (circa 1815), displays similar symbols in a small yet very detailed sketch. A wooden cross perched up on a cliff (faith) overlooks the sea where a boat, visible in the distance, and a large anchor placed in the foreground seem to refer to the traditional symbol of hope (also the symbol of the Christian Church since the days of the catacombs).

Equally impressive is Thomas Cole's *Cross at Sunset* (1840s). The artist painted this symbolic landscape four years after he was baptized as an Episcopalian, at a time when he decided to cast aside his worldly ambitions and work for the Protestant Church. (Inspired by John Bunyan's Puritan allegory *Pilgrim's Progress*, 1678, he planned a whole series titled *The Cross and the World*, which remained unfinished at Cole's untimely death.) *Cross at Sunset* shows stylized rays similar to those in

Friedrich's *Tetschen Altar*, while the foreground is dominated by a simple cross shape. This canvas is typical of American nineteenth-century landscapes, which emphasize the moral values of the aesthetic experience. Such paintings were intended to be contemplated as God's sensuous image of revelation.

Apart from Crucifixions, the most common biblical narratives used to represent Protestant ideology were Christ and St. John preaching (such as rendered by Cranach the Younger), the Last Judgment, the Pharisee and the Publican, Lazarus and the Rich Man, the Calling of Matthew, the Conversion of Saul, the Raising of Lazarus, and the Prodigal Son. Of course, as already mentioned, none of these themes were exclusively the domain of Protestant artists.

The topos of the Prodigal Son who was exonerated by his change of heart, indicating a personal conversion, had been commented on by both Luther and John Calvin. The narrative, based on the Gospel According to Luke (15:11–32), told the story of a son who demanded his inheritance from his father, left home, caroused, was expelled from an inn, lived in poverty among swine, and finally returned to be greeted by his rejoicing father, who convinced the elder brother to join in the family celebration. The New Testament parable lent itself well to didactic theater performances or sermons that could present to the audience the reason why the son was forgiven. The two Christian factions disagreed on this fundamental issue. Protestant commentators emphasized God's grace and mercy toward poor sinners. Catholics stressed that the Prodigal Son cooperated with God's grace and decided of his own free will to return home. Moreover, the youth atoned for his sins by confession and through penance, thereby actively contributing to his reinstatement in his father's favor. Although the question of which faith the individual paintings of the Prodigal Son were advocating is frequently debated, the findings are seldom conclusive because of the complex theological questions involved. However, by and large the Protestant North developed tendencies toward the secularization of religious subjects, exemplified in the treatment of the different episodes of the Prodigal Son's sinful life. His way stations and debaucheries were given moralizing connotations. The Catholic South, on the other hand, primarily stressed the dramatic finale of the return of the Prodigal Son.

Prints depicting the theme of the *filius prodigius* were easy to understand because they frequently included explanatory texts. For example, Cornelis Anthonisz's series of six woodcuts expresses sectarian belief by introducing allegorical figures identifiable by captions. *The Expulsion of the Prodigal Son* (circa 1540) is particularly revealing, because a background figure in "Synagoga Sathanae" (Satan's Synagogue) wears a papal tiara: the woodcut insinuates that the young man is about to depart for Rome. The wayward youth is accosted by two ominous females. This subject plays on a variant of Hercules at the Crossroad with one major difference—*Superstitio* (Superstition) on his right and *Heresia* (Heresy) to his left both seem to threaten his spiritual prospects.

Other scenes from the Prodigal Son are masked as genre paintings. Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait with Saskia* (circa 1634–1636), portraying a toast to the good life, has been interpreted as the subject of the Prodigal Son in the tavern, and *Polish Rider* (1660s), a work attributed to Rembrandt, as the departure of the Prodigal Son from his parental home. Yet,

undeniably the most frequently depicted scene was the Return of the Prodigal Son. Rembrandt treated the subject a number of times in different media. His *Return of the Prodigal Son* (circa 1668), a masterpiece in the Hermitage, in St. Petersburg, Russia, is most impressive in its simplicity. All descriptive narrative details are suppressed, and the action focuses on the joyous reunion of father and son. It has been said that this reconciliatory meeting dealt not with human love of an earthly father but God's divine love and mercy.

In contrast to Protestant ideology, Catholic images, such as several of Guercino's versions of *Return of the Prodigal Son* (1651, Diocesan Museum in Włocławek, Poland; circa 1655, Tim Ken Museum in San Diego, California), depict the youth crying visibly into a white handkerchief, revealing his contrite heart. Such pathos was uncommon in Protestant versions. Both faiths, however, generally included the elder brother, who originally objected to the father's acceptance of the erring son.

One of the few biblical subjects that originated as a Protestant topic is Christ blessing the children. Lucas Cranach the Elder invented it in his *Christ Blesses the Children* (circa 1538), a panel that depicts Christ inundated by a crowd. The Savior holds a child in his arms (a male counterpart to Madonna images) and blesses the rest of the babies. Jesus appears infinitely accessible to the mothers who present their innocent youngsters while his apostles remain at a distance. The reason for choosing this unusual biblical episode may have been the new emphasis on the family in Protestant circles. In contrast to Catholic views, Protestants denied that the celibate clergy had a higher status in the eyes of God. (Luther married a former nun in 1526 and they had a number of children.) Moreover, numerous authors proposed that the continued popularity in the Netherlands of Christ blessing the children, as in works by the circle of Rembrandt and Jacob Jordaens, among others, may have had to do with contemporary anti-Anabaptist sentiments. This militant sect advocated only adult baptisms and was equally unpopular with Calvinists, Lutherans, and Catholics.

The art discussed so far has concerned traditional subjects, yet some painters created new images to voice their very personal beliefs. Albrecht Dürer, perhaps the most gifted artist of the Reformation, donated his *The Four Apostles* (1529) to his native city of Nuremberg, Germany. The two panels testify to Dürer's early identification with the cause of Protestantism: not only does a lengthy inscription warn against false prophets, but the painting itself displays an innovative iconographic program. Visually, *The Four Apostles* follows the tradition of the *sacra conversazione* (sacred conversation), but Dürer demonstrates a deliberate secularization of the theme by the glaring absence of the central image of the Virgin. Peter, the first pope, is shown behind John, Luther's favorite apostle.

Rembrandt was another figure who expressed his faith through art; his relationship to Calvinism has spawned numerous studies. The depiction of a painted, open curtain device, as in the Kassel, Germany, *Holy Family* (1646), has been quoted as proof that Rembrandt had studied Calvin's *Commentaries*, in which the curtain had been interpreted as "revelation of the divine." This theory opposes the generally accepted view that the drapery was a mundane feature characteristic of Netherlandish realism. Furthermore, Rembrandt's unusually sympathetic treatment of beggars and cripples has been interpreted as a Protestant simile to Christ's poverty on Earth.

Turning to secular Protestant art, quasi-iconic status must have been granted to posthumous portraits of Luther and other reformers, as these were produced in great quantity over the following centuries. Lucas Cranach the Elder's print *Luther as Junker Jorg* (circa 1522) is the earliest known portrait after Luther had left his religious order. Later portraits generally rendered Luther dressed in a Protestant preacher's robe, using Cranach the Younger's life-size portrait (1546) as guide. In addition to individual portraits, artists created a number of matched panels representing Luther and his wife.

Other secular Reformation topics were the so-called *Confessio* paintings, which recorded important milestones in Protestant history. Most notable was Luther presenting his *Doctrines* to Emperor Charles V in Augsburg, Germany. These venerated Lutheran paintings became the basis for nineteenth-century historicized creations. Luther's cult of personality developed in Germany after 1830 and became most prominent toward the end of the century.

Politics played a decisive role in nineteenth-century re-creations of important events in Protestant history. Germany's nationalist movement tried to rally independent principalities under the Prussian flag, culminating in 1871 with the founding of the Hohenzollern, the Protestant German "empire" in Prussia run by the Hohenzollern family until 1918. Most important were the paintings of Luther's public life. For example, Hermann Wislicenus's wall decorations in the ancient palatine Imperial Residence in Goslar, Germany, included *Luther at Worms* (circa 1895), in which the reformer once announced his steadfast faith: "*Hier stehe ich, Gott helfe mir . . .*" (Here I stand, God help me). The cycle celebrated the continuity of Germanic leadership from Charlemagne to Emperor Wilhelm I, with Luther as the "new dawn" after the decline of the medieval (Catholic) Holy Roman Empire.

Similar sentiments are expressed in Wilhelm von Kaulbach's *Age of Reformation* (1863), a large, tableau-vivant styled mural that decorated the staircase in Berlin's Neue Museum (destroyed in 1945). The grandiose and controversial painting implied that the German Reformation was the most momentous event in modern history. The center of the multi-figural composition is taken up by Luther, brandishing an open Bible and standing in front of a copy of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*. Other reformers pictured include John Wycliffe, Jan Hus, John Calvin, Huldrych Zwingli, Elizabeth I of England, and Gustav Adolph of Sweden. Christopher Columbus appears as one of the explorers in the company of the astronomers Nicolaus Copernicus, Galileo, Tycho Brahe, and Johannes Kepler. The arts are represented by Dürer working on his *The Four Apostles* and von Kaulbach, who portrayed himself as one of the master's assistants. Michelangelo, Leonardo, and Raphael are joined by the most celebrated writers of the ages.

In 1920, Lovis Corinth supplied 40 plates for a commemorative, limited edition of his series *Martin Luther*. The color lithographs included scenes from the reformer's life such as Luther's parents, his time as monk (*Monch Tetzel*), posting his propositions (*Theses*), *Luther in Worms*, political figures of the Reformation, *Luther's Bible of 1534*, family scenes such as *Magdalen's Deathbed*, and the final print *Luther's Death* (based on a Cranach design). The scenes are expressive and some refer to historic documents.

While the subject of Luther dominated German art, other religious figures unsympathetic to Rome were also honored. For example, Carl Friedrich Lessing's *Hussite Sermon* (1836) emphasizes the revolutionary aspirations of the fifteenth-century reformer Hus. Lessing renders the controversial chalice held high by one of the Hussites, who seems to remind other members of the sect that Hus had been executed for demanding this sacred rite. Ferdinand Hodler painted *The Reformers*, or *Calvin at the University of Geneva* (1884), a canvas that depicts Calvin in academic regalia debating four other colleagues. The style is deliberately austere in its composition and architectural background. Calvinistic teachings are expressed in the scholarly work ethic the students demonstrate.

Hendrik Leys's *Publication of the Edicts of Charles V* (circa 1861) impartially records an important, local historic incident. The large canvas describes the devastating effect on townspeople as they listen to the emperor's decree that from that day forward Protestantism was punishable by death. First exhibited in his Catholic hometown of Antwerp in 1861, Leys's work was intended to make the people relive the hardships of the Reformation. For added authenticity Leys emulates sixteenth-century styles of artists such as Peter Bruegel the Elder and Hans Holbein the Younger. Although these romantic re-creations of times past were inspired compositions, they never entered the mainstream of European art because they had a limited audience and worked with even more restricted iconographic traditions.

Finally, two additional aspects of this subject are of interest: how Catholics viewed members of the other faiths and the phenomenon of Protestant artists' conversions to Catholicism. During the Counter-Reformation of the sixteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church saw the Protestants as dangerous heretics. Much has been written about the surge of Catholic religious imagery created to combat Protestantism—a number of these works of art attacked the schismatics. On the grandiose St. Ignatius monument in Rome's Il Gesu chapel, the individual heretical branches are identified by their founders' names. Pierre Le Gros the Younger's marble group *Religion Overthrowing Heresy* (circa 1695) shows a small angel tearing pages from a volume on which the inscription "Hulderic Zwingli" (the name of the Swiss religious reformer) appears. The book under Heresy's foot is labeled "Martin Luther," and in the background another tome shows John Calvin's name as author.

Another example of Roman Catholic iconography is pertinent here, the art of converts such as seventeenth-century Dutch painter Jan Vermeer, who converted to Catholicism (most likely influenced by his mother-in-law). His first known painting, *St. Praxedis* (1655), inscribed "Meer, 1655" and "[Ver]Meer N[aar] R[ip]o[s]o," has proven to be a copy after a similar painting by the Italian Felice Ficherelli, nicknamed Riposo. The early Christian Praxedis was known to have cared for martyrs, and in Vermeer's work she wrings a blood-soaked sponge over a decorative vessel. Vermeer added a new iconographic meaning to the Italian prototype by adding a small crucifix to the hands of the saint. The Dutch convert Vermeer presents a religious scene where Christ's blood symbolically mixes with that of the martyrs, emphasizing the Catholic doctrine of the communion of saints. Of equal importance is Vermeer's *Allegory of Faith* (circa 1671–1672)

in which he created an innovative pictorial statement (probably for Jesuit neighbors) by deriving semiotics from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* and Dutch *emblemata*.

Over the centuries the Protestant sects remained critical of religious images, an attitude that restrained artistic output. While it is fairly easy to recognize Catholic topics, the treatment of Protestant religious art is understated and difficult to attribute to a specific religious movement. Apart from the polemic prints, few new images were created until the nineteenth century. At that time, Protestants recognized the propagandistic potential of monumental art (religious as well as secular). However, these paintings were concerned less with religious fervor than with underscoring political tendencies and celebrating freedom from religious oppression.

See also Baptism; Communion; Crucifixion; Judaism; Path/Road/Crossroads; Penitence/Repentance; Sin/Sinning

Selected Works of Art

Sixteenth Century

- Breu, Jörg the Elder, *Crucifixion*, 1524, Budapest, Museum Anthonisz., Cornelis, *The Expulsion of the Prodigal Son*, woodcut, circa 1540
- Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, *Crucifixion*, circa 1501, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
- Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, *Passional Christi und Antichristi*, woodcuts, 1521, Wittenberg, Germany
- Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, *Luther as Junker Jorg*, woodcut, circa 1522
- Lehmberger, Georg, *Crucifixion*, 1524, Leipzig, Germany, Museum der Bildenden Künste
- Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, *Martin Luther*, pendant to *Katharina von Boras*, 1526, Schwerin, Germany, Staatliches Museum
- Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, *Allegory of the Law and the Gospel*, 1529, Gotha, Germany, Schlossmuseum
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Nineteenth Century

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READING

Alicia Craig Faxon

The following periods and motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Reading:

ANCIENT

HOMER

OLD TESTAMENT

MADONNA READING

SAINTS

HISTORIC

LITERARY

GENRE SCENES

LETTER READING

READING MUSIC

READING A NEWSPAPER

MODERN



John Flaxman, *Paolo and Francesca*, 1793, illustration to Dante's *The Divine Comedy*, engraved by Tomaso Pirelli. (Courtesy of the author)

Reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man, and writing an exact man.
(Francis Bacon, *Of Studies*)

Although reading as a practice has been around a long time, it is one that has always been limited to certain sectors of the population, typically the privileged. The verb *to read* can be used to refer to a number of different acts. The most obvious form of reading is that which involves the interpretation of some form of writing, a practice that began as early as Egyptian pictograph writing and Sumerian cuneiform tablets. *To read*, however, can refer to the interpretation of many types of material other than writing.

One of these “other” kinds of reading is the interpretation of symbols. For example, a symbol such as a lion with wings has connotations much the same as written language does. It is the symbol of St. Mark the Evangelist and is usually employed to denote the Gospel of Mark in the New Testament, just as an ox identifies St. Luke, an eagle St. John, and an angel St. Matthew. These symbols appear both in transcribed Gospel illuminations and on the facades of churches, such as the west facade of Chartres Cathedral in France, where the symbols of the authors of the Gospels surround the figure of Jesus Christ. In this form of reading, meaning in a work of art can be determined through a knowledge of its iconography or particular symbolism relative to era, artist, and patron.

Additional types of reading include the reading of lips by the deaf, reading physical signs or signals, reading clues in the manner of a detective, and “reading between the lines,” that is, inferring from a text meaning that is not fully spelled out or directly articulated. *To read* is also used colloquially, as in “I can read him like a book,” or “her life was an open book,” both of which mean that a person’s character, motives, or maneuvers are clear to an observer.

Some forms of reading, or interpreting what one sees, have been in use since the Paleolithic era (early Stone Age), as evidenced by the elaborate cave pictures (circa 15,000–10,000 B.C.) at such sites as Lascaux in France and Altamira in Spain. Although present-day viewers do not agree on the specific meaning of these paintings, it may be assumed that those who drew and painted them had a specific purpose in mind.

The earliest Egyptian writing was also in the form of pictures, such as the stone relief *The Palette of King Narmer* (circa 3000 B.C.) in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. Here the meaning is fairly clear, Narmer portrayed as a conqueror of his enemies. Later Egyptian writing was in the form of pictographs, a writing in existence by at least 2500 B.C. A whole class of professional writers was devoted to the production of pictographs, as can be seen in the *Seated Scribe* sculpture from Saqqara (circa 2400 B.C.), now in the Louvre in Paris, one of the many representations of scribes as official writers. In Sumerian art,

the earliest record of reading can be found in the existence of fragmented tablets (circa 1750 B.C.). The Sumerians used a cuneiform script that was later copied by the Assyrians and Babylonians.

In classical Greece, literature developed out of an oral tradition. The earliest surviving Greek writing is probably that of Homer, an eighth or ninth-century B.C. poet who created (and possibly wrote, according to recent research) the *Iliad* (circa 750 B.C.) and the *Odyssey* (circa 720 B.C.), epic poems written at a time when reading and writing were used primarily to supplant memory and the oral tradition in the telling of a tale. Evidence of persons reading in classical art appear to be fairly rare. However, there are representations and references to classical reading in such nineteenth-century works as Lawrence Alma-Tadema’s painting *A Reading from Homer* (1885) in the Philadelphia Museum of Art in Pennsylvania and the John Keats poem “On First Looking into Chapman’s Homer.”

An allegorical interpretation of reading can found in Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres’s *The Apotheosis of Homer* (1827) in the Louvre, which shows the poet crowned by figures of Victory (Nike) and surrounded by the great artists and writers of the past. This neoclassical painting can be interpreted as a statement on the importance of reading the classics.

Among Christian images of reading, Moses displaying the stone tablets of the Ten Commandments to the people to read (Exodus 20:1–17) is probably the most compelling. This was captured consummately by Rembrandt Van Rijn in *Moses* (1659) in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin-Dahlem, Germany. Moses holds the Ten Commandments, which are written in Hebrew, over his head to show his followers. Michelangelo’s sculpture *Moses* (1545) at the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli in Rome has Moses holding the tablets while seated.

Another thematic use of reading in the Old Testament involves the story of Belshazzar, the last king of Babylon, who was warned of his defeat by the appearance of handwriting on a wall (Daniel 5)—the origin of the expression, “I can see the handwriting on the wall.” The prophet Daniel interpreted the mystic words “MENE MENE TEKEL UPHARSIN” to mean that Belshazzar’s days as king were numbered, and his kingdom would be given to the Medes and Persians—events that actually occurred. In Rembrandt’s *Belshazzar Sees the Handwriting on the Wall* (1630s), Belshazzar can be seen reading handwriting on a wall, written upside down in Hebrew, as if it had been written by God on high.

Other representations of Old Testament figures reading include Michelangelo’s Sistine Chapel fresco *Prophets and Sibyls* (1511), in which five of the seven prophets hold books and all five sibyls read. (Sibyls were classical figures such as the Delphic Oracle, whose prophesies were thought to foretell Jesus Christ’s coming). Another example of a prophet reading appears in the right background of Parmigianino’s *The*

Madonna with the Long Neck (1534–1540) in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy, in which a prophet, probably Isaiah, reads a scroll predicting the coming of the Messiah (Isaiah 11:1–9; 40:1–11).

One New Testament example of reading refers to a book from the Old Testament: Christ reading from the Book of the Prophet Isaiah in the synagogue of Nazareth (his hometown). Christ reads, “. . . he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the brokenhearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised” (Luke 4:18). After Christ hands the book to a minister and sits down, he says, “This day is this scripture fulfilled in your ears” (Luke 4:21).

Although not expressly described in the Bible as having occurred, a great many representations of Mary show her reading. By far the majority of these are scenes of the Annunciation that portray Mary reading the prophecies of the Messiah in the Old Testament. Early examples include medieval manuscript illuminations such as Jean Bourdichon’s “Annunciation” in the *Très Grandes Heures d’Anne de Bretagne* (before 1521) in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; one attributed to Jean Colombe in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (M. 834, fol. 29); and one in the *Hours of Henry VII* in the British Library in London (Add. MS 35254). These representations have been cited as an important precedent: at one time scholastics argued about whether or not women in ancient times had read, an argument that was partially settled by citing the Annunciation scenes that portray the Virgin reading.

Sometimes the Madonna is shown reading alone at the Annunciation, as in Giotto’s fresco *The Annunciation* (1305–1306) in the Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy. Another example is Antonello da Messina’s painting *The Annunciation* (fifteenth century) in the Museo Nazionale in Palermo, Italy. Sometimes Mary is portrayed reading in the company of an angel, as in Joos van Cleve’s *The Annunciation* (early sixteenth century) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Simone Martini’s panel *The Annunciation* (1333) in the Uffizi, Fra Filippo Lippi’s panel *The Annunciation* (circa 1440) in San Lorenzo in Florence, and Botticelli’s *Annunciation* panel (1489–1490) in the Uffizi.

Mary has also been portrayed reading amid an elaborate interior, as she does in the Annunciation panel of the *Merode Altarpiece* (circa 1425) by the Master of the Flémalle (Robert Campin?) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Here the painting itself must be “read” to get a sense of its full significance. Mary is seated on the ground, signifying her humility, near a bench decorated with lions at the corners, a reference to the house of David. She holds a cloth around the Bible as a display of reverence. There is a lily on the table, a symbol of her purity, and a candle whose flame has just gone out, a symbol of the light of the divine entering human flesh in the Incarnation. Through the window on the left, a tiny figure flies holding a cross, signifying the future crucifixion of the baby to be born. Additional symbolism can be read in this triptych, but this is a sufficient example of how one can “read” less apparent meanings from a painting’s iconography.

Additional representations of Mary reading include the Virgin being taught to read by her mother Anna, and Mary teaching the Christ Child to read. Peter Paul Rubens secularized the former scene from the Christian setting into the Medici

cycle *Education of Marie de Medici* (1622) in the Louvre, in which Athena, the goddess of wisdom, instructs Marie, and the Graces and Mercury, the messenger god, look on. Saints have also been portrayed reading, as in Filippino Lippi’s *Vision of St. Bernard* (before 1504) in the Church of the Badia in Florence, in Albrecht Dürer’s *St. Jerome in His Study* (before 1528) in the National Gallery in London, and many others.

One of the more famous reading scenes involves the adulterous love affair between Francesca da Rimini and her brother-in-law Paolo Malatesta as described by Dante in *The Divine Comedy* (1472, written 1307–1321). Upon seeing Francesca and Paolo amid a whirlwind of lovers, Dante asks them how they got there:

One day we read for pastime how in thrall
 Lord Lancelot lay to love, who loved the Queen;
 We were alone—we thought no harm at all.
 As we read on, our eyes met now and then,
 And to our cheeks the changing color started
 But just one moment overcame us—when
 We read of the smile, desired of lips long thwarted,
 Such smile, by such a lover kissed away,
 He that may never more from me be parted
 Trembling all over, kissed my mouth. I say
 the book was Galleot . . . we read no more that day.
 (*The Inferno* V, lines 127–138).

Both souls ended up in hell after they were killed during their lovemaking by Francesca’s husband. They had been reading the Arthurian legend of the knight Lancelot du Lac’s illicit love for Guinevere, which inspired similar activity on their part. John Flaxman’s engraving *Paolo and Francesca* (1793), which shows the lovers reading, inspired a number of works on this scene that warn of the dangers of reading. Examples include *Paolo and Francesca* paintings by Ingres (1819) in the Musée Condé in Chantilly, France; Eugène Delacroix (nineteenth century) in the collection of Dr. Peter Nathan in Zurich, Switzerland; and Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1855) in the Tate Gallery in London; as well as William Dyce’s *Francesca da Rimini* (circa 1837) in the National Gallery of Scotland in Edinburgh.

Many genre scenes of reading exist, such as Jean-Honoré Fragonard’s *The Reader (A Young Girl Reading)* (circa 1776) in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.; Rembrandt’s *Old Woman Reading* (seventeenth century), *Titus Reading* (seventeenth century), and *The Prophetess Hannah Reading* (1631) in, respectively, Drumlanrig Castle in Scotland, the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, and the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Netherlands; Berthe Morisot’s *The Artist’s Mother and Sister* (1869–1870) in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.; Vincent van Gogh’s *L’Arlesienne (Madame Ginoux)* (1888) in New York’s Metropolitan Museum of Art; and Winslow Homer’s *The New Novel* (nineteenth century) in the Museum of Fine Arts in Springfield, Massachusetts. During the nineteenth century, when literacy among the general population of the Western world improved dramatically, a number of paintings began to show newspaper reading, such as Paul Cézanne’s portrait of his father reading entitled *L’Evenement* (circa 1859), in the National Gallery in London; Edgar Degas’s *The Office of a Cotton Firm* (nineteenth century) in a museum in Pau, France; Mary Cassatt’s *Reading Le Figaro* (1883) in a private collec-

tion; and Richard Caton Woodville's *War News from Mexico* (nineteenth century) in the National Academy of Design in New York.

Letter reading is another specific type of reading that has been depicted over the centuries, such as in Jan Vermeer's *Girl Reading a Letter* (circa 1657) and *The Love Letter* (circa 1670). Reading music has also frequently been depicted, such as in Hendrik Terbrugghen's *Boy Singing* (1620s) in Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, and Vermeer's *The Concert* (circa 1670), formerly in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston.

A classic example of nonreading, Cézanne's *Lady in Blue* (before 1906) in the Museum of Western Art in Moscow, Russia, shows a woman holding a closed book. The woman herself looks withdrawn, as if she does not want to face the viewer and has her own distinct rules and ideas. She is sealed off from unwelcome contact with others or from new ideas—"closed book."

See also Kiss/Kissing; Logos/Word

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

The Palette of King Narmer, stone, circa 3000 B.C., Cairo, Egypt, Egyptian Museum

Seated Scribe, sculpture, circa 2400 B.C., originally from Saqqara, Egypt, now in Paris, Louvre

Homer

Ingres, Jean-Auguste-Dominique, *The Apotheosis of Homer*, oil, 1827, Paris, Louvre

Alma-Tadema, Lawrence, *A Reading from Homer*, oil, 1885, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Museum of Art

Old Testament

King Solomon Reading the Torah, miniature, from *Hebrew Bible and Prayer Book*, thirteenth century, London, British Library (Add. MS. 11639, fol. 116a)

Michelangelo, *Prophets and Sibyls*, fresco, 1511, Vatican, Sistine Chapel

Michelangelo, *Moses*, sculpture, 1545, Rome, Italy, San Pietro in Vincoli

Parmigianino, *The Madonna with the Long Neck*, oil, 1534–1540, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Belshazzar Sees the Handwriting on the Wall*, oil, 1630s, London, National Gallery

Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Prophetess Hannah Reading (Rembrandt's Mother)*, panel, 1631, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Moses*, oil, 1659, Berlin-Dahlem, Germany, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie

West, Benjamin, *Daniel Interpreting to Belshazzar the Handwriting on the Wall*, oil on canvas, 1775, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, Berkshire Museum

Allston, Washington, *Belshazzar's Feast*, oil on canvas, 1817–1843, Detroit, Michigan, Detroit Institute of Art

Martin, John, *Belshazzar's Feast*, oil on canvas, 1821, Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Athenaeum

Madonna Reading

Giotto, *The Annunciation*, fresco, 1305–1306, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Simone Martini, *The Annunciation*, panel, 1333, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Antonello da Messina, *The Annunciation*, painting, fifteenth century, Palermo, Italy, Museo Nazionale

St. Anne Teaching the Virgin to Read, illumination, from *Burgundy Breviary*, French, circa 1415, London, British Library (Harley MS 2897, fol. 340b)

Lippi, Fra Filippo, *The Annunciation*, panel, circa 1440, Florence, Italy, San Lorenzo

Master of the Flémalle (Robert Campin?), *Merode Altarpiece*, oil, circa 1425, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Botticelli, *Annunciation*, panel, 1489–1490, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Cleve, Joos van, *The Annunciation*, painting, early sixteenth century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Bourdichon, Jean, *Annunciation*, from *Très Grandes Heures d'Anne de Bretagne*, before 1521, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

La Tour, Étienne de, *The Education of the Virgin*, oil, circa 1649–1650, New York, Frick Collection

Colombe, Jean, manuscript, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (M. 834, fol. 29)

Hours of Henry VII, illuminated manuscript, London, British Library (Add. MS 35254)

Saints

Bellini, Giovanni, *Saint Jerome Reading*, oil on panel, circa 1480–1490, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Lippi, Filippino, *Vision of St. Bernard*, before 1504, Florence, Italy, Church of the Badia

Dürer, Albrecht, *St. Jerome in His Study*, before 1528, London, National Gallery

La Tour, Georges de, *St. Jerome Reading*, before 1652, Paris, Louvre

Historic

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Education of Marie de Medici*, oil, 1622, Paris, Louvre

Barocci, Federico, *Quintilia Fischieri*, oil on canvas, circa 1600, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Literary

Flaxman, John, *Paolo and Francesca*, line engraving, 1793, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Ingres, Jean-Auguste-Dominique, *Paolo and Francesca*, oil, 1819, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé

Delacroix, Eugène, *Paolo and Francesca*, nineteenth century, Zurich, Switzerland, collection of Dr. Peter Nathan

Dyce, William, *Francesca da Rimini*, oil on canvas, circa 1837, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland

Munro, Alexander, *Paolo and Francesca*, marble sculpture, 1852, Birmingham, England, Museums and Art Gallery

Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Paolo and Francesca*, watercolor, 1855, London, Tate Gallery

Genre Scenes

- Rembrandt van Rijn, *Old Woman Reading*, painting, seventeenth century, Scotland, Drumlanrig Castle
- Rembrandt van Rijn, *Titus Reading*, painting, seventeenth century, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
- Stubbs, George, *A Lady Reading in a Wooded Park*, 1768–1770, private collection
- Fragonard, Jean-Honoré, *The Reader (A Young Girl Reading)*, oil on canvas, circa 1776, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Martineau, Robert Braithwaite, *The Last Chapter*, oil on canvas, 1863, Birmingham, England, Museums and Art Gallery

Letter Reading

- Vermeer, Jan, *Girl Reading a Letter*, oil, circa 1657, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie
- Vermeer, Jan, *The Love Letter*, oil, circa 1670, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
- Newman, Robert Loftin, *The Letter*, oil on canvas, 1880s, Washington, D.C., Phillips Collection
- Picasso, Pablo, *The Reading of the Letter*, oil, 1913, Paris, Musée Picasso

Reading Music

- Della Robbia, Luca, *Cantorio*, marble relief, 1431–1438, Florence, Italy, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo
- Terbrugghen, Hendrik, *Boy Singing*, oil, 1620s, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts
- Vermeer, Jan, *The Concert*, oil, circa 1670, formerly in Boston, Massachusetts, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum
- Picasso, Pablo, *Three Musicians*, oil, 1921, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art

Reading a Newspaper

- Cassatt, Mary, *Reading Le Figaro*, oil, 1883, private collection
- Woodville, Richard Caton, *War News from Mexico*, oil, nineteenth century, New York, National Academy of Design
- Cézanne, Paul, *L'Evenement (The Painter's Father, Louis Auguste Cézanne)*, oil, circa 1859, London, National Gallery
- Degas, Edgar, *The Office of a Cotton Firm*, painting, nineteenth century, Pau, France, Museum
- Picasso, Pablo, *Student with Newspaper*, oil, 1913, private collection

Modern

- Morisot, Berthe, *The Artist's Mother and Sister*, oil, 1869–1870, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

- Morisot, Berthe, *Reading*, oil, 1873, Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art
- Homer, Winslow, *The New Novel*, watercolor, 1877, Springfield, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts
- Gogh, Vincent van, *L'Arlesienne (Madame Ginoux)*, painting, 1888, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
- John, Gwen, *Woman Reading at a Window*, 1900, New York, Museum of Modern Art
- Cézanne, Paul, *Lady in Blue*, painting, before 1906, Moscow, Russia, Museum of Western Art
- Matisse, Henri, *Marguerite Reading*, oil, 1906, Grenoble, France, Museum
- Rauschenberg, Robert, *Rebus*, 1955, Sweden, private collection
- Rauschenberg, Robert, *Small Rebus*, 1956, Los Angeles, California, Museum of Contemporary Art

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SACRIFICE

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The following iconographic narratives and motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Sacrifice:

DIANA

IPHIGENIA

ALCESTIS

PERSEUS AND ANDROMEDA

MITHRAS SLAYING A BULL

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ADULT ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST
IDENTIFYING CHRIST AS
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PELICAN

SACRIFICE IN WAR

MISCELLANEOUS



Rembrandt van Rijn, *Abraham's Sacrifice*,
1655, etching, Boston, Museum of Fine
Arts, Harvey D. Parker Collection.
(Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts,
Boston)

The root meaning of *sacrifice* is “to make sacred,” and its first definition is an offering to a deity as propitiation or homage. It also means that which is sacrificed, a renunciation of something valued for the sake of a more important goal, and a selling or giving up of something at less than its estimated value. The difference between martyrdom and sacrifice is that martyrdom is a willing offering of self for one’s principles, whereas a sacrifice may be an unwilling one, not chosen by the victim. (The offering of the fruits of the land is considered separately in this encyclopedia in the essay *Offering*.)

In ancient times, sacrifice was seen as restoring the balance of nature: an offering to promote fertility. This sometimes took the form of the ritual sacrifice of the king to bring fertility to the land. The most common type was animal sacrifice. Often a young bull, a goat, or a lamb was sacrificed as a burnt offering to the gods. Animal sacrifice as part of a religious ritual still occurs in parts of India and among voodoo cults. Human sacrifice traditionally was associated with atonement for sins or for the overreaching ambitions and pride of men. Child sacrifice was also practiced in the ancient world, as in the Phoenician sacrifice of children into a fiery furnace to propitiate the god and ensure population control. In the religion of the sun god Mithras, the sacrifice of a bull expressed the desire that the spirit might triumph over animal passions, an example of the idea of sacrificing to transcend the confining pattern of existence and rise to a higher state.

Certain symbols have been associated with sacrifice, such as the lamb, which was an offering at the altar in classical, Old Testament, and New Testament contexts. The lamb as a sacrificial animal is cited as early as Genesis 4:3–4, when Abel’s offering of a lamb, the “firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof,” is approved by God, while Cain’s offering of “the fruit of the ground” is rejected. In the New Testament, the lamb is a symbol of Jesus Christ and also of his followers. Christ is identified as the Lamb of God in such passages as John 1:29: “The next day John seeth Jesus coming unto him, and saith, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world.” Jesus is both lamb and shepherd in John 10:11–18: “I am the good shepherd: the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. . . . I lay down my life for the sheep. . . .” Following the description in Revelation 14:1, Christ as lamb is often shown with a nimbus, standing on a hill from which four streams of water flow.

Christ as Good Shepherd, with a lamb resting on his shoulders, appears in a fresco of the third century A.D. in the catacomb of St. Callixtus in Rome. Similar figures symbolizing Christ also appear in the fourth century in the catacomb of Domitilla and that of SS. Pietro e Marcellino, both in Rome. The Good Shepherd with a lamb on his shoulders is also shown

in sculptures of the early Christian period, the most notable being the marble representation from the first half of the fourth century at the Christiano Museum in Rome.

The lamb of God standing for Christ is shown in such works as the manuscript illustration (circa 1180) in the *San Pedro de Cardena Burgos Beatus*. The lamb with a nimbus stands below the cross in gold, from which the letters *alpha* and *omega* (the first and last letters of the Greek alphabet) hang. Two angels flanking the lamb point to it.

The infant Christ is often identified with a lamb in representations of the Holy Family, especially in those including the infant John the Baptist. In Leonardo da Vinci’s painting *Madonna and St. Anne* (circa 1508–1513) in the Louvre in Paris, Christ appears on the right side as an infant holding a lamb, as if defining his future sacrificial role. The infant St. John offers the lamb to the Christ Child in a number of paintings, such as those by Palma Vecchio and Simon Vouet. In works such as the early sixteenth-century painting by Bernardo Luini in the Ambrosiana in Milan, Italy, the child St. John appears with a lamb; in others, such as *Infant Christ and St. John the Baptist* by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo in the Prado in Madrid, Spain, a lamb next to Christ foretells his sacrifice.

Sometimes, lambs are associated with the flock of Christ and may be deserted, as in William Holman Hunt’s *Hireling Shepherd* (1851) and *Strayed Sheep* (1852). These flocks are at risk because they do not have a faithful shepherd to care for them.

The adult St. John the Baptist is also portrayed with a lamb, which he identifies with Christ, as in the illumination of Pol, Jean, and Herman de Limbourg in *Belles Heures de Jean, Duc de Berry*, where John the Baptist in the wilderness holds a lamb in his right arm and points to it with his left. The adult St. John the Baptist identifying Christ as the Lamb of God also appears in paintings by Giovanni di Paolo, Guido Reni, and Salvador Rosa.

Christ as the Lamb of God is also involved in the Roman Catholic and Anglican liturgies in the Agnus Dei—“Oh Lamb of God that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. . . .” In music, this chorus is one of the high points of George Frideric Handel’s *Messiah*. Some Anglican hymns also, as in the Lenten hymn or the 1940 *Hymnal*, identify Christ as the Lamb of God: “At the Lamb’s high feast we sing Praise to our victorious King. . . .”

The Lamb of God on the altar, with blood flowing from its breast, appears in *Adoration of the Lamb*, the central panel of the *Ghent Altarpiece* (1432) by Jan and Hubert van Eyck. The blood of the lamb symbolizes both sacrifice and the wine of the Mass or Eucharist. The lamb is also associated with innocence, as in the innocence of Christ’s sacrifice and as a more general

characterization, such as in William Blake's poem "The Lamb" from *Songs of Innocence*.

The pelican is another symbol for sacrifice because, according to legend, the pelican pierces its breast to feed its children with its own blood. This action is seen as analogous to Christ's sacrifice on the cross, as he gave his blood for the redemption of humanity, according to Christian belief. Psalm 102 identifies the pelican with suffering, such as that of Christ on the cross:

Hear my prayer, O Lord, and let my cry come unto thee. Hide not thy face from me in the day when I am in trouble; incline thine ear unto me: in the day when I call answer me speedily. For my days are consumed like smoke, and my bones are burned as an hearth. My heart is smitten, and withered like grass; so that I forget to eat my bread. By reason of the voice of my groaning my bones cleave to my skin. I am like a pelican of the wilderness. . . ." (Psalm 102: 1-6)

Representations of the pelican occur in church art, as on a nave capital in the church of Ste. Madeleine at Vézelay, France. Pelicans also occur nesting above the cross to emphasize Christ's sacrifice, as in Francesco Pesellino's *Crucifixion with St. Jerome and St. Francis* (1440-1445) in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., and they were used in church decorative art, as in examples by Dante Gabriel Rossetti made for Morris, Marshall, Faulkner and Company, which had many commissions for liturgical art. Rossetti's sketches may have been designed for the sedilia in the Llandaff Cathedral in Wales, where he designed an altarpiece, *The Seed of David*. Representations of pelicans as symbols of self-sacrifice also appear in ecclesiastical stained glass, as in a pelican roundel (1862) for a window by William Morris for All Saints Church in Selsey, England, or Philip Webb's nineteenth-century drawing of a pelican in a quatrefoil design for stained glass.

The representation of the Indo-Persian god Mithras slaying a bull to ensure continuing fertility provides another symbol of sacrifice. The Mythraic mystery cult, which flourished in Rome and the Roman Empire, was a rival to early Christianity. In late Roman sculpture, Mithras is shown wearing a Phrygian cap, tunic, and leggings, standing over the bull with one knee pressed into its back, holding the bull's nose or horn to pull its head back while plunging a dagger into its neck. Most examples of the sacrifice of the bull, often in a cave, come from Roman sculpture of the second or third century A.D., although reference to Mithras and the bull occur in later art as well. Perhaps the sacrifice of the bull survives in the Iberian tradition of the bullfight.

In classical literature, two plays by Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis* and its sequel, *Iphigenia in Taurus*, recount the sacrifice of Iphigenia, the daughter of Clytemnestra and Agamemnon, to enable the becalmed Greek ships to sail to Troy. In Euripides' version, a deer is sent as a substitute at the moment of sacrifice, and Iphigenia is transported to Taurus to be a priestess of the moon goddess, Artemis, but in the play *Agamemnon* by Aeschylus (ll. 199-257), Iphigenia becomes a human sacrifice to propitiate the gods. An early representation of the sacrifice of Iphigenia is in a wall painting from Pompeii in the Museo Archaeologico Nazionale in Naples, Italy, which shows her

raising her arm entreatingly. Giovanni Battista Tiepolo painted an illusionistic rendering of the scene at the Villa Valmarana in Vicenza, Italy, in 1757.

In an early version of the sacrifice of Iphigenia (circa 490 B.C.) from the ancient Greek city of Selinus in Sicily, Iphigenia is dressed as a bride and is led to the altar by a warrior, sword in his hand, identified as Teukeros. A variant appears on a fourth-century B.C. red-figure vase in the British Museum in London; here, the high priest Calchas holds a knife pointing toward Iphigenia while just behind her appears the deer that will be substituted for the human victim. Tiepolo follows this version in his fresco *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia* in the entry hall of the Villa Valmarana. Here, the victim is placed centrally at the altar while Calchas looks imploringly to heaven. The deer sent by Artemis arrives airborne on a small cloud on the left and is held by a winged putto. The drama of the story is fully realized because the fresco is at the level of the viewer, who becomes a participant in the scene.

Another popular sacrifice of a beautiful young maiden is the story of Perseus and Andromeda, told by Ovid in *Metamorphoses* (books 4 and 5) and later in William Morris's poem "The Doom of Acrisius" in his *Earthly Paradise* saga. Both Sophocles and Euripides wrote plays on the subject, but the story does not appear in Homer or Hesiod. Andromeda was the daughter of King Cepheus and Queen Cassiopeia, who boasted that she was more beautiful than the sea nymphs or Nereids. They complained to Poseidon, the god of the sea, who sent a monster to ravage the land. When the king consulted the oracle, it said that sacrificing Andromeda on a rock by the sea would appease the monster. Accordingly, she was bound to a rock (or stakes in earlier representations) but was saved at the last moment by Perseus, who swooped down on his winged sandals, or winged horse, killed the monster, and then claimed Andromeda as his bride—the male fantasy of rescue, complete with the reward of a beautiful princess. The sacrifice and rescue appear as early as 560 B.C. on a black-figure Corinthian amphora from Cevetri, now in Berlin, with Perseus throwing rocks at a monster. An Attic red-figure hydria (circa 430 B.C.) shows Andromeda held by servants, with others driving stakes to which she will be bound; a mid-fourth-century Campanian red-figure hydria shows Andromeda chained to a rock with Perseus below, attacking an enormous fish with a harpoon or sicklelike sword. A classical Greek relief in the Capitoline Museum in Rome shows Andromeda being helped off her rock by the hero. In all these representations, Perseus is shown naked (the heroic nude) and Andromeda fully dressed.

By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, however, Andromeda is the nude figure and Perseus is fully armored, as evidenced in works by Titian and Peter Paul Rubens in the Wallace Collection in London and the Gemäldegalerie in Berlin-Dahlem, respectively. The nudity of Andromeda and the armor of Perseus continue into nineteenth-century representations of the sacrifice of Andromeda, like those by Edward Coley Burne-Jones in a private collection; Frederick Leighton in the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool, England; and Edward John Poynter, now in a private collection. The naked vulnerability of the victim likely enhanced her appeal to Victorian men with chivalric pretensions.

Alcestis, who offered to die in place of her husband, Admetus, King of Phœria in Thessaly, is another ancient example of sacrifice. At their wedding, Admetus neglected to sacrifice to Artemis and therefore was destined to die. Apollo persuaded the Fates to let Admetus live if someone were willing to die in his place. Only Alcestis would make this sacrifice, but she was spared because Hercules wrestled Death (Thanatos) for her life and restored her to her husband. This legend was told in Euripides' play *Alcestis*, Plato's *Symposium*, Apollodorus's *Bibliotheca*, and Hyginus's *Fabulae*.

This story of wifely sacrifice is represented on Roman sarcophagi such as *Sarcophagus of C. Junius Euhodius* (circa A.D. 161–170) in the Museo Chiaramonti in the Vatican and *Story of Alcestis Sarcophagus* (circa 170–180) in the Villa Albani in Rome. It also occurs in a painting by Jean-François-Pierre Peyron (1785) in the Louvre in Paris.

Sacrifices to various gods and goddesses have also been depicted. In one mid-seventeenth-century example, Eustache Le Sueur's *Sacrifice to Diana*, a man in profile on the left and a woman on the right sacrifice at a flaming altar before a central sculpture of the huntress goddess. This scene re-created the classical custom of offering incense or sacrificing an animal to propitiate a god or goddess, ask for a favor, or give thanks.

In Christian literature, sacrifice is a continuing theme. It starts as early as the fourth chapter of Genesis in the sacrifice of Cain and Abel: Abel's sacrifice of the lamb is preferred to Cain's offering of the fruits of the earth, and Cain in his jealousy slays his brother. The scene of the sacrifice appears on a Spanish Romanesque capital in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, with the hand of God coming out of a cloud and pointing to Abel's sacrifice. Another is a nineteenth-century painting by John Everett Millais in the City Art Gallery in Birmingham, England. Still others include the eleventh-century bronze doors of Bishop Bernward at St. Michael's in Hildesheim, Germany, and Titian's oil painting (1542–1543) in the Church of Sta. Maria della Salute in Venice, Italy.

Sacrifice that has received more artistic representation is Abraham's sacrifice of his only son at God's command, told in Genesis 22. Abraham had left Ur of the Chaldees at God's command and, although old, was the father of a young son, Isaac, as God had promised he would be. This promise of posterity was seemingly cut short when God ordered Abraham to take his only son to a high mountain and sacrifice him as a burnt offering. The sacrifice of his only son would be a test of Abraham's faith. The overwhelming feelings of horror and despair that came over Abraham as he was about to cut the boy's throat in sacrifice are mirrored in his face and pose in the etching *Abraham's Sacrifice* (1655) by Rembrandt van Rijn. Just as Abraham is about to strike, an angel appears behind him and stays Abraham's hand. The amazement and terror of the intervention are obvious on Abraham's face, as he is shown in the engraving not as an imposing Old Testament patriarch but as a very human father. The scene is not a costume piece of a biblical past but an eternal theme that raises questions about a father's relationship to his son. It calls to mind the phrase "The son was sacrificed to his father's ambition" (or his desire

for his son to succeed, possibly where the father had not, as an athlete, a lawyer, a wealthy man, and so on).

The sacrifice of Isaac was a popular subject with artists not only as a prefiguration of God's sacrificing His only son in the New Testament but also for the drama and emotions it contained. Early Christians depicted the scene in the Roman catacombs of St. Callixtus and Priscilla. It appears in the thirteenth century in the Upper Church of St. Francis in Assisi, Italy, and was the subject of the competition for the Baptistery doors in Florence, Italy, which included gilt bronze reliefs by both Andrea Ghiberti and Filippo Brunelleschi, now in the Bargello in Florence. Andrea del Sarto painted a dramatic version of the sacrifice, now in the Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art, as did Caravaggio, whose painting, now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, is in grand Baroque style.

Titian painted a spectacular *Sacrifice of Isaac* on the ceiling of the Church of Sta. Maria della Salute at the same time as his ceiling renditions of *Cain Killing Abel* and *David Killing Goliath*. The latter two show heavily muscled figures in violent action organized in a dominant diagonal composition. They are painted to be seen from below, with dramatic foreshortening of the figures and strong dramatic action. Titian's *Sacrifice of Isaac* is an illusionistic tour de force, combining Roman drawing with Venetian color in a seldom equaled synthesis.

In addition to the Cain and Abel sacrifice and the sacrifice of Abraham, which appear in a number of pictorial and sculptural works, there are many representations of Noah's sacrifice, the sacrifice of Jacob and Laban, Aaron's offerings to the golden calf, Manoah's sacrifice, David's sacrifice, and Solomon's sacrifices to pagan gods. This last subject was especially popular with seventeenth-century Dutch artists and can be seen in paintings by Leonard Bramer, Gerbrand van den Eeckhout, Solomon Koninck, and Willem de Poorter.

The sacrifice of Manoah was an important subject for Rembrandt and his pupils. The story, which comes from Judges 13:2–24, tells of Manoah and his wife sacrificing in thanksgiving for the news brought by an angel that they would have a son, Samson. Pieter Lastman, Rembrandt's teacher, painted the subject in 1627, but Rembrandt's version of 1641 bears little resemblance to his master's. In Lastman's painting, the angel with raised arms stands frontally in the air on the left, the kneeling wife appears frontally with raised arms, and Manoah, in profile, kneels in the right foreground. Lastman presents his version in daylight, Rembrandt at night, showing the couple kneeling in a vast space, while the angel, seen from the back, ascends left. Rembrandt borrowed his composition from a woodcut of the same subject (1563) by Maerten van Heemskerck, and this form, with the angel on the left seen in flight from the rear, appears in similar compositions of Manoah's sacrifice by Rembrandt's pupils Govaert Flinck and Jan Victors.

An unusual depiction of sacrifice occurs in William Holman Hunt's *The Scapegoat* (1856) in the Lady Lever Art Gallery in Port Sunlight, England, which shows the goat that the Jews used on the Day of Atonement as a surrogate sacrifice for their sins that was to be driven out to die in the wilderness (Leviticus 16). Hunt painted most of the work by the Dead Sea to capture the verisimilitude of its Old Testament site but had difficulties,

as the goats, staked out in the intense heat of the salty plain, kept dying on him—a case of sacrifice to art.

The topic of sacrifice runs like a scarlet thread through the Bible, with each mention departing further from human or animal sacrifices as burnt offerings to God. A new concept of sacrifice appears in Psalm 51:16–17: “For thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it; thou delightest not in burnt offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise”; and in Hosea 6:6: “For I desired mercy, and not sacrifice; and the knowledge of God more than burnt offerings.” Proverbs 21:3 proclaims, “To do justice and judgment is more acceptable to the Lord than sacrifice.” Here, the outward form of burnt offerings is changed to an inner sacrifice of contrition and to behavior that pleases God.

Although scenes of sacrifice are less common in the New Testament, there are pictorial representations of Zacharias sacrificing incense at the altar when an angel appears to him to announce the coming birth of John the Baptist. One example is Andrea Sacchi’s mid-seventeenth century *Zacharias Sacrificing at the Altar* in the Lateran in Rome.

Another similar subject that has been explored by artists is the story of Joachim, the father of the Virgin Mary, whose sacrifice at the altar is refused by the priest Zacharias because Joachim is childless. Sometimes, the sacrifice of both Joachim and his wife, Anna, are refused, and Joachim is driven from the temple. Joachim’s exile from the temple is the subject of works such as those by Agnolo Gaddi in the Cathedral of Prato, Italy, and Taddeo Gaddi in S. Croce in Florence. Domenico Ghirlandaio also shows Joachim’s sacrifice refused in a fresco on the left wall of Sta. Maria Novella in Florence. Several moving representations by Giotto show Joachim’s sacrifice refused and his exile into the wilderness. Of these works by Giotto, all in the Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy, the first shows Joachim on the far right being pushed out of the temple by an officious bearded priest. In the second, the dejected Joachim is on the left, bending his head in grief as he talks to the shepherds in the center of the fresco, with the sheep and sheepfold on the right.

In the New Testament, Luke (2:23–24) tells of the customary sacrifice of a pair of turtledoves or young pigeons offered for the first male child born and of the prophet Simeon’s recognition of Jesus as the promised Messiah when his parents come to sacrifice: “For mine eyes have seen thy salvation” (Luke 2:29–32).

In his ministry, Jesus echoed Hosea’s definition of sacrifice when he answered the Pharisees’ question about why he ate with publicans and sinners. He said that those who are well do not need a physician, but those who are sick do. “I will have mercy, and not sacrifice: for I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance” (Matthew 9:10–13). Christ himself became the ultimate sacrifice, offering up his life in the Crucifixion for the sins of the world: “He appeared to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. . . . So Christ was once offered to bear the sins of many; and unto them that look for him shall he appear the second time without sin unto salvation” (Hebrews 9:26–28). The final Christian ideal of sacrifice is an offering of oneself to God, as Paul wrote in Romans 12:1:

“I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.”

In a modern secular context, sacrifice usually means giving up one’s life for a cause or a principle believed, such as Nathan Hale’s sacrifice of his life for his country in the American Revolution, Lord Byron’s death at Missolonghi in 1824 for the cause of Greek independence from Turkey, or Martin Luther King Jr.’s assassination in the cause of civil rights. Nathan Hale is the subject of a commemorative sculpture by Frederick MacMonnies, who shows Hale, condemned to die as a spy by the British during the American Revolution, striding forward as if uttering his famous words, “I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country.” The deaths and maimings of war provide another context for sacrifice, perhaps best expressed by United States President Abraham Lincoln in the Gettysburg Address on November 19, 1863:

But in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate, we cannot consecrate, we cannot hallow this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here, have consecrated it, far above our power to add or to detract. . . . It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us; that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion.

Käthe Kollwitz poignantly expressed this concept in her *Pietà* in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which portrays a mother holding her dead son in her lap (Kollwitz’s son died in World War I, her grandson in World War II). Ernst Ludwig Kirchner depicted his own sacrifice as a soldier in World War I when he painted a self-portrait in uniform with his right hand amputated—a symbolic statement for his experiences in the war, which were so traumatic that they prevented him from painting for a period and drove him to a nervous breakdown.

Sacrifice was one of the motive forces in Toltec, Mayan, and Aztec civilizations in pre-Columbian Mesoamerica. It was their belief that the gods needed blood sacrifices, especially the sun god, who required still-beating hearts, usually of captives, to sustain him in his journey across the sky. Captain James Cook reported human sacrifice for success in war on his third voyage in the Pacific in 1777. German anthropologist and archaeologist Leo Frobenius wrote of sacrifice for rain in southern Rhodesia. The idea of sacrifice appears to bring out the best and the worst in humanity: the best when we sacrifice ourselves and our selfish goals, the worst when we sacrifice others.

See also Martyrdom; Offering

Selected Works of Art

Diana

Le Sueur, Eustache, *Sacrifice to Diana*, oil, mid-seventeenth century, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts

Iphigenia

The Sacrifice of Iphigenia, Attic white-ground lekythos, circa 490 B.C., originally from Selinus, Italy, now in Palermo, Italy, Museo Nazionale

The Sacrifice of Iphigenia, red-figure vase, fourth century B.C., London, British Museum

The Sacrifice of Iphigenia, fresco, from the House of the Tragic Muse, Pompeii, circa 50 B.C., Naples, Italy, Museo Archaeologico Nazionale

Steen, Jan, *Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, 1671, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista, *The Sacrifice of Iphigenia*, fresco, 1757, Vicenza, Italy, Villa Valmarana

Alcestis

Sarcophagus of C. Junius Euhodius, relief sculpture, circa 161–170, Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti

Story of Alcestis Sarcophagus, relief sculpture, circa 170–180, Rome, Villa Albani

Peyron, Jean-François-Pierre, *Death of Alcestis*, oil, 1785, Paris, Louvre

Delacroix, Eugène, *Hercules Bringing Alcestis Back from Hades*, oil, 1862, Washington, D.C., Phillips Gallery

Burne-Jones, Edward Coley, *Love Leading Alcestis*, watercolor cartoon for a tapestry, 1863, Oxford, England, Ashmolean Museum

Leighton, Frederick, *Hercules Wrestling Death for the Soul of Alcestis*, oil, 1871, Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Athenaeum

Story, William Wetmore, *Alcestis*, marble sculpture, after 1874, Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Athenaeum

Perseus and Andromeda

Sacrifice and Rescue of Andromeda, Corinthian black-figure amphora, 560 B.C., from Cevetri, now in Berlin, Antique Museum

Andromeda and Servants, Attic red-figure hydria, circa 430 B.C., London, British Museum

Andromeda Chained to the Rock, Campanian red-figure hydria, mid-fourth century B.C., Berlin, Antique Museum

Perseus Rescuing Andromeda, marble relief, Greek classical period, Rome, Capitoline Museum

Titian, *Perseus Rescuing Andromeda*, oil, circa 1556, London, Wallace Collection

Vasari, Giorgio, *Perseus and Andromeda*, oil, 1570–1572, Florence, Italy, Palazzo Vecchio

Burne-Jones, Edward Coley, *The Rescue of Andromeda*, oil, 1887–1893, private collection

Leighton, Frederick, *Perseus and Andromeda*, oil, 1891, Liverpool, England, Walker Art Gallery

Mithras Slaying a Bull

Mithras Slaying a Bull, relief fragment, second century, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Mithras Slaying a Bull, relief sculpture, third century, Paris, Louvre

Mithras Slaying a Bull, sculpture, Roman, London, British Museum

Rossellino, Antonio, *Mithras Slaying a Bull*, relief sculpture, detail from *Tomb of the Cardinal of Portugal*, Florence, Italy, San Miniato

Mithras, woodcut, from *Cartari, Imagini degli dei . . .*, 1615, Padua, Italy

Sacrifice of Cain and Abel

Cain and Abel with Offerings, fresco, 320–350, Rome, Via Latina, Catacomb, Cubiculum B

Sacrifice of Abel, Approved by God, bronze relief sculpture on Doors of Bishop Bernward, 1015, Hildesheim, Germany, St. Michael

The Sacrifice of Abel, marble column capital, Spanish Romanesque, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum

Sacrifices of Cain and Abel, nave capital relief, 1120–1132, Vézelay, France, Ste. Madeleine, North Clerestory

Ghiberti, Lorenzo, *Sacrifice of Abel Approved by God*, gilt bronze relief, on *Gates of Paradise*, circa 1435, Florence, Italy, San Giovanni, Baptistery, east doors

Albertinelli, Mariotto, *Sacrifice of Cain and Abel*, circa 1510, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum

Titian, *Cain Killing Abel*, oil, 1542–1543, Venice, Italy, Sta. Maria della Salute

Millais, John Everett, *The Rejection of Cain's Sacrifice*, nineteenth century, Birmingham, England, City Art Gallery

Noah

Uccello, Paolo, *Sacrifice of Noah*, fresco, circa 1447–1455, Florence, Italy, Sta. Maria Novella, Cloister

Michelangelo, *Noah's Sacrifice*, fresco, 1508–1512, Vatican, Sistine Chapel, ceiling

Palma Vecchio, *Noah's Sacrifice*, oil, early sixteenth century, Detroit, Michigan, Art Institute

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Sacrifice of Noah*, oil, early seventeenth century, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum

Castiglione, Giovanni, *Noah's Sacrifice After the Deluge*, oil on canvas, circa 1650, Los Angeles, County Museum

Bourdon, Sébastien, *Sacrifice of Noah*, nineteenth century, Moscow, Russia, Pushkin State Museum

Schick, Christian Gottlieb, *Sacrifice of Noah*, 1805, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Nationalgalerie

Manoah

Lastman, Pieter, *The Sacrifice of Manoah*, 1627, private collection

Flinck, Govaert, *The Sacrifice of Manoah*, 1640, London, Marshall Spink

Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Sacrifice of Manoah*, 1641, Dresden, Germany, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie

Post, Frans Jansz., *The Sacrifice of Manoah*, mid-seventeenth century, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Museum Boymans

Joachim and Zacharias

Giotto, *Joachim's Sacrifice Refused*, fresco, circa 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Ghirlandaio, Domenico, *Joachim's Sacrifice Refused*, late fifteenth century, Florence, Italy, Sta. Maria Novella
 Sacchi, Andrea, *Zacharias Sacrificing at the Altar*, mid-seventeenth century, Rome, the Lateran

Isaac

Sacrifice of Isaac, wall painting, early Christian, Rome, Catacomb of St. Callixtus
Sacrifice of Isaac, fresco, 320–350, Rome, Catacomb of Via Latina, Cubiculum C
 Ghiberti, Lorenzo, *The Sacrifice of Isaac*, bronze gilt relief, 1302, Florence, Italy, Bargello
 Gozzoli, Benozzo, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, fresco, fifteenth century, Pisa, Italy, Campo Santi
 Tintoretto, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, oil, sixteenth century, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Veronese, Paolo, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, oil, sixteenth century, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Andrea del Sarto, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, oil, 1520s, Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art
 Titian, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, oil, circa 1542, Venice, Italy, Sta. Maria della Salute
 Carracci, Ludovico, *Sacrifice of Isaac*, oil, after 1585, Vatican, Vatican Museums
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Good Shepherd with Lamb on Shoulders, ceiling fresco, fourth century, Rome, Catacomb of SS. Pietro e Marcellino
Good Shepherd with Lamb on Shoulders, ceiling fresco, fourth century, Rome, Catacomb of Domitilla
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Lamb Identifying Christ with Holy Family or St. John the Baptist

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SANCTUARY

Claudia Hill

The following sanctuaries and topics are covered in the discussion of the theme Sanctuary:

SECOND TEMPLE

DOME OF THE ROCK

KAABA

HAGIA SOPHIA

CHARTRES CATHEDRAL

VIOLATION OF SANCTUARY:

ST. THOMAS À BECKET

TEMPLE OF ZEUS

PANTHEON

THE GREAT STUPA

ANGKOR WAT

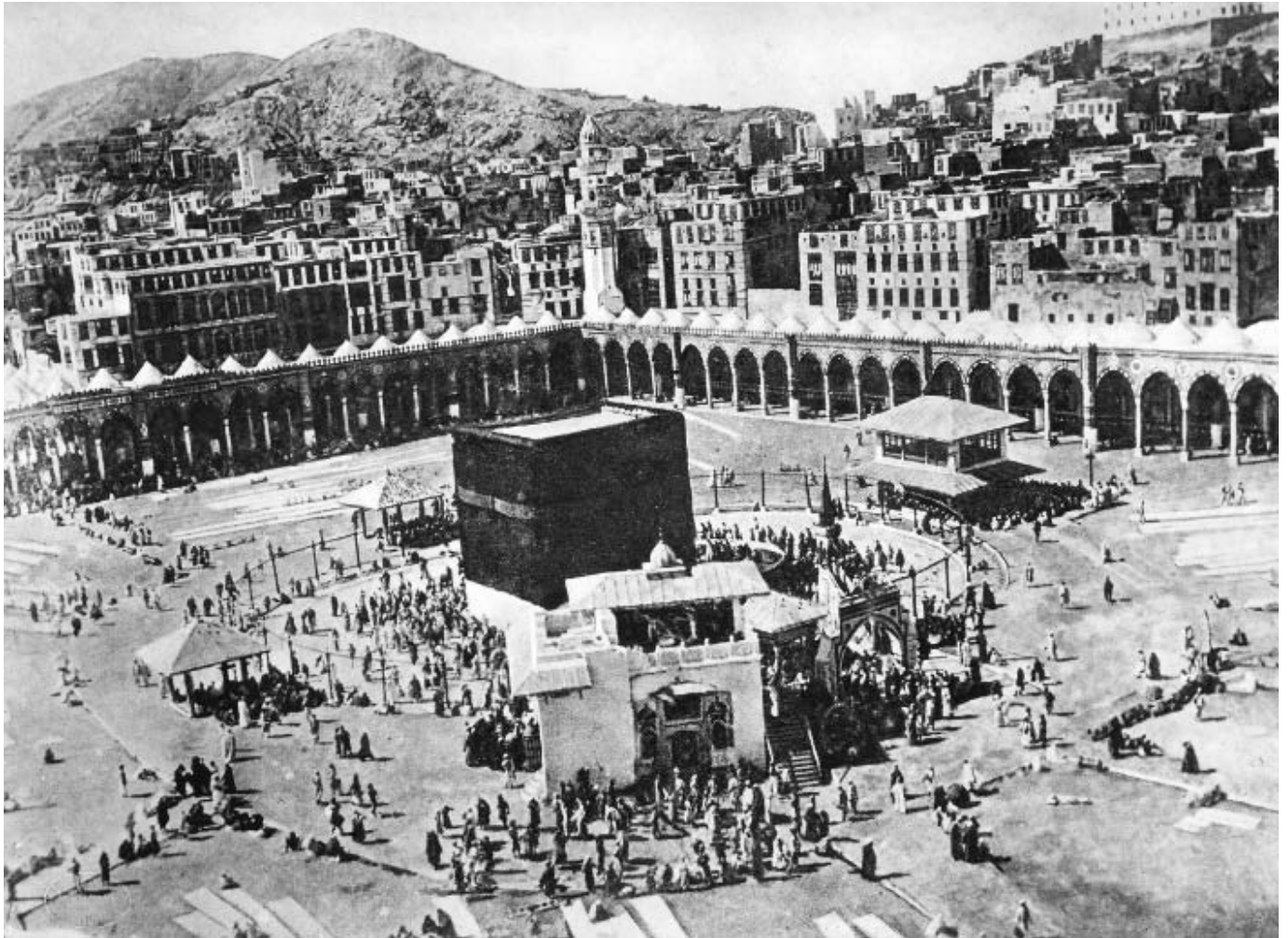
GREAT ZIMBABWE

TEMPLE OF THE SPHINX

TEOTIHUACÁN

POSSIBLE SANCTUARIES

IDEA OF SANCTUARY



Mecca, Saudi Arabia, Kaaba and Haram, from *History of Aleppo Temple* (Boston: E. J. Hall, 1915), photographs provided by Newman Travel Talks Co. (Courtesy of the Aga Khan Program, Fine Arts Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts)

Sanctuary derives from the Latin word *sanctuarium* (a holy place). Although sanctuaries have frequently been depicted in works of art, sanctuary is most often exemplified in a specific place. The earliest sanctuaries date from the caves of Paleolithic times (early Stone Age) in which the mysterious rites took place that left magnificent cave art. Soon humans improved upon and further embellished their natural sanctuaries, as at Abu Simbel in Egypt or the Tun-huang caves in China, by enhancing natural configurations and decorating them with effigies and paintings.

Eventually humans built structures to encompass their holy sites. The *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* defines *sanctuary* as a building for religious worship or part of a church, temple, or shrine immediately surrounding the altar. Although sanctuaries need not have altars, they are often placed within the building or on the sacred precinct. The altar is frequently tied to the concept of the sanctuary as a place of refuge.

A common feature of sanctuaries is the importance placed upon the cardinal points of the compass, perhaps symbolizing the cosmos. East and west are strongly associated with religious belief, and sacred buildings are often aligned along this axis. Sanctuaries are not necessarily enclosed structures but holy spaces separated from profane spaces by man-made demarcations, natural boundaries, or a combination of the two. Both the image and meaning of the word *sanctuary* are as dependent upon the preservation of records describing the sacred space as on the durable materials and methods of construction.

Second Temple

The Old Testament documents the Israelites' attempts to build a temple to house the sacred Ark of the Covenant, one that would act as a central sanctuary of their state and religion. The First Temple, built by Solomon and destroyed by the Babylonians, left no archaeological traces. A considerable number of speculative and imaginary images of the First Temple and its successor can be found, ranging from early manuscripts to twentieth-century works of art. There are no descriptions of the building of the Second Temple in the Old City of Jerusalem. In the Torah, however, there is mention of the reconstruction of the temple. Archaeological drawings indicate that an altar was placed outside and in front of the temple. The remains of some ancient Jewish stone altars reveal hornlike protrusions at the corners. In the Old Testament (I Kings 1:50–51) the persecuted who were able to seize the horns on the altar were assured of justice if not safety.

The Second Temple was rectangular, with a porch, main hall, and a dark, windowless inner sanctum. These were all oriented along a single, horizontal, east–west axis. The inner sanc-

tum contained the chest known as the Ark of the Covenant, which held the two stone tablets of the Ten Commandments given to Moses by God on Mount Sinai. Worshipers would go in a procession to the temple and then perform ritual sacrifices at the altar along with prayers of thanksgiving.

The only remaining section of the Second Temple is thought to be a stone wall that dates from the first century B.C. This wall, the Western Wall, is the most hallowed spot in the Jewish religion. It is believed that the divine presence resides at that location because of the wall's proximity to the sacred Ark. When the Second Temple became a casualty of war, the Ark of the Covenant disappeared. The mourning that takes place daily by the wall is for Israel's exile from Egypt and the destruction of the Second Temple. The Western Wall, also known as the Wailing Wall, is one of four stone walls surrounding the buildings on the Temple of the Mount.

Dome of the Rock

The Dome of the Rock is one of 100 structures in the enclosed trapezoid of the Temple of the Mount area in Jerusalem. Muslims gather around this building to worship in numerous prayer spots. The octagon-shaped structure was constructed over an enormous rock by the Islamic leader of the Umayyads, Caliph Adb al-Malik, in A.D. 685. Muslims believe that the rock was where the Prophet Muhammad rose to heaven in an event described by the Koran. The rock is also sacred to Jews, who believe it was where Adam was entombed and where Isaac was bound for sacrifice.

The Dome of the Rock has two concentric ambulatories and is crowned by a gilded dome. There are windows at the base of the dome and glazed pottery tiles decorate the exterior of the structure. The shimmering of the multicolored tiles of the geometric designs along with the immense, gold-covered dome produce a magnificent effect. Arabic inscriptions, mosaics of vegetation, precious metals, and colored stones are part of the original seventh-century interior decoration. The Dome of the Rock did not have an altar, as Muslims believe that all prayer should be directed towards the Kaaba, their most holy sanctuary.

Kaaba

According to the Koran, the Kaaba was the Earth's first sanctuary. The Kaaba, considered "the temple or house of God," is in the center of the Haram, or mosque, at Mecca, Saudi Arabia. The Koran specifies that all Muslims must perform a pilgrimage to the Kaaba once in their lifetime. Part of the pilgrimage includes a ritual walk to the Haram, around the Kaaba, and the recitation of prayer. Because a Muslim has a direct relationship

with God, there are no priests on Earth nor saints in heaven for intercession, neither are there ritual vessels or vestments. Prayers are said five times a day as the means for worship.

The Black Stone, the central focus of this sanctuary, is touched and kissed by the faithful during a ritual walk. Built into the east corner of the Kaaba, its relation to the Kaaba is not known. For the Muslims, it is the world's axis. In the seventh century A.D., Muhammad is believed to have assisted with the placement of the sacred Black Stone in the sanctuary and to have led the first pilgrimage to the site.

The Kaaba is rectangular, with a flat roof that slopes to the northwest corner, tapering into a *mizab* (gilt water spout). The existing building is made of mortared layers of a gray-blue stone from the neighboring hills. The four corners of the Kaaba roughly correspond to the points of a compass and its walls are covered with a black curtain. Entry to the Kaaba by appointed caretakers is gained from a side door. Inscriptions cover the interior walls, and marble is set into the floor. There is no altar or other furnishings except for some silver and gold lamps.

The inviolability of the sacred enclosure of the Haram was a guaranteed right. Peace reigned within this space; feuding Arab tribes were forbidden weapons in the mosque. On the Kaaba was a handle that fugitives could grasp and expect mercy, somewhat analogous to the horns on the Jewish altar. Safety was also extended to animals and plants in the Haram. Blood could not be spilled and murder in the sanctuary was seen as a heinous crime.

Hagia Sophia

The basilica was an early prototype of the Christian sanctuary. The Hagia Sophia (A.D. 537), a Byzantine basilica, was built on a high ridge overlooking the city of Constantinople, now Istanbul, Turkey. The architects Anthemius of Tralles and Isidorus of Miletus designed this sanctuary for the Roman emperor Justinian. After the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453, it became a mosque and four minarets were added. In use today as a museum, the Byzantine building is rectangular, with a wide nave or central passageway flanked by aisles with galleries above them.

A great dome caps the center of the Hagia Sophia and rests on four piers that descend into giant arches. The piers are made of stone, and the roof, vaults, and arched masonry ceiling are made of brick and mortar. These materials add to the church's massive and monumental appearance, although the dome itself appears to float above the building. The base of the dome is surrounded by small windows, and four smaller domes extend from each corner of the central dome. The nave lies on an east-west axis with a protruding apse that surrounds the altar at its eastern end. The most sacred space in the building is the area around the altar, which is also referred to as the sanctuary. At the opposite end of the sanctuary apse, to the west, is an inner porch.

As soon as it was consecrated, the Hagia Sophia served as an imperial court as well as a center for Byzantine ritual based on the Bible. The building therefore represented both ecclesiastical and political authority. The clergy, emperor, and the emperor's court processed eastward through the great nave.

The emperor and his court walked to the south aisle and the clergy continued to the chancel around the altar. The remaining aisles and galleries were reserved for the congregation.

The interior walls were originally decorated in gilded mosaics done in colorful and precious materials such as marble, stones, bronze, and other metals. The beauty and sparkle of the walls were further enhanced by the clergy's sumptuous liturgical implements. The mosaics of Christ, the Virgin and Child, other holy figures, and members of Justinian's court were later additions that served to impress and educate a largely illiterate congregation. After the Turkish conquest, the mosaics were covered with plaster and whitewash but were later revealed and restored.

The Hagia Sophia was erected on top of the ruins of a fourth-century church that had been built by the Roman emperor Constantine. Constantine, the first Christian emperor, selected the site for the sanctuary after having a dream. His body was allegedly buried in the center of this early church. By the time the Byzantine emperor Justinian (A.D. 483–565) embarked on the construction of the Hagia Sophia, the sanctity of the area had already been established. The recycling of sanctuary buildings and their sites throughout history is often due to their sacred or convenient location.

Chartres Cathedral

Some 500 years after the building of the Hagia Sophia, the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Chartres was constructed southwest of Paris over a holy relic reputed to be the Virgin's birthing tunic. The structure was originally rectangular, similar to the basilica of the Hagia Sophia. However, fire destroyed all but the sculptured portal on the west facade in the eleventh century.

Influenced by the high Gothic style of the French cathedrals of Notre Dame and Sens, Chartres was rebuilt on the same sacred site by Abbot Suger. The twelfth-century building is made of mortared stone over a wooden framework and has sculptured stone entryways. It is designed with a long nave and short transepts, or arms. A double ambulatory, also known as a walkway, has radiating chapels and encloses the central altar at the east end. The triforium (a narrow second-story gallery) borders the nave, and stained-glass windows along this upper clerestory wall reflect the Cult of the Virgin.

Whereas Hagia Sophia has subdued light because of its enclosed space, Chartres has an abundance of light from a broad expanse of windows. The windows at Chartres give a "cage" effect and are supported by multiple pointed and arched vaults. These vaults have four ribs that transfer the weight of the building to flying buttresses, stone arch supports, on the exterior of the cathedral. Medieval pilgrims to Chartres entered the cathedral from the west portals, which were flanked by two towers. The faithful then walked eastward through the large, horizontal nave toward the sanctuary that contained the altar where priests performed the Christian ceremony.

Violation of Sanctuary: St. Thomas à Becket

Sanctuary as a place of refuge is also recorded in Christian churches. Thomas Becket, the twelfth-century English archbishop, fled to the altar in Canterbury Cathedral when pur-

sued by four of Henry II's knights. He thought that his pursuers would honor the right of sanctuary in the church. Ignoring existing church laws regarding asylum, they decapitated him at the altar in the cathedral. The Roman Catholic world was horrified at this sacrilege: the assassins were dealt with swiftly, and Becket was promptly canonized. Even though he actually vigorously defended himself, depictions of the event usually show Becket in prayer, kneeling before an altar, in order to emphasize the violation of sanctuary. In an illumination from the *Hastings Hours* (circa 1480) in the British Library in London, for example, not only is the saint kneeling and praying at the altar as he is attacked from the rear, but his tonsured head and the cross on the back of his chasuble are clearly visible to his attackers.

To this day, the quest for asylum in the Roman Catholic Church persists. On December 24, 1989, General Manuel Noriega of Panama pleaded with a diplomatic representative of the Pope for refuge in the nunciature. The former military ruler was fleeing U.S. forces sent to destroy his corrupt regime and install a civilian government in its place. The representative of the Vatican sheltered Noriega as an act of the Church's age-old tradition of providing a safe haven for fugitives. However, fearing that the Vatican would lift diplomatic immunity and he would be turned over to Panamanian authorities, Noriega surrendered to U.S. troops.

Temple of Zeus

Sanctuary as a place of asylum also has roots in Greek mythology. Paris, the son of the Trojan King Priam and his second wife, Hecuba, was abandoned at birth. The child was raised by shepherds and eventually returned to the city of Troy to participate in the annual funeral games. He defeated his royal brothers in the games and angered one of them. Fearing for his life, Paris sought refuge in the Temple of Zeus, king of the gods. Later, he was recognized as the son of Priam and accepted into the royal family. Ironically, Priam's own death at the hands of Neoptolemus during the Trojan War occurred as he clung to an altar of Zeus.

The stone altar at the Greek sanctuary of Zeus at Olympia was apparently located in front of his temple. Both the altar and temple were built in the fifth century B.C. This site was established as a sanctuary in northern Greece at the base of a hill called Cronos. In Greek mythology, Zeus, the son of Cronos, overthrew his father and became the supreme god. The rectangular sacred area around Zeus's temple was bordered by stone walls, only ruins of which exist today. Archaeological remains indicate that some burnt offerings to Zeus dated from the tenth century B.C.

The rectilinear Doric Temple of Zeus at Olympia was made of a local limestone, covered with white stucco, and designed with fluted columns, six across the facades and 13 along the flanks. The front and rear of the temple had a porch, and the cella (central interior chamber) probably housed the image of Zeus and his wife, Hera. The sculptural decoration on the pediment below the roof was made of marble imported because of the need for fine-grained carving stone. The figures along the pediment were a mixture of free-standing and high- and low-relief sculpture.

In Greek society, the statues of the gods were housed in sacred areas apart from the community and appeased through sacrifice. The priest of the cult of Zeus would have faced east toward the god's image in his temple and made burnt offerings at his altar. A procession of the faithful may have followed the priest to the altar and departed once the gifts were made to the god. The Temple of Zeus at Olympia underwent various modifications, and for reasons unknown, was eventually abandoned in the sixth century A.D.

Pantheon

An altar, dedicated to all the Roman gods, may have been placed outside a temple that lies beneath the Pantheon in Rome. However, archaeological evidence supporting the altar's location is inconclusive. The temple was rectangular and roughly followed the Greek model. It burned twice, was rebuilt in concrete and brick, and was newly dedicated in 128–126 B.C. Under Emperor Hadrian's rule (A.D. 111–138) the Romans rebuilt and rededicated the temple. Hadrian's temple, with architectural modifications, is what stands today in Rome.

The Pantheon is designed as a hemispherical dome with a rectangular colonnaded porch at the entrance. Eight unfluted columns support the entablature of the porch. The precedent for the round, rather than rectangular, shape of the temple may stem from ancient funerary and religious structures. Inside the dome are recessed coffers with an oculus (circular opening) in the ceiling. In the seventh century, all "pagan" statues were removed, a central altar was placed in the church's interior apse, and the structure was consecrated as the Christian church Santa Maria ad Martyres. The church was stripped of its gilded bronze roof tiles 50 years later, but the western entry still retains its ancient bronze doors. The Pantheon has frequently been depicted in art, perhaps most memorably in the many versions by Giovanni Paolo Pannini (circa 1730–1735).

The Pantheon, along with the sanctuaries previously mentioned, are all constructed of durable building materials. Sanctuaries built of inorganic materials such as clays, glass, rock, and precious materials such as ivory, silver and gold tend to withstand the test of time, whereas those built of organic materials such as wood or leather do not. Of course there are exceptions, because precious materials are often pillaged, like the bronze coffers of the Pantheon, or subjected to natural and man-made devastation, as exemplified by the burning of Chartres Cathedral and the destruction of the Second Temple.

The Great Stupa

Built of earth, faced with stone, and covered with white and gilded stucco, the Great Stupa is a formidable construction. This sanctuary—one of three stupas (sacred mounds) in Sanchi in north-central India—was erected during the Shunga and Early Andhara periods (before the first century A.D.). It is the first stupa and probably once housed the relics of the founder of Buddhism, Siddhartha Gautama, otherwise known as the Buddha.

The three stupas at Sanchi, built in a similar manner, are symbolic of Siddhartha Gautama and his teachings. The Great Stupa is surmounted with a three-tiered stone "umbrella" that

stands for the Buddha, the Buddha's law, and order. An upper protective railing usually surrounded the umbrella, and around the base of the mound was a path. Pilgrims circumambulated this path counterclockwise, which represented the Path of Life around the World Mountains.

There are four stone gateways to the Great Stupa, each with two columns on posts capped with three architraves. The sculptural program on the architraves represented folktales, scenes from the life of the Buddha and symbols associated with Buddhism. Carved on the gateway brackets were the guardian figures called *yakshas* and *yakshis*. The carvings on the gateways served to educate pilgrims who were not well versed in the teachings of Buddha but were familiar with local folklore.

Angkor Wat

This temple, possibly the largest in the world, once stretched more than 2.5 miles and soared 200 feet high. Angkor Wat (circa 1120–1150) was built of carved sandstone held together, without mortar, by iron clamps. The Khmer ruler and god king Suryavarman II initiated its construction with the intention of placing his tomb inside. He dedicated the enormous stone temple northwest of Phnom Penh, Cambodia, to the Hindu god Vishnu.

Hinduism is a complex religion of multiple deities—like the pantheon of the Greeks—that developed as early as 800 B.C. in northern India. Hindus embrace an endless cycle of reincarnation of human and animal forms bound by a strict caste system. This succession is called karma and is described in the sacred religious poem the Bhagavad Gita (200 B.C.). Among the three higher gods of orthodox Hindu tradition are Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva: Brahma is the creator of the universe, Vishnu the preserver, and Shiva the destroyer.

A metal statue of Vishnu was placed in the entry to the central shrine at Angkor Wat and was approached by ascending steps from the west. Over this central shrine is a massive spire with four smaller spires capping shrines at its corners. Relief sculpture of figures in motion and organic matter related to Hinduism cover the walls of this immense architectural feat. The rectangular symmetrical plan of Angkor Wat represents the cosmos and is aligned along an east–west axis. A large moat around the entire complex once provided water to the temple and inhabitants of the nearby city. The moat surrounding the temple made it an impregnable fortress and provided sanctuary for the Khmer ruler in more ways than one.

Great Zimbabwe

Oral histories from the Shona—Bantu peoples of Zimbabwe and southern Mozambique—point to the existence of a sacred site, the Great Zimbabwe in South Africa. Their folklore tells of the Mbire, their forefathers, traveling to the area of the Great Zimbabwe, where they established a religious center. At this site their supreme god Mwari was worshiped and the spirits of their royal ancestors cared for. Archaeological data from the remnants of this fortified city indicate that the site was first occupied in the fourth century A.D., but the stone walls date from the thirteenth century A.D.

The Great Zimbabwe's massive outer stone wall stands 30 feet high and 20 feet thick. It surrounds a smaller incomplete wall, a

conical tower, a smaller tower, and a mass of fallen stonework from other buildings. No altar has been found at the Great Zimbabwe, which does not rule out the possibility that one existed. The Shona believe that a divine king, Monomotapa, reigned in these buildings, which functioned as a royal palace and a temple.

This South African center, like that of the Hagia Sophia, would have been the capital of a kingdom of religious and temporal power. A variety of pottery vessels, clay birdlike figures, and clay bovine figurines, possibly connected to cults in this center, have been excavated through uncontrolled and controlled archaeological digs.

Temple of the Sphinx

Archaeological excavations have uncovered a sanctuary devoted to the sun at Giza, Egypt, immediately in front of the stone sculpture of the Great Sphinx. This sanctuary, also known as the Temple of the Sphinx, is part of a group of temples and pyramids. Through scientific dating and study of Egyptian hieroglyphics, archaeologists have attributed these buildings to the Egyptian kings of the Old Kingdom, Fourth Dynasty (2680–2565 B.C.). One of these kings, Khafra, is credited with building the Temple of the Sphinx as a place of worship to the sun god Ra, the chief deity. The ancient Egyptians may have greeted Ra in the morning in the east, feared the sun god at midday for his intense heat, and honored him as the sun fell below the horizon to the west.

The Temple of the Sphinx is a rectangular structure, its four corners correspondent to the points of the compass. Two entryways from the east lead to the north and south sides of the inner pillared halls of the court. The outer and inner walls of the temple are faced with granite, which is also used for the pillars and roof beams. The complex design of the temple reflected the Egyptian belief in the afterlife associated with the cult of the sun. Since it is to the west that the sun descends at day's end, the death of the king was equated with the sun's disappearance. The cyclical reappearance of the sun was symbolic of the eternal existence of Khafra's spirit, or Ka. Perhaps Khafra, in the form of the Great Sphinx, faced east behind the temple to await his emerging Ka with the rising sun god.

The Temple of the Sphinx was probably linked to the other architectural structures at Giza. These included a valley temple to the south of the Temple of the Sphinx, a covered causeway or raised road, a funerary temple, and a pyramid. In ancient Egypt pyramids served as markers for sacred areas selected for funerary precincts and temples. They contained the tombs of rulers and high officials and were decorated with murals and sculptures depicting the afterlife. Khafra's funeral procession would have entered the valley temple from the Nile Valley to the east and continued along the causeway and through the funerary temple. A passage to the north side of the temple led directly into the pyramid where Khafra's body was entombed.

Teotihuacán

The abandoned monumental "pyramid" temples at Teotihuacán, Mexico, or "birth place of the gods," form Mesoamerican sanctuaries. Myths from the region describe the death of the sun followed by the creation of a new sun, as well as a moon, by gods

assembled at Teotihuacán. Dominated by the Temples of the Sun, Moon and Quetzalcoatl—the god of life, wind, and wisdom—this Aztec ceremonial center was constructed on a plateau 20 miles north of Mexico City. The temples were directly off a wide avenue called the Avenue of the Dead, which bisected the gridded center. The center layout, covering 13 miles, coincided with an astronomical plan that served civic, economic, political, and religious functions. It flourished between about 500 B.C. and A.D. 750.

The Temple of the Sun was built over a sacred cave that probably housed an altar. The cave, in the center of the pyramid, was accessed through a natural tunnel that ran from its west side toward the east. The Temple of the Sun was a stepped and truncated pyramid with steep sides, closer in style to the ziggurats of Mesopotamia than the pyramids of Egypt. A stairway provided access to the top platform, where religious ceremonies would have taken place, possibly around an altar of some type. Residue of polychrome suggests that the temples were covered with painted murals. Elaborate carvings of various deities in the form of birds, butterflies, jaguars, and serpents also decorated temples. These designs on the temple walls, along with some pottery and weaving, are the only records of the Teotihuacanos and have yet to be deciphered.

The political sovereigns—the divine rulers, considered descendants of the gods, who served as priests—were the closest entities to the Aztec gods. Worshipers would gather at the bases of the temples, which were only accessible to priests, to pay them homage. The explanation of the sudden demise of this ceremonial center is merely conjectural and may have been the result of climatic changes and war.

Possible Sanctuaries

Places that appear to be sacred but are insufficiently documented as sanctuaries include northeastern Utah, where there are extensive twelfth-century rock engravings; Stonehenge in Salisbury, England; and the site of 600 Polynesian sculptures on Easter Island. Extensive pictographs left by Paleolithic artists in the Apollo II Cave of Namibia as well as those in the caves of Lascaux, France, and Altamira, Spain, suggest that at one time these were also holy places.

See also Communion; Devotion/Piety; Funeral/Burial; Penitence/Repentance

Selected Works of Architecture

Sanctuaries

Haram, Mecca, Saudi Arabia
 Temple of the Sphinx and Pyramid of Khafra (Chefren), circa 2560 B.C., Giza, Egypt
 Temple of Zeus, fifth century B.C., Olympia
 Pyramid of the Sun, 500 B.C.–A.D. 750, Teotihuacán, Mexico
 Pantheon, circa 126 B.C., Rome
 Great Stupa, before first century A.D., Sanchi, India
 Great Zimbabwe, fourth–thirteenth century A.D., South Africa
 Hagia Sophia, A.D. 537, Istanbul, Turkey
 Dome of the Rock, A.D. 685, Temple of the Mount, Jerusalem

Chartres Cathedral, twelfth century, France
 Canterbury Cathedral, twelfth century, England
 Angkor Wat, circa 1120–1150, Cambodia

Possible Sanctuaries

Caves, Altamira, Spain, Paleolithic era
 Caves, Lascaux, France, Paleolithic era
 Apollo II Cave, Paleolithic era, Namibia
 Easter Island, Polynesia
 Stonehenge, Salisbury, England
 Rock Engravings, Utah, twelfth century

Selected Works of Art

Sanctuaries

Temple of Vesta in the Forum of Rome, Roman relief, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
Temple Facade, Shekel from Bar Kochba War, 132–135, London, British Museum
Temple Facade, wall paintings from Synagogue of Dura-Europos, central panel above niche for scrolls, 244–245, Damascus, Syria, National Museum
Consecration of the Tabernacle and Its Priests, wall paintings from Assembly Hall of Synagogue of Dura-Europos, 244–245, Damascus, Syria, National Museum
Muhammad Replacing the Black Stone in the Ka'ba, manuscript illumination, from *Jami'al-Tawarikh*, 1306, Edinburgh, Scotland, University Library (Arabic MS No. 20, fol. 45r)
 Eyck, Herbert van (attributed to), *The Three Marys at the Open Sepulchre*, early fifteenth century, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Boymans-van Beuningen Museum
 Foucquet, Jean, *Conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuzzar-Adan; Entry of Ptolemy; Pompey in the Temple*, illuminations from *Antiquités Judaïques*, circa 1470, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
 Raphael, *Healing the Lame at the Beautiful Gate*, cartoon for tapestry, circa 1516, London, Victoria and Albert Museum
 Villalpando, Juan Bautista, *Holy of Holies*, from *Ezechielem Explanationes*, vol. II, fol. 318, 1594–1608, London, British Library
 Pannini, Giovanni Paolo, *Interior of the Pantheon, Rome*, painting, circa 1730–1735, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Constable, John, *Stonehenge*, watercolor, 1835, London, Victoria and Albert Museum
 Bauernfeind, Gustave, *Lament of the Faithful at the Wailing Wall, Jerusalem*, painting, circa 1904, private collection

Idea of Sanctuary

Ernst, Max, *Sanctuary*, oil and collage on wood, 1965, New York, collection of the artist

Violation of Sanctuary: St. Thomas à Becket
Martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket, illumination from English manuscript, circa 1180, London, British Library (Cotton Claudius BII, fol. 341)

- Assassination of St. Thomas Becket*, from the *St. Thomas Becket Reliquary*, inlay and metalwork, twelfth century, Paris, Louvre
- Martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket*, fresco, late twelfth century, Spoleto, Italy, SS. Giovanni e Paolo
- Murder of Thomas Becket*, illumination from English Psalter, circa 1190–1200, London, British Library (MS Harl. 5102, fol. 32)
- Martyrdom of Thomas Becket*, illumination from *Ramsey Psalter*, circa 1200, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (M302, fol. 4v)
- Murder of Thomas Becket*, ceiling boss, fourteenth century, Exeter, England, Exeter Cathedral
- Murder of Thomas à Becket*, illumination from *Hastings Hours*, Flemish, circa 1480, London, British Library (Add. Mss. 54782, fol. 55v)
- Death of St. Thomas à Becket*, illumination from Flemish manuscript, circa 1500, London, British Library (Add. Mss. 17012, fol. 21v)
- Martyrdom of St. Thomas Becket*, illumination from Flemish manuscript, circa 1500, London, British Library (Kings 9, fol. 38v)

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SEASONS

Shane Adler

The following regions and motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Seasons:

CHINA AND JAPAN

THE MOVEMENT OF TIME

ABUNDANCE AND
PROSPERITY

AGES OF MAN AND STAGES
OF LOVE

SEPARATED SEASONS



Now Phoebus, crowns our Summer dayes Summer Her lovely neck, and breast are bare;
 With stronger heate and brighter rays Whilst her fann doth coole the Ayre.

Wenceslas Hollar, *The Four Seasons: Summer*, print, 1641. Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art. (Courtesy of the Cleveland Museum of Art)

The seasons provide ample evidence of their own existence. With their continually changing colors and cycles of growth and withering, these periods of the year provide themes for visual and verbal description. The passing of time is celebrated through nature's appearance and endurance in Eastern art. It is the more complex human relationship to the natural world, always in transition itself, that expresses the contradictions and conflict of Western cultures.

The belief that nature is alive and conscious and that all living things, growing or inert, are part of the same eternal cycles of interdependency was the primordial conclusion about the origin of the world, a belief still held among many Native American peoples, like the Hopi of the southwestern United States. The creative process that changed chaos to order also brought seasons—regular, predictable, and providing sustenance. The corn goddess narrative, like that of the Greek goddess of agriculture Demeter and her daughter Persephone, whose annual descent to the underworld explained winter's barrenness and spring's reawakening, is paralleled in the Sumerian story of Tammuz, the shepherd, as well as that of Osiris, husband of the Egyptian nature goddess Isis. According to a legend of the Seneca Indians of the northeastern United States woodlands, Old Winter melts, like snow, when he encounters the warmth of young and vigorous Spring. In ancient myth and mysticism, people, their gods, and the land in which they dwelled were inextricably bound. That spirit and the reverence for nature's providence meant that the physical world was not subordinated to its inhabitants until Western thought defined nature in terms of resources, or products.

The gardens planned and used in medieval China, thereafter to be adapted to Japanese religion and aesthetics, reflected that sense of harmony. From garden to art, the emphasis was on capturing scenes of nature, the fleeting qualities of each season expressing human transience in contrast to nature's permanence. The moods and character of each season were evoked by allusion but not formalized into allegory. The series of picturesque scenes planned as the decoration of the physical environment, a microcosm of the world, were like nature's shifting seasonal changes of perspectives; the preordained path, or Tao, that one took reflected the balance of aesthetics and philosophy.

The seasons were also the beauty of women and the ages of man, the latter summarized in a sixteenth-century poem by Pai Ta-Shun of that title, with human life altered as spring to autumn. Plants within the garden symbolized the seasons through their transformation as well as their inherent traits. For example, the lotus represented summer by the fecundity in its seed as well as purity, as it grew in a murky pond but opened

itself in unspotted beauty, thereby linking the season with the quality. Winter was composed of "three friends," combining pine and bamboo, which keep their foliage, with flowering plum (prunus), the first tree to bloom in the new year. Fruit trees in gardens assimilated the cycle of seasons, from blossom to matured fruit, with all the senses and their blessings of fragrance and sweetness in taste.

The garden provided the fullest human experience, with the seasons always the prevalent motif. Japanese artists, painters, and printmakers similarly relied on scenes of nature's seasons. For example, Mt. Fuji, a metaphor in itself, was shown in its variations named by season. Moreover, human activity was affected by the time of year. Whereas the season formed the title, thereby describing the subject, landscape was only suggested because the season was a recognized state of mind. In the epic *Tale of Genji*, the author, Lady Murasaki Shikibu, has the prince give to his four ladies a special garden, each crafted to evoke her fine qualities through visual beauty in reference to a season: spring's profusion of flowers and their meaning, the symbolism of summer scents and sensuality, the brilliant and dramatic effluence of color in autumn, and the display of winter when clusters of snow glisten on bare branches. In Japan as in China, elegant women frequently connoted the seasons, their beauty like that of flowers and, like flowers, fading with time.

In the primeval beginning of Western civilization was another garden: a perpetual springtime, a paradise like a tropical island of gentle climate and lush vegetation. This land of natural harmony was disrupted by human weakness, and the enduring legacy was the seasons and their travail. In Genesis, two opposing concepts provided a balance of contrasts, not unlike those that marked the way of Tao and the garden path: "seedtime and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter" (Genesis 8:22). Divisions of the year into two parts were dependent on observable cycles of sun and moon (noting either the solstices or the equinoxes) and connected to changes in weather conditions.

Throughout the ancient Mediterranean world, an acknowledgment of three seasons appeared in written form in Asia Minor from the seventh century B.C. and were related to the agricultural year. Egyptian tombs decorated in the Old Kingdom had indicated periods of time by the activities of the depicted people in search of food: bird hunting, harvest, or vintage. To the Greeks, the Egyptians gave their three seasons and possibly a name, the Horae, after the god Horus. The Greek three-season system was one of many feminine triads corresponding to the moon's phases: new, full, and old. Like the moon's phases, the Horae were aspects of a single entity and pictorially were undifferentiated. On sixth-century B.C. vases,

the Horae were depicted as a unit of overlapping figures in procession, together wrapped in one cloak and wearing fine clothes. Inscriptions identified them, thereby distinguishing the Horae from other groups of feminine powers: the Graces or the Fates. As spirits of weather, the Horae brought a good harvest. Attributes reminiscent of the vegetative year (spring, summer, and autumn) were thereafter carried by each Hora and established the identity of each as a season. With the recognition of the solar year and its interstices (the solstices and equinoxes combined), astronomers established four separate seasons, each with a certain span of time. Each season, in its regularity, order, and repetition, became a symbol of divinity in the heavens.

The various meanings attached to the seasons in antiquity have since recurred, like their periods of blossom, abundance, decay, and renewal. Revolving like the year in which each season in its time returns, themes recur in art: the concept of time itself, defined by its passage and the history it leaves behind, and the fertile seasons, aided by labor and rewarding mankind with wealth and well-being. As a reflection of the human condition, the seasons align with the life of humankind and the yearning for the seasonless perfection of a lost paradise. And, like the cycle they represent, each theme depends on the others—they are interconnected and overlapping, as seasons in a year.

Perhaps originating in the frenzied abandon of the Dionysian sacrificial rites for the god associated with the seasons, or otherwise related to the Hebrews' festive communal dance called the hora, the personified seasons have swayed to the motion of time. Pictorial and theatrical arts have simulated the seasons' rhythmic repeated patterns of movement through the year, changing them and turning back to begin again. Initially, the Horae were part of processions encircling Attic figured vases. Then, in their first definitive portrayal as separate Seasons, Dionysus led them through their light-footed steps on a marble relief (circa 300 B.C.). The same dance was performed, although the seasons were guided by Apollo, in an etching by Claude Lorrain: Amid ancient ruins of times past, the Seasons glide by, imitating their earlier choreography. And, unaccompanied, they danced on other sculpted pieces or on frescoes decorating the walls of Pompeian villas in Italy, with attributes in hand and draperies swirling around them. The cosmic dance of Renaissance court masques represented the arrangements of scientific correspondences that linked the locations of heavenly planets to a destiny wrought below, and the Seasons were part of the ensemble. In his own honor, Louis XIV of France devised pageants whereby the eternal momentum of time was rearranged to revolve around him. The seventeenth century ended with a ballet, *Les Saisons*, in four acts.

The passage of time was a preoccupation of the Renaissance. This general concern would culminate in the development of landscape painting expressing the visual notations of continual changes; these constant transformations of a moment—variations on the colors and moods of each season—were allegories of time itself. Meanwhile, accuracy in time's measurement by more precise instruments occurred contemporaneously in the seventeenth century with the pendulum clock and the spiral balance spring watch. Also, sentiment shifted from pathos to ethos. Time the Devourer, which, according to

Ovid, consumed all things in death and would account for the prevalence of the motif of the Seasons on Roman sarcophagi, reappeared in the sixteenth century's outlook of time as a force of destruction, although the Seasons were not deemed responsible. This perspective gave way to the perception of Time as Revealer, a concept inherited from philosophy of the sixth century B.C., in which the time that elapsed was the vehicle leading to an ultimate truth. Sir Walter Raleigh's monumental *History of the World* (1608–1614) looked back through time and recognized its judiciousness. In contrast, the engraving *The Four Seasons* (1607) by Otto van Veen showed the personified figures of the seasons as ages of life and history marching away in single file, from the eager child reaching out toward what lies ahead to the tottering elder moving away from the viewer without so much as a backward glance. However, the cycle of the same title by Nicolas Poussin (1607) united the past with its lesson in a parable of natural redemption: The calamity of Winter's deluge must inevitably yield to the sustenance from another Spring coming in succession.

After the flood, the Lord said to Noah, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth" (Genesis 9:1). Fecund were the mother and the land; as children were the seeds of the future, the Earth's produce was its display of riches. The seasonal crops of nature's rituals—flowers enlivening spring, grain bundled in sheaves from summer's harvest, vintage grapes and other autumn fruits, as well as a brazier to ease the chill of barren winter—remained the attributes from the Greek Horae through medieval illumination, as in the *Tacuinum Sanitatis* and eventually the elaborate decorative cycles of more recent eras. Recalling each season's specific characteristics, these products also recorded nature's abundant gifts, the basis of wealth in agricultural societies. On the Ara Pacis Augustae in Rome, children walk in procession with their elders, a reminder of the prosperity associated with future generations. The Romans were financially rewarded for having large families, thereby increasing the empire's population, with penalties levied against the childless. This imperial shrine was further decorated with a bounty of fruits and flowers, arrayed as garlands or opulent offerings, as if paradise had returned to the Romans; these same emblems formed of the seasons' symbols appeared on public monuments and in private domestic settings.

Mother Earth, or Tellus, a recumbent figure, also depicted on the Ara Pacis Augustae, was surrounded by her infant children, the Seasons, on sculpted reliefs during the same period. Childlike putti have since flown, like time, as representations of the seasons into the nineteenth century. Roman coins were embossed with legends that proclaimed that the seasons brought prosperity and good fortune: *felicitas temporum* (happiness of the seasons). While the bucolic life was poetically extolled as love of the land, warfare provided the gain of additional territories, a large land base. The Seasons, formerly female, became male personifications on Roman triumphal arches, where they were set in the spandrels below the figures of military victory. Later, with industrialization, a nation's affluence was measured by its manufactured goods, and the changes in the seasons were shown through costume. A return to female figures also occurred.

Clothing had always helped to indicate the time of year, with garments adjusted to the temperature: lightened and bared, as bathers for summer's warmth, and heavily wrapped against winter's chill, with sandals in spring and sturdy boots for tramping in the autumn fields. In the mid-seventeenth century, seasonal cycles by Wenceslas Hollar in England and Jean Convay in France used fashionable accessories to replace traditional attributes: a fan for summer's heat and a veil to protect the complexion from the sun's harsh rays and a hood and a fur muff for winter. Worn as emblems of refinement, industrial products were dyed with those of the Earth and produced by the laboring classes. Louis XIV revitalized the seasons, establishing strict dress regulations as court etiquette; his edicts appeared as illustrations in *Le Mercure Galant*, showing the seasonal changes in the luxury fashion trades. The industrial economy of the nineteenth century was reflected in the paintings by the most modern of artists. As allegories of the seasons, fashionably dressed and accessorized, *Autumn* and *Spring* by Édouard Manet were the most successful. The series by Alfred Stevens, which distinguished each season by the symbolic color selected for the gown and suitable to the age of the wearer, conveyed the emotional stages of a woman's life.

In the eighteenth century, those emotional stages had been of a man's life, telling of his moods and how they progressed through his personal seasons of growth. The eighteenth-century notion of nature, as a metaphor for human nature, described the changes in man as a circuitous walk through the landscape of his life. Love, a feeling of many states, was portrayed in picturesque settings, from spring's budding rapture through summer's marriage and fertility in family and autumn's wizened understanding, concluding with winter's homey shelter and protection, as indicated in the illustrations to James Thomson's epic poem, or skating on slippery ice, the outcome foreseen by French artists. The seasons were first likened to human ages by Pythagorus and subsequently recounted by Ovid. Engraved cycles made this theme visible as the sequence of physical aging, as in that of Hendrik Goltzius, or in the gradations of maturing into manhood, as in the print cycles of Jacob Matham. As a man's character was delineated by the concordances of the planets, temperaments, elements, ages, and seasons, cycles of these subjects contained interchangeable narratives. A picture of spring was a composite, an example of the youthful and sanguine child of Venus, the goddess of love, as well as a story of love.

The four ages of man, as the seasons, were separate pieces of a whole. The set *The Four Ages of Human Life* by J. J. Grandville, actually composed of several stages within each division, foretold the nineteenth century's disruption of their unity with its announcement: "Chaque âge a ses plaisirs" (Each age has its pleasures). Despite some modest decorative schemes that retained elements of classicism and feigned a reverence for laboring on the land that was being abandoned (Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, Adolphe-William Bouguereau), the nineteenth century isolated the seasons and disturbed their cyclical rhythm. As in poetry or music, each was an ode to a moment, complete in itself, and savored for its own sake. Although the ancient Greeks individualized each Hora, they remained an unbroken chain.

Spring, like the figure from Stabiae, so called for her solemn walk through a meadow of flowers, would have had sisters. In an attempt to deify all the seasons, Ovid successfully assigned the goddess of flowers to springtime. Flora sometimes introduced medieval lyric poetry because alluding to spring was a way of announcing a beginning. The first painting referring to a single and separate segment of time, Botticelli's *Primavera*, was the allegory of a concept. Representing not a season but the idea of the Renaissance, a time reawakened after a prolonged slumber, this work heralded a return to pagan human desire. The metamorphosis from the maiden Chloris to the nymph Flora through sexual knowledge paralleled the transformation of love from the spiritual to the sensual.

Renaissance portraits named after Flora (paintings of courtesans or other beloved women) were more mythological disguise than personification of spring. Many nineteenth-century allegories titled *Spring*, naked like Eve or provocatively postured as if courtesans, recalled the duality of that temptation, with Franz Xaver Winterhalter's *Spring* modeled after Titian's *Flora*, although the association of spring with youth and innocence was sometimes a pretense for unclothed female bodies. Sweet Victorian childhood was also thus portrayed in uncultivated outdoor settings, as in *Spring* by William McTaggart and *Spring* by Joseph Wilson Forster. In these works, fertility and the future were together suggested as the embodiment of spring alone. Although the golden age from which the spirits of the changing times had evolved was the moment most fervently sought, the luxuriant growth of quiet, sultry summer or the melancholy mood of autumn were also independently expressed as works of art. Frigid winter, not recognized in the vegetative year, was generally absent in the painted *Seasons* of urban life and its seasonal social events. Art and artifice, not nature, gave them meaning. Cycles of growth and renewal were frozen, hibernating like winter; the year was composed of isolated moods and moods of isolation. The seasons had become mere fragments of time.

See also Abundance; Humors; Months

Selected Works of Art

China and Japan

Lu Kuang, *Spring Dawn over the Elixir Terrace*, hanging scroll, Yuan Dynasty, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Untitled Painting of the Summer Palace, Beijing, China, Ming Dynasty, now in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes

The Tale of Genji, hand-scroll painting, mid-twelfth century, Nagoya, Japan, Tokugawa Museum

Hiroshige and Toyokuni III, *Prince Genji in the Plum Blossom Garden*, woodblock triptych, circa 1849–1850, Walton Rawls Collection

Kangaku Shinsuhitsu, *Landscape of the Four Seasons*, screen, early sixteenth century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Tosa, Mitsuoki, *Cherry Blossoms (Spring)*; *Maple Leaves (Autumn)*, screens, seventeenth century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Harunobu, *Celebrated Poems on the Four Seasons*, woodblock print, late 1760s, Japan, Takahashi Collection
 Utamaro, *Games of the Four Seasons: Charms of Flowers*, woodblock print, circa 1782, London, British Museum
 Tamechika, Raizei, *Merriments of Spring and Autumn*, hanging scroll, late 1850s, Shizuoka, Japan, Museum of Art

The Movement of Time

Dionysus and Three Horae, black-figure vase, circa 540 B.C., Berlin, Antiquarium (no. F.3989)
Dionysus and Four Dancing Horae, Hellenistic relief, third century B.C.
Dancing Seasons, House of Ganymede, House of the Ancient Hunt, House of the Tragic Poet, Pompeii
Child's Season Sarcophagus, sculpture, circa A.D. 250, Rome, San Lorenzo in Panisperna
Season Sarcophagus, sculpture, before A.D. 275, Zurich, Switzerland, Cenetary Rehalp
Sarcophagus with Vintaging Seasons from Catacomb of Pretestato, sculpture, fourth century A.D., Rome, Lateran Museum
 Louis XIV Program, included seasons as fountains and statues in Gardens of Versailles; the apartments of Premier at Fontainebleau; the Grand Salon and its adjacent apartment, the small pavilions, and garden sculpture at Marly; embroidered wall hangings by Charles Le Brun
 Coecke van Aelst, Pieter, I (after Raphael cartoon), *Border with the Seasons*, circa 1532, Rome, Pinacoteca (Inv. no. 3867/A)
 Veen, Otto van, *The Four Seasons*, 1607, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University Library
 Poussin, Nicolas, *The Four Seasons*, 1660–1664, Paris, Louvre
 Lorrain, Claude, *Time, Apollo, and the Seasons*, etching, 1662, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
 Chauveau, François, *The First Day of the Pleasures of the Enchanted Isle of 1664 with the Parade of Seasons*, 1673, London, British Museum

Abundance and Prosperity

Wall paintings from House of Livia, late first century B.C., Rome, Palatine Hill
 Ara Pacis Augustae, 13–9 B.C., Rome
 Arch of Trajan, A.D. 117–120, Benevento, Italy
 Arch of Septimius Severus, A.D. 203, Rome, Roman Forum
Garland Sarcophagus with Putti, sculpture, mid-second century A.D., originally from Capranica, Italy, now in New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Seasons, fresco, first half of third century A.D., Rome, Catacomb of Pretestato, Crypt of St. Gennaro
Sarcophagus with Earth and the Seasons, sculpture, circa A.D. 250–260, Buffalo, New York, Albright-Knox Art Gallery

Mosaic of Tellus and the Seasons, third century, originally from Sentinum, Italy, now in Munich, Germany, Glyptothek
Mosaic of the Seasons, pavement from Daphne, Antioch, early fourth century, Paris, Louvre
 Heyden, Pieter van der, and Hans Bol (after Pieter Bruegel the Elder), *The Four Seasons*, 1570, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Velde, Jan van de (after Willem Buytewech), *The Four Seasons*, circa 1622, Coburg, Germany, Kunstsammlungen der Veste
 Hollar, Wenceslas, *The Four Seasons*, three-quarter length, 1641, Cleveland, Ohio, Cleveland Museum of Art; full length, 1643–1644, Paris, Fondation Custodia; half length, 1644, London, British Museum
 Convey, Jean, *The Four Seasons*, circa 1660, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
 Seasons Fountains: *Spring*, by Philippe Magnier; *Summer*, by Pierre Hutinot; *Autumn*, by Thomas Regnaudin; *Winter*, by François Girardon, 1674, Versailles, France, Chateau gardens
 Gheyn, Guillaume de, and Jeremias Falck (after Charles Le Brun), *The Four Seasons*, circa 1680, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
 Watteau, Antoine, *Crozat Seasons: Summer*, circa 1712–1715, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Petrini, Giuseppe Antonio, *The Seasons*, circa 1740, Lugano, Switzerland, Museo Cantonale di Belle Arti
 Boucher, François, *Ceiling Decoration with Putti as Seasons*, circa 1750, Fontainebleau, Chateau
 Sauvage, Piat Joseph, *The Seasons as Tellus and Children*, late eighteenth century, Cincinnati, Ohio, Cincinnati Museum of Art
 Pajou, Augustin, *The Four Seasons*, sculpture, circa 1770, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art
 Crane, Walter, *The Earth and [Child] Spring*, 1875
 Stevens, Alfred, *The Four Seasons*, circa 1876, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute
 Morisot, Berthe, *Winter*, 1880, Dallas, Texas, Dallas Museum of Art
 Manet, Édouard, *Spring*, 1881, New York, Mrs. Harry Payne Bingham

Ages of Man and Stages of Love

Galle, Philip (after Maerten van Heemskerck), *The Four Seasons*, circa 1563, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
 Matham, Jacob (after Hendrick Goltzius), *The Four Seasons*, circa 1580, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
 Matham, Jacob, *The Seasons*, circa 1585, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
 Saenredam, Jan (after Hendrick Goltzius), *The Four Seasons*, circa 1597, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
 Frisius, Simon Wynouts, and Hendrik Hondius II (after David Vinckeboons), *The Four Seasons*, 1618, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
 Bosse, Abraham, *The Four Seasons*, 1630, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

Watteau, Antoine, *The Julienne Seasons*, circa 1710, private collection

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SELF-PORTRAITS I: MEN

Christine M. Boeckl

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Self-Portraits I: Men:

FIFTEENTH CENTURY

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Norman Rockwell, *Triple Self-Portrait*, 1960, for the cover of the February 13, 1960, *Saturday Evening Post*, Stockbridge, Massachusetts, Norman Rockwell Museum. (Courtesy of the Norman Rockwell Museum, Stockbridge, Massachusetts)

Some scholars have proposed that self-portraits first appeared in Egyptian tomb paintings during the Old Kingdom (3110–2258 B.C.). The Roman writer Pliny and the Greek historian Plutarch both reported that ancient artists created figures in their own image. However, the production of self-portraits in the modern sense of the word can be credited to the rise of humanism in the wake of the Middle Ages.

Artists' self-portraits can be allegorical or realistic. These paintings and sculptures at times take the form of a signature, such as a miniaturist's bust in a prayer book, an architect's portrait on a cathedral, or Lorenzo Ghiberti's famous likeness on the frame of the *Gates of Paradise* (circa 1450). Many early examples appear in religious settings.

Through the centuries artists' images of themselves became increasingly secular and related to their place in society. Eventually, Baroque artists' self-portraits become coveted collectors' items. Patrons such as the Medici family in Italy and Charles I of England put great store in images of famous painters executed by their own hands. The Galleria degli Autoritratti in the Uffizi in Florence, Italy, for example, holds more than 1,000 such canvases.

Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, most well-known artists, male and female, have recorded their features in some way for posterity. Twentieth-century painters frequently use an analytical approach in autobiographical works and explore their inner lives as well as their environment. Such portraits are by and large less traditional, their results diverse in form and meaning. The inclusion of a mirror is rare but can be seen in works such as Norman Rockwell's *Triple Self-Portrait* (1960). Because the Allegory of Painting was traditionally represented by a female—thereby excluding male artists from appearing as *pittura* (paintings)—women's self-portraits are an integral, but separate, part of this discussion (see the essay Self-Portraits II: Women).

One of the most important sources for the development of self-portrait iconography is the legend of St. Luke, which originated in the East. St. Luke was said to have once painted himself painting a true likeness of the Virgin. This *Theotokos Hodegetria* (Mother of God showing the way) icon was supposed to have miraculously survived the iconoclast controversy (eighth and ninth centuries). After the restitution of orthodoxy in the ninth century, this type of icon became especially venerated. Fourteenth-century writer Nicephorus Kallistos Xanthopoulos reemphasized the authenticity of the sacred *Theotokos Hodegetria* icons (claiming to have based his text on a sixth-century source). From the fourteenth century onward, renderings of the evangelical Madonna painter St. Luke became an important pictorial tradition in the East and even more so in the West where St. Luke was elevated to the patron saint of art guilds and academies. Because of the association of the evangelist St. Luke with icons, his image became inextricably linked to

the defense of holy images as a whole, a popular Catholic theme, particularly after the Protestant Reformation (sixteenth century).

Frequently in Western art, the features of the evangelist St. Luke reveal the face of a painter. This custom started in the circle of Rogier van der Weyden. As art historian Erwin Panofsky explains: "Figuratively speaking, representations of this kind [St. Luke painting] were always self-portraits, and as time went on they tended to become self-portraits in a literal sense also" (Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting: Its Origin and Character*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953, p. 253).

The topos of St. Luke was widespread and long-lived. Due to the lack of comparative material it is difficult to establish if the recorded tradition is correct—it's not totally certain whether artists such as Hinrich Bornemann, Lancelot Blondeel, Frans Floris, and others did in fact model their St. Lukes after their own countenances. There is no doubt, however, that Jacques van Schuppen's features appear on the altarpiece in the imperial church of St. Charles Borromeo in Vienna, Austria. In his *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (circa 1735) the cerebral Flemish painter and founder of the Viennese Art Academy refers to St. Luke's three professions: evangelist, physician, and artist. However, van Schuppen refrains from being too obvious in lending St. Luke his own countenance. He changes the color of his eyes and gives St. Luke the customary beard—van Schuppen appears clean shaven in his *Self-Portrait* (1718).

Raphael altered the time-honored tradition of artistic self-portraiture when he created his *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (circa 1511). Here the young painter appears as the inspiring genius behind the evangelist St. Luke, stressing the importance of *inventio* (inventiveness) in sixteenth-century art. For years Raphael's painting served as the main altar in the Roman church of artists SS. Martina e Luca, and is now located in St. Luke's Academy in the same city. Maerten van Heemskerck's votive panel for Haarlem's St. Luke's guild in The Netherlands (1532) is based on Raphael's idea; he portrays himself as *furore dell'arte* (fury of art) and his father as the aged evangelist. Pierre Mignard's self-portrait also emerges behind the saint in his *St. Luke Painting the Virgin* (1695), a work he created after his appointment to the Royal Academy in 1695.

As already noted, artists often indicated what they believed to be their special place in society by including themselves in religious scenes and history paintings. Jan van Eyck's reflection can be found in St. George's shield in his *Madonna with Canon George van der Paele* (1436). Botticelli, Albrecht Dürer, Caravaggio, and Rembrandt van Rijn, among many others, included themselves in religious scenes. Renaissance master Raphael's portrait and those of many contemporary dignitaries appear as ancient philosophers in his *School of Athens* (1508–1510), a work that advertises painting's place among the liberal arts.

Artists honored by royal patrons by the gift of a coveted gold chain frequently recorded the event itself. Most famous are the paintings by Titian and Anthony Van Dyck. Diego Velázquez also appears to have indicated his noble status as court painter in his enigmatic masterpiece *Las Meninas* (1656). Although the painting is purportedly a royal portrait of the charming Infanta Margarita, who stands in the foreground, Velázquez himself appears standing at a large easel, which raises questions about the true subject of his art. The king and queen appear as reflections in a mirror, their images signifying Velázquez's position in a royal household. Luca Giordano spoke of this work as a "theology of Painting." Francisco de Goya followed Velázquez's composition by including himself in the background of his royal portrait *Family of Charles IV* (1800).

Artists frequently indicated their aspirations to belong to the upper class by the social settings in which they portrayed themselves, their spouses, and/or their circle of family and friends. One of the earliest examples of a double-portrait is Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsaenen's *Self-Portrait Painting His Wife* (1530), in which the artist presented himself in the process of rendering his wife, both middle-aged and meticulously dressed. Peter Paul Rubens's *Self-Portrait with Isabella Brant* (circa 1609) shows the happy and fashionable young couple seated in an idyllic honeysuckle arbor, the painting done in celebration of their wedding. In his *Self-Portrait with Helena Fourment* (circa 1630), Rubens recorded his second marriage as well. This painting depicts Rubens among worldly success in his palatial, Italianate home, the Rubenshuis, in Antwerp, Belgium. The couple and son Nicolas are captured strolling in the garden among peacocks. The double-portrait tradition was one that endured a long time and was used by artists such as Benjamin West, among countless others, to record their marital bliss. John Singleton Copley's mature self-portrait in *The Copley Family* (1780) also includes his wife and his family gathered around a large table. Intimate interiors such as this were frequently used as the settings for artists' family portraits in the seventeenth and eighteenth century.

The tradition of the artist rendering himself among his circle of friends has its beginning in Raphael's *School of Athens*, mentioned above. Rubens's *Self-Portrait with Justus Lipsius, Jan Woverius, and His Brother Philip Rubens* (circa 1611–1612) refers to the group's intellectual achievements. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when artists' associations were less stringently regulated by academies, it once again became very important to form alliances with colleagues, as in the impressionist Henri Fantin-Latour's *Homage to Delacroix* (1864), now in the Musée d'Orsay in Paris. Artists, critics, and writers banded together to exchange ideas. The surrealist group had its "class picture" painted by Max Ernst (seated on Fyodor Dostoyevsky's knee), who created *All Friends Together* in 1922. More revealing is the inclusion of Ernst's self-portrait, along with fellow surrealists André Breton and Paul Eluard, in *Virgin Chastising the Infant Jesus* (1926). In this work Ernst not only mocks Parmigianino's Virgin-type (*Madonna with the Long Neck*, circa 1540, in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence) but also refers skeptically to the tradition of the artist's inclusion in religious images.

Male as well as female self-portraits were often the vehicle to convey the artist's credo on art theory. For example, in his

Self-Portrait (circa 1560) Anthonis Mor indicates his intellectual powers by portraying himself in front of a canvas that displays only a Greek poem, a reference both to the process of inspiration and to painting as "mute poetry." The erudite Nicolas Poussin emphasized his role as a scholar over that of a painter in his *Self-Portrait* (1650) in the Louvre. Poussin, dressed in a black suit, looks directly at the observer. There is no reference to his painting utensils, and all but one of his canvases can be seen turned to face the wall. The crowned head of a classical goddess—after an ancient relief fragment—is prominently displayed at Poussin's left. She represents, according to seventeenth-century scholar, connoisseur, and theorist Giovanni Pietro Bellori, *pittura*. Modern scholarship has suggested she is an allusion to Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, technical skill, and invention; Poesia; or Perspective. Poussin's head casts a shadow over the explanatory inscription on the right: fifteenth-century architect and theorist Leon Battista Alberti's old paragon between painting and sculpture. Alberti, basing his belief on the Roman rhetorician Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*, suggested that painters first traced their own shadows. A year before, Poussin already had expressed analogous art-theoretical ideas in his Berlin *Self-Portrait* (1649). Similarly, Anton Raphael Mengs's *Self-Portrait* (1773) in the Uffizi Gallery addresses the viewer like a lecturer ready to expound his theories. Rembrandt's London *Self-Portrait* (1640) depicts the artist as a Renaissance man. His pose simultaneously refers to Titian's portrait *Poet Aristo* (1512), now generally called *Portrait of a Man*, and Raphael's *Baldassare Castiglione* (circa 1515), a portrait of the Italian author of *The Courtier*. One of the last important works in the tradition of artists portraying themselves as scholars and scientists is Charles Wilson Peale's *Self-Portrait Showing His Natural History Museum* (circa 1820) in which the painter lifts a curtain and grants us a glimpse at his impressive collection of animal specimens.

The painter in his studio becomes a topos that depicts artists at work amid the paraphernalia of their profession. Male and female renditions typically stress that they are part of the upper middle class. Well-groomed, they sit at their easels and advertise their specialties: histories, landscapes, miniatures, portraits, genre scenes, or still lifes. An early example of such a work done by a landscape painter is Paul Bril's *Self-Portrait* (circa 1590), which shows the artist seated in front of a completed canvas as he strums a lute and casually turns to the observer. Bril wears a hat to add to the formal character of his portrayal. Annibale Carracci's famous *Self-Portrait on Easel* (1605) simply presents his likeness on a canvas propped up for the viewer's perusal. *The Artist in His Studio* (1864) by James Abbott McNeill Whistler is set in his elegant fin de siècle atelier, which includes two stylish models dressed in white.

Other artists emphasized the intimacy of the studio by donning work clothes, as in Rembrandt's two self-portraits of circa 1660 (in Kenwood House in London and in the Louvre). Painters have also portrayed themselves with maulstick and brushes in hand, presenting their palettes. Scholars have studied these depictions of palettes because they indicate artists' personal preferences as well as availability of colors. In William Hogarth's *Self-Portrait with Palette* (1758) the artist displays an array of different hues on his palette to emphasize his keen

interest in color theory. Francisco de Goya, in his *Self-Portrait with Palette* (1826), displays his well-organized oils, 12 in all, with the notable omission of green. Paul Cézanne, Vincent van Gogh, and Pablo Picasso continued this tradition into the twentieth century, although the realistic rendering of their features and surroundings become less important to statements about themselves as painters.

A select group of artists described themselves as academicians. Pierre Subleyras's complex and autobiographical *The Studio of the Painter* (circa 1740) attempts to sum up his entire life: the elderly artist is perched in the foreground holding his youthful portrait. Every object in the large interior is laden with symbolism and significant to his oeuvre: plaster casts of famous classical sculptures and an array of his important commissions such as the prominently displayed portrait of Pope Benedict XIV. This tradition of creating a visual narrative is further enhanced by Gustave Courbet in *The Painter's Studio: A Real Allegory Summing up Seven Years of My Life as an Artist* (1855). On the left of the enormous canvas (measuring close to 12 feet by 20 feet) Courbet presents his models and subjects, such as the figure of Muse-Truth who stands behind Courbet, and on the right he presents his most important patrons and friends.

The mirror, an age-old implement for artists, typically alludes to the faithful reflection of nature. (Legend explains the origin of painting as the result of artists watching their reflection in water.) Mirrors also symbolize *veritas* (truth) and self-awareness and were recommended by the Athenian philosopher Socrates, who told his pupils to look into the mirror "to know thyself." It is remarkable that few artists include this essential tool of their trade in their self-portraits—as if purposefully removed, just as the scaffold is dismantled when a structure is completed. In Rockwell's *Triple Self-Portrait* the mirror is included as a joke. The artist pokes fun at himself as he peeks at his aging, spectacled reflection, translating it into an idealized picture of a suave young man. Pinned to the large canvas are reproductions of some of the most famous self-portraits: Dürer's, Rembrandt's, and van Gogh's, artists clearly in another league. The only precedence for a similar triple image seems to have been Johannes Gump's *Self-Portrait with Mirror* (1646).

Mirrors, however, may be referred to indirectly or included to lend another pictorial dimension, as in Jan van Eyck's *Arnolfini Wedding (Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami)* (1434) in which the artist's reflection in a mirror serves as one of the witnesses to the event. The mirror was also used later by Velázquez in his *Las Meninas*, noted above. In his *Vienna Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror* (1524), mannerist Parmigianino ingeniously captures the look of his reflection from a uniquely curved surface resembling a bull's-eye mirror—which at times were called "magic." He created this narcissistic work in the hope of impressing the pope with his brilliant new concept.

Optical play dominates many postmodern works, stressing the objectivity of the portrayal along with multifaceted illusions of reality. Artists of the second half of the twentieth century have arrived at very different self-realizations from their predecessors. Painstaking self-examination has been found in modern photo-realism since the 1970s. Chuck Close's *Self-Portrait* (1968) and Richard Estes's *Double Self-Portrait* (1976)

both work with close-up lenses and complex mirror reflections. The latter creates the illusion that the canvas lets one see in both directions.

Another prop typically available in a painter's workshop is a skull used in life drawings and as a memento mori in still lifes. In Herman van Vollenhoven's *Painter in His Studio* (circa 1640), for example, the artist is captured in the process of depicting a couple with a skull. Salvatore Rosa's *Self-Portrait with a Skull* (1659) emphasizes his philosophical nature. Johann Zoffany elaborated on this tradition in *Self-Portrait with Skull* (1776). In his *Self-Portrait* (before 1824), the romantic, youthful Théodore Géricault poses in a contemplative mood in his garret studio below a shelf upon which a skull rests.

Other artists' self-portraits refer to the old tradition of the *danse macabre* (some seventeenth-century versions of the cycle included "death and the artist," a type uncommon in the Middle Ages). In Arnold Böcklin's *Self-Portrait with Death* (1872) the painter can be seen listening attentively to a seductive tune a grinning skeleton fiddles into his ear. Other artists follow this tradition but give the subject an autobiographical twist. For example, Hans Thoma—who may have known Böcklin's prototype—painted *Self-Portrait with Cupid and Death* (1875) as an account of Thoma's love for his wife Cella, whom he met that year. Lovis Corinth, in his *Self-Portrait with Skeleton* (1896), deliberately distances himself from an allegorical interpretation and stresses realism. A skeleton dangles powerlessly from an iron hook, the artist's robust countenance seemingly defying the grim reaper. Artists such as Adolf Hildenbrand continued the tradition of the artist and death well into the twentieth century.

Dürer, Rembrandt, van Gogh, and Picasso systematically recorded their features as they journeyed through life and developed changing senses of self. Dürer first rendered his features in a drawing when he was only 12 years old. Rembrandt also made personal character studies as a very young man, and his expressive face can be recognized in a number of early history paintings. Over the years Rembrandt's exercises become independent artworks, and these penetrating inward looks are among the most treasured examples of his oeuvre. No other painter left as many psychological portraits in print or on canvas as did this Baroque genius. Rembrandt's gaze is expansive even in the darkest hours of his life, as one can observe in the stoically defiant *Self-Portrait* (1658) in the Frick Collection in New York. It was conceived during his bankruptcy proceedings in the 1650s. Rembrandt is seated as "the philosopher king who does not give in to misfortune" (Kenneth Clark, *Rembrandt and the Italian Renaissance*, New York, 1966, p. 130). Van Gogh was similarly obsessed with recording his face. Unlike Rembrandt's expansive gaze, Van Gogh's eyes often reflect the pain of a caged animal. This is most pronounced in the work *Man with the Bandaged Ear* (1889). Picasso's eyes are the most characteristic feature of his face even in his highly abstracted, masklike paintings. We recognize Picasso in his proto-cubist portrait of 1907 by his expressive, enlarged eyes. Although twentieth-century self-portraits are less realistic than their predecessors, Picasso is equally effective in revealing his inner self.

Some of the most successful self-portraits bare strong inner emotion. Caravaggio is credited with being the first to study his own sickly mien in his *Bacchus malata* (1590s). Experiments in

physiognomy were continued by Giovanni Lorenzo Bernini, who was said to have studied his distorted face for the *David* (circa 1621) in the Borghese Gallery in Rome, aided by none other than his friend Maffeo Barberini and later by Pope Urban the VIII, who personally held the mirror for this endeavor. Facial expressions were later codified by French historical painter Charles Le Brun, and the French Academy dictated studies of physiognomy to all its members. The tradition of certain facial features for anger, surprise, and so on was still influencing Courbet at the time of his *Self-Portrait (The Desperate Man)* (1843).

Throughout the centuries painters have continually created personal allegories in their self-portraits. These are all idiosyncratic works that rarely effect later artists. Dürer saw himself as an imitator of Jesus Christ. Rembrandt, in his *Self-Portrait with Saskia* (circa 1634–1636) in Dresden, Germany, chose the format of a morality play. He painted himself in the guise of the Prodigal Son squandering his money, using his first wife's features—not quite convincingly—for the fast woman in a tavern. In one of his last canvases, *Self-Portrait, Laughing* (circa 1665) in Cologne, Germany, Rembrandt again appears disguised, alluding to the ancient Greek painter Zeuxis, who died laughing over the demands of a vain, old patroness: the canvas in front of the aged Rembrandt reveals a wrinkled female profile.

Jan Steen's frequent inclusion of self-portraits in some of his genre scenes, such as *The Dissolute Household* (before 1679), has always been recognized as his unique trait. Arnold Houbraken's eighteenth-century biography of Dutch painters *De groote schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen* provides insight into Steen's efforts to compare his art with theater. In his *Self-Portrait as Lutist* (before 1679) Steen cast himself as a comedian. Recently it has been established that Steen impersonates a sanguine (or jovial) temperament based on Cesare Ripa's description: "... a jovial, laughing, fleshy young man strumming on a lute ... who is clever at all the arts." Steen's casual pose, along with the musical instrument, notebook, and tankard of beer, conjure up the bacchic reference also mentioned by Ripa.

Courbet reached an important crossroads in his career when he painted *The Meeting, or Bonjour M. Courbet* (1854). Dressed as a pilgrim or journeyman, Courbet is portrayed meeting his most important art patron near Montpellier, France. The painting describes in realistic terms the differences between the wealthy, bourgeois Jacques-Louis-Alfred Bruyas, his servant, and the young Courbet. The welcome alludes to similar three-figure illustrations of the Wandering Jew Ahasuerus. Courbet was proud of his "Assyrian" beard, which is typical of his appearance during the 1850s.

Paul Gauguin in his *Self-Portrait with Halo* (1889) also aims at a subjective symbolism. His devilish mask under a halo refers to the fallen angels, and the inclusion of a snake and an apple refers to the Fall of Man. Another enigmatic painter, Henri Rousseau, is less interested in realistically rendering his features than in conveying his private symbolism. The gifted amateur's *Myself-Portrait-Landscape* (1890) shows a multi-flagged sailing vessel docked behind the painter. It refers to Rousseau's renderings of his imaginary trips into a tropical dream world.

Twentieth-century artists follow Gauguin and Rousseau in their conceptual approach. Marc Chagall's *Self-Portrait with Wineglass* shows the artist on his wife's shoulders in front of a

view of Vitebsk (now in Belarus). An angel (*deus ex machina*?) flies over the happily cavorting couple and adds to the dreamlike atmosphere. The colors are bright and symbolize Chagall's nostalgic longing for his native city, which he was about to revisit in 1917 when he painted this work.

The role of the "identification portrait" is under investigation by art history scholars. We now know, for example, that Michelangelo rendered himself in disguise, both in the Sistine Chapel ceiling (1508–1512) as the severed head of Holofernes, and in the *Last Judgment* (1534–1541) on the flayed skin of St. Bartholomew. Similarly, in Caravaggio's *David with the Head of Goliath* (circa 1606), the artist gave Goliath's head, held by the victorious David, his own features. Contemporary sources tell us that David is a portrait of Caravaggio's young lover, which gives this canvas a personal erotic meaning. On the other hand, Johann Zoffany characterized himself in his *Self-Portrait as David with the Head of Goliath* (1756) as "David, the Anointed One." Zoffany followed this painting with his *Self-Portrait as David*, a Giorgione tradition. Although it no longer exists, Wenzel Hollar recorded the association in his seventeenth-century print *Giorgione as David Holding the Severed Head of Goliath*.

During the seventeenth century, female personifications were chosen by male artists as their inspirational muses. This concept has its origin in classical images that compare painting to its sister art: the depictions of the poet and his muse. David Klocker-Ehrenstrahl's *Self-Portrait* (1691), shows two female allegorical figures carrying Cesare Ripa's attributes of Painting to assist the artist in his studio. Georg Desmarées personalized his *Self-Portrait with Daughter Maria Antonia* (1761), with *pittura* represented by the artist's daughter, Maria Antonia, who hands her father palette and brushes.

Few subjects give artists such free reign to examine and display their outer and inner lives as self-portraits do. In times past, self-portraits were often included in religious works seeking divine protection. Later, increasing emphasis was placed on individuality, from the St. Luke's allegories to the most esoteric and narcissistic modern installations and films. An example, organized by Independent Curators Incorporated (ICI) in New York, was titled *Eye for I* (1988) and consisted of the video self-portraits of 14 American and European artists. The self-portrait—for both male and female artists—has always been an important means by which to join a higher station in life. Artists of all periods have recorded autobiographical studies that in some way reveal their aspirations, accomplishments, art theories, beliefs, and personal philosophies.

See also Artists/Art; Fame

Selected Works of Art

Fifteenth Century

Eyck, Jan van, *Arnolfini Wedding (Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami)*, 1434, London, National Gallery

Eyck, Jan van, *Madonna with Canon George van Der Paele*, 1436, Bruges, Belgium, Groeningemuseum

Ghiberti, Lorenzo, *Self-Portrait*, on *Gates of Paradise*, circa 1450, Florence, Italy, Baptistry

Dürer, Albrecht, *Self-Portrait as a Boy*, circa 1484, drawing, Vienna, Austria, Albertina

Sixteenth Century

- Dürer, Albrecht, *Self-Portrait as Christ*, 1500, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
 Michelangelo, *Self-Portrait as Head of Holofernes*, circa 1508, Vatican, Sistine Chapel
 Raphael, *School of Athens*, 1508–1510, Vatican, Stanze della Segnatura
 Raphael, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, circa 1511, Rome, St. Luke's Academy
 Parmigianino, *Self-Portrait in a Convex Mirror*, 1524, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
 Cornelisz. van Oostsaanen, Jacob, *Self-Portrait Painting His Wife*, 1530, Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art
 Heemskerck, Maerten van, *St. Luke Painting the Virgin*, 1532, Haarlem, The Netherlands, Frans Hals Museum
 Michelangelo, *Self-Portrait as Flayed Skin of St. Bartholomew, Last Judgment*, fresco, 1534–1541, Vatican, Sistine Chapel
 Mor, Anthonis, *Self-Portrait*, circa 1560, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Titian, *Self-Portrait*, circa 1560, Berlin, Germany, Kaiser Friedrich Museum
 Bril, Paul, *Self-Portrait*, circa 1590, Providence, Rhode Island School of Design
 Caravaggio, *Bacchus malata*, 1590s, Rome, Borghese Gallery

Seventeenth Century

- Carracci, Annibale, *Self-Portrait on Easel*, 1605, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Caravaggio, *David with the Head of Goliath*, circa 1606, Rome, Borghese Gallery
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SELF-PORTRAITS II: WOMEN

Fredrika Jacobs

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Self-Portraits II: Women:

ANCIENT AND CLASSICAL

NINETEENTH CENTURY

MEDIEVAL

TWENTIETH CENTURY

RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH AND

EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES



Artemisia Gentileschi, *Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting*, circa 1640, England, Royal Collection. (Courtesy of the Royal Collection, ©1995, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

Over the centuries, women have chosen to depict themselves in ways that are not necessarily in agreement with their portrayals by male artists. Relying on a referential system of accoutrements, which is understood regardless of form and style, women often have visually documented the conflicts between gendered expectations and professional demands that they encounter. These have varied from the good mother images seen in *Self-Portrait with Daughter* by Marie-Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1789) and Berthe Morisot (1885 and 1887) to the many emotionally charged and politically laden autobiographical images of Frida Kahlo. Women's self-portraits include the reflective *Self-Portrait Hesitating Between Painting and Music* (circa 1794) by Angelica Kauffmann as well as the aggressive assumption of professional authority in Adélaïde Labille-Guiard's *Self-Portrait with Two of Her Students, Gabrielle Capet and Mlle. Carreaux de Rosamond* (1785). Women's more recent examinations of self as both private individuals and reflections of society may be seen in the work of Marisol (Marisol Escobar) in the 1960s and Cindy Sherman in the 1970s.

According to the Roman writer Pliny the Elder's history of ancient art, "Women too have been painters" (*Natural History*, XXXV, 147–148). Although the earliest depictions of women artists, such as a first-century fresco in the Museo di Capodimonte Naples, Italy, and a hydria by the Attic Leningrad Painter in the Torno Collection in Milan, Italy, do not differ significantly from depictions of male artists, later illustrations of ancient women artists imply a likeness between painting one's face with cosmetics and replicating one's physiognomy with paint (Boccaccio, *De Claris Mulieribus*, circa 1370, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS 12420, folio 101v). On the one hand, such images explain a woman's capacity to paint portraits by citing her ability to apply makeup, as Franco Sacchetti's *Trecento Novelle* (n. 136, circa 1390) states explicitly. On the other hand, makeup as a metaphor appeared in aesthetic debates that involved the derision of artifice as "feminine," such as that between the defenders of drawing (Nicolas Poussin) and partisans of color (Peter Paul Rubens).

During the medieval and early Renaissance periods, self-portraits of women artists most often took the form of a visual "signature." With women's involvement in the arts typically circumscribed by the confining walls of the convent, these signatures, which included either a bust or a full-length image accompanied by either a complete or a partial name, appeared in prayer books, such as the drawing of the scribe "Clarissa" in a late-twelfth-century Psalter in Augsburg, Germany, or the bas-de-page portrait of Sister Maria Ormani in *Breviarium cum Calendrium* (1483). As women began to assume a more visible place in the arts during the sixteenth century, their self-portraits, like those by their male peers, took a more formal and conventional form.

More than 25 women have been identified as active artists during the Renaissance. A significant number of them produced self-portraits. Initially, these self-portraits emphasized the social status of the artist as a "lady." While her proficiency in music is conveyed, as in Marietta Robusti's (Marietta Tintoretto's) *Self-Portrait* (circa 1580) in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy, and/or her chastity underscored, as in Lavinia Fontana's *Self-Portrait with Chaperone* (1577) in the Galleria dell' Accademia di San Luca in Rome, the accoutrements of the professional artist (paint, palette, and brushes) are conspicuously absent. Although images such as these accord well with the prescriptive definitions of the noble lady proffered by an ever-increasing number of contemporaneous texts written for and about women, such as Domenico Bruni's *Difese della donna* (1559) and Lodovico Domenichi's *La nobilita delle donne* (1551), they deny (through their refusal to acknowledge) woman's involvement in what the humanist Annibale Caro described in 1559 as the "profession of gentlemen." But the reticence of women artists to assert their professional activities was short-lived.

In her portrait of her teacher, *Bernardino Campi Painting the Portrait of Sofonisba Anguissola*, finished before 1554 and now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena, Italy, Anguissola places herself firmly in the academic tradition. Not only does she illustrate the reciprocity of her master-pupil relationship with Campi and thereby refute the notion that women learn to paint only to acquire one more attribute of the accomplished lady, but she also asserts the ultimate authority of her gaze over that of Campi. Although Campi was the mentor, it is Anguissola, the student, who is the controlling master in and of this image. Following this precedent, women continue to the present day to portray themselves in a manner that proclaims their mastery of the medium and the model. In her *Self-Portrait* (1985) in a private collection, Catherine Murphy, using a mirrored image, shows herself standing in front of an easel in the process of painting a nude male—an inversion of the Pygmalion story. But if many women artists asserted their authority of authorship, others, like Kahlo, showed themselves in deference to an artist husband. Thus, in *Portrait of Frida and Diego* (1931) in the San Francisco Museum of Art in California, it is the capacious Diego Rivera and not the diminutive Kahlo who holds the palette and brushes. Typically, however, Kahlo's self-portraits communicate her cultural and political identity. In images such as *Self-Portrait on the Border Between Mexico and the United States* (1932), Kahlo's particular form of *Mexicanidad* expresses her deeply felt nationalism through the inclusion of Aztec imagery: skeletons, hearts, and Coatlicue.

Perhaps the most complete statement of woman's authority of authorship is found in Artemisia Gentileschi's *Self-Portrait as the Allegory of Painting* (circa 1640) in the Royal Collection

in St. James Palace in London. In accordance with literary and visual descriptions of the personification of the art of painting as set forth in works such as Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593) and in keeping with an association implied but not made explicit in Felice Antonio Casoni's medal commemorating Lavinia Fontana (1611), Gentileschi has presented herself as both muse and inspired artist. As Giovanni Domenico Cerrini's contemporaneous *Allegory of Painting with Self-Portrait*, from the mid-seventeenth century and now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Bologna, Italy, indicates, males could not conflate and then assume this dual role.

Although less pointed in their reference to woman as artist and woman as model, Sherman's untitled film stills (1977) continue to explore this dualism by visually posing the question "Who am I (eye)?" In appropriating the identity of media-generated female stereotypes, her photographs reverse the terms of art and autobiography. By showing the self as an imaginary construct and refusing to reveal her true self, Sherman not only exposes the paradox of the photographic medium but also exhibits her control of it. Like Sherman, Marisol poses the question "Who am I?" In *Self-Portrait* (1961–1962) in the Museum of Contemporary Art in Chicago, Marisol expands the "I" to include seven different Marisol personalities. Like her sculptures of stereotypic women acting out prescribed female roles, Marisol's *Self-Portrait* explores the dilemma she and other women face when choosing to accept or reject these roles.

Although women artists have tended for the most part to grapple in varied and personal ways with definitions of "I," the tendency to assert their professional activities visually has been pervasive. Thus, for example, Clara Peeters, known for her bravura handling of reflective metallic surfaces in "breakfast pieces," painted *Self-Portrait with Still-Life* (circa 1610) (current whereabouts unknown), and Judith Leyster, initially known for her small domestic scenes, advertised her skill in handling these subjects by including a genre painting set on an easel, on which she is supposedly at work, in *Self-Portrait* (circa 1635) in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

Despite exhortations by moralists such as Jacob Cats, the declarations of competency put forth by seventeenth-century women in these and similar self-portraits is reflected both in the rolls of guild members (Leyster, for example, was enrolled in the painter's guild in Haarlem, The Netherlands, in 1633) and in inventories that indicate kings, princes, and counts collected and paid impressive sums for works by women. The influence of Enlightenment ideas, combined with an emerging prosperous middle class in pursuit of qualities associated with the "feminine" (artifice, pleasure, and sensation), affected both the number and the status of professional women painters in Europe during the eighteenth century.

Not surprisingly, this shift in society and ideology is reflected in the way women artists presented themselves. Although some, like Vigée-Lebrun, opted to portray themselves in accordance with the ideals of the happy mother typical of rococo family conversation pieces, as in *Self-Portrait with Daughter* (1789) in the Louvre in Paris, and celebrated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *Émile* (1762), most emphasized their roles as academicians in the world of public art. Thus, for example, beginning at age 13, Kauffmann began to produce self-portraits in which she is either poised with sketchbook in hand, as in her work in the National Portrait Gallery in London, or actively at

work, as in the painting in Burlington House in London. In some cases, such as *Self-Portrait Hesitating Between Painting and Music* (circa 1794) in Nostrell Priory in Yorkshire, England, she uses a popular moralizing subject to commemorate her decision to pursue an artistic rather than musical career. Although not a self-portrait per se, Kauffmann's *Zeuxis Selecting Models for His Picture of Helen of Troy* (circa 1794) may be understood as such. By following a well-established tradition in which male artists, such as Giorgio Vasari and Peter Paul Rubens, cast themselves as the "New Zeuxis," Kauffmann not only asserts her position as a legitimate heir to the classical tradition established by the fifth century B.C. Greek painter but also gives an interesting twist to a theme that typically epitomizes the role of the woman as the beautiful object scrutinized by the male gaze.

Like Kauffmann, Labille-Guiard and Marie-Victorie Lemoine were concerned with the issue of artistic tradition and legitimacy. Whether or not Lemoine's *Interior of the Atelier of a Woman Painter* (1796) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York was painted in defense of Vigée-Lebrun, whose husband was then attempting to secure her safe return to France from years in exile, the painting does convey a sense of unity among female artists. Although Vigée-Lebrun's junior by one year, a seated Lemoine studies at the feet of the artist, who in 1783 had won admission to the French Royal Academy. Acknowledging the status of the female academician while asserting solidarity among women artists was no small matter. In opposition to the rules of the French Royal Academy, which limited the number of female members to four, in 1785 Labille-Guiard exhibited her *Self-Portrait with Two of Her Students, Gabrielle Capet and Mlle. Carreaux de Rosamond*, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, thereby symbolically circumventing the quota.

During the nineteenth century, women artists continued to define their position in the academic tradition. Frequently, they achieved this by depicting themselves in the studio, as in Adrienne-Marie-Louise Grandpierre-Deverzy's *The Studio of Abel Pujol in 1822* (1822), now in the Musée Marmottan in Paris, or in the midst of an art family, as in Suzanne Valadon's *Self-Portrait with Her Son Maurice Utrillo, Her Husband Andre Utter, and Grand'mere* (1912) in the Musée National d'Art Moderne in Paris. Similarly and concurrently, women artists continued to depict themselves in the company of their children.

Unlike Valadon's family group, in which the professional aspect of the assembled takes precedence over the familial, Morisot's self-portraits with her daughter Julie (1885 and 1887) are more in keeping with traditional scenes of maternity while paralleling the unsentimental concept of modern motherhood exposed by the Third Republic. One of the most compelling images of this kind is Paula Modersohn-Becker's *Self-Portrait* (1906), in which she depicts herself half-nude and pregnant, even though she was not. In fact, Modersohn-Becker portrayed herself in the very role she had at this time rejected in order to pursue her career. In so doing she lays before the viewer the quintessential dilemma of how to live one's life as a woman and as a serious artist. This personal quandary, in conjunction with new and popular concepts of motherhood put forth in books known to the artist, such as Johann Jakob Bachofen's *Das Mutterrecht* (1861, reissued 1897), place

Modersohn-Becker's *Self-Portrait* in the same category as some of those by Vigée-Lebrun and Morisot.

More recently, the role of motherhood or, more properly, womanhood has taken the form of a challenge to the traditional dichotomies of male/female, reason/nature, and artistic production/biological reproduction, as demonstrated in Carolee Schneemann's "Interior Scroll" from the performance of *Women Here & Now* (1975) at East Hampton, New York. Schneemann's extraction of a scroll from her vagina makes immediately present in a single person the often-conflicting personae of woman and artist. Some, like Lee Krasner, have turned the association of female with nature to their advantage. In her *Self-Portrait* (circa 1930), Krasner pictures herself, brushes in hand, in a verdant woodland setting rather than in the more traditional interior studio. Painted while Krasner was an art student, her *Self-Portrait* conflates two traditions of self-portraiture: a proclamation of profession and the association of nature with the female. Thus, this work continues a long-standing tradition: the use of self-portraits by women artists to present the conflicting roles imposed on them by society.

See also Artists/Art; Self-Portraits I: Men

Selected Works of Art

Ancient and Classical

- Leningrad Painter, *Woman Artist*, Attic hydria, fifth century B.C., Milan, Italy, Torno Collection
Woman Artist, fresco, first century A.D., Naples, Italy, Museo di Capodimonte

Medieval

- Clarissa, from late twelfth-century Psalter, Augsburg, Germany
 Marisa, from Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustriorum*, illuminated manuscript, circa 1370, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
 Portrait of Sister Maria Ormani, bas-de-page portrait, 1483, in *Breviarium cum Calendrium*

Renaissance

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 Lama, Giulia, *Self-Portrait*, painting, circa 1728, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
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Nineteenth Century

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 Haudebourt-Lescot, Antoinette-Cécile-Hortense, *Self-Portrait*, 1825, Paris, Louvre

Morisot, Berthe, *Self-Portrait with Daughter*, oil on canvas, 1885, private collection
 Morisot, Berthe, *Self-Portrait with Her Daughter Julie*, pencil on paper, 1887, private collection
 Peale, Sarah Miriam, *Self-Portrait*, painting, circa 1830, Baltimore, Maryland, Peale Museum
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SERPENT'S BITE

Sarah S. Gibson

The following motifs and iconographic narratives are covered in the discussion of the theme Serpent's Bite:

SERPENT BITING ITS TAIL

DEATH OF EURYDICE

DEATH OF LAOCOÖN

DEATH OF CLEOPATRA

ST. PAUL

MOSES AND THE BRAZEN
SERPENT

OTHER SUBJECTS WITH
SNAKE BITES



Maerten van Heemskerck, *The Brazen Serpent*, 1549, oil on panel, transferred to canvas, Princeton, New Jersey, Princeton University, The Art Museum, museum purchase, gift of The Friends of The Art Museum on the occasion of Allen Rosenbaum's tenth anniversary as director. (Courtesy of The Art Museum, Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey)

The serpent has long been a widely used symbol conveying a multiplicity of meanings depending on the context in which it appears. It can be a symbol of life, power, the underworld, death and the dead, sin, or the devil. Snakes are found as attributes of Prudence, one of the Virtues; of Athena (Minerva), the goddess of wisdom; of Asclepius, the god of healing who inspired the present-day emblem of the medical profession; of Ceres, the goddess of agriculture; of Persephone, the daughter of Ceres and goddess of the underworld; and of Apollo, the god of music, medicine, and poetry. In Norse legend a serpent was said to have once coiled around the Earth, lurking beneath the seas. The war god Thor killed the serpent but died, poisoned by its venom.

Perhaps because the mere representation of a snake may be threatening, there are few works of art that actually depict a serpent biting someone or something. Those works that do present a prominent serpent bite are usually works on one of the following themes: the death of Eurydice from a snake bite, the death of Laocoön and his sons, the death of Cleopatra from the bite of an asp, the story of Moses and the Brazen Serpent, and the serpent biting his own tail.

Serpent Biting Its Tail

The serpent biting its own tail is considered a symbol of eternity or perfection and has many manifestations. Known to the gnostics as the *ouroboros*, the symbol was thought to display the essential ambivalence of the snake: at the same time active and passive, constructive and destructive.

The snake in one form or another was widely adopted by the humanist Renaissance emblematisers and their successors. For example, Andrea Alciati used the coiled serpent wrapped about a triton to signify immortality through literary work. Otto van Veen signified *amor aeternus* (eternal love) by an image of a cupid seated within the *ouroboros*, the coiled snake biting its own tail.

After reading the Greek grammarian Horapollo's treatise *Hieroglyphics* (fourth or fifth century A.D.), the Renaissance humanists developed a notion that they were following the Egyptians in symbolizing eternity or the universe by means of the snake biting its tail or coiled in a circle. The snake biting its own tail was more often represented in northern European art than in Italian and as the symbol of eternity appeared in emblem books, impressions, and was carved on tombstones.

The humanists also thought of Asclepius's snakes as salutary animals and the coiled snake as a circle of perfection. They took from the Greeks the notion of the snake curled in a circle as a companion of Cronus, the Titan who ruled the universe before he was dethroned by his son Zeus. In Roman times, Cronus became Saturn and was associated with Time. Martianus Capella (fourth–fifth century A.D.) refers to the snake that bites its tail as an attribute of Time. In an engraving by Jean Sadeler,

after a composition by Friedrich Sustris (circa 1595), Time holds in his hand a great circle formed by a serpent.

Death of Eurydice

The story of the death of Eurydice, wife of the mythological Thracian minstrel Orpheus, is told in both Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and Virgil's *Georgics*. In each version she dies from a snake bite: in Ovid's version she is attacked while wandering through a grassy field accompanied by other naiads (nymphs); in Virgil's she is bitten while fleeing the amorous advances of Aristaneus, a bee-keeper and son of Apollo.

There are relatively few renditions of Eurydice's death in the visual arts. Perhaps her thwarted return from the underworld provided more scope for dramatic invention. One notable exception is Titian's *Orpheus and Eurydice* (circa 1512), now in the Accademia Carrara in Bologna, Italy. Two different scenes in the narrative are shown: in one scene Eurydice flees from the snake (which looks rather like a small dragon), and in the other she is lost to Orpheus as he turns to look at her on their journey from the underworld. The allegorical mind of many sixteenth-century artists no doubt saw in this narrative a symbol for the precariousness of life.

More than a century later Peter Paul Rubens designed *The Death of Eurydice* for the Torre de la Parada hunting lodge of Philip IV of Spain, a painting actually executed by Erasmus Quellinus in 1636–1638. Rubens invented a completely new scene in which Eurydice, bitten by a snake visible in the left foreground, dies in the arms of Orpheus.

Continuing interest in this theme is revealed by a later seventeenth-century painting by Richard van Orley, *Eurydice Bitten by a Serpent in the Grass* (1694) in the Museum Fodor in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, and by Arthur B. Davies's painting *Viper-Stricken Eurydice* (1916) in the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden in Washington, D.C. All of these images concentrate on the pathos and drama of the narrative.

Death of Laocoön

In Greek mythology, Laocoön, a priest of Troy, is killed along with his sons by two huge sea serpents as a consequence of having warned the Trojans against the wooden horse. In the well-known Hellenistic *Laocoön Group* sculpture (first century A.D.), the Trojan priest and his sons at first appear to be dying because they are crushed in the coils of the great serpents, but a closer investigation reveals that the snakes are also biting their victims. According to Virgil's version of the myth, Laocoön had offended the goddess Athena, so the snakes were sent as a punishment. The snakes, once their destructive work was done, slithered away to her temple and hid beneath her shield. The tale formed part of the repertory of myth and legend from which the Romans drew to decorate the walls of their

villas. Examples of Pompeian wall paintings of *The Death of Laocoön* can be found in Italy in the Museo Nazionale in Naples and in Pompeii itself, in the Casa de Menandro.

Art historian Leopold David Ettlinger proposes that as soon as the statue of Laocoön and his sons was discovered in Rome in 1506, it served as a moral as well as physical *exemplum doloris* (exemplar of pain).

The creation of the image was one of those inspired acts by which Greek artists gave to the world a psychologically valid formula . . . which assumed ever new significance in changing contexts because the agony of body and soul was here expressed in such a manner that the "topos" could simply be quoted in order to be understood immediately. (Ettlinger, p. 123)

Titian, however, seems not to have been so impressed with the sculpture. *Caricature of the Laocoön* (mid-sixteenth century), a print by Niccolò Boldrini after a Titian drawing, parodies the famous statue by substituting apes for the priest and his sons. Perhaps Titian meant not so much to mock the sculpture as to indict the contemporary Florentine and Roman artists who overused it. Certainly there were innumerable copies made of it, such as one by Baccio Bandinelli (1520–1525), now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy, and a bronze cast made for Francis I, now in the Louvre in Paris. Art historian Horst W. Janson proposes a more likely interpretation, that the drawing may have been a criticism of those who defended Galen, the second-century Greek physician, in the wake of an accusation by Andreas Vesalius, the sixteenth-century Flemish anatomist, that Galen had dissected apes, not humans. The Galenists defensively suggested that people had changed since classical times. Boldrini's print can be read as a rebuttal: this is what classical bodies of antiquity would have had to look like in order to conform to the anatomical specifications of Galen (Janson, pp. 355–364).

Counter-Reformation theologians suggested the *Laocoön Group* as a model for those making images of the suffering of Jesus Christ, the saints, and martyrs. El Greco painted the death of the priest and his sons in *Laocoön* (1608–1614), a painting now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. The open mouth of the snake viciously attacking Laocoön in El Greco's painting adds to the horror of the struggle and may be a Christian allegory of the destructive power of evil as personified by the serpents. It also is possible that the oval shape of the snake on the left alludes to the humanist notion, derived from Alciati, of the circle as a sign of immortality.

Death of Cleopatra

Artists and their patrons found inspiration in the death by snakebite of yet another person, Cleopatra, queen of Egypt and mistress of Julius Caesar and Marc Antony. History and legend mingle in the life of Cleopatra, who is said to have committed suicide by holding a deadly asp to her breast. The dramatic and pathetic possibilities of the narrative attracted the attention of artists from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. Guido Reni painted the subject at least four times between 1637 and 1642 and at one point substituted a dagger for the tiny asp, thereby using the same composition he used to portray the suicide of Lucretia, the legendary wife of Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus. In *The Death of Cleopatra* (1653) Jacob Jordaens

depicted a flamboyant assemblage of people gathered around the queen moments before her act of self-destruction. Seemingly insouciant, she holds a small dog in her lap and calmly regards the snake around her arm in a painting that combines a Giorgionesque treatment of landscape with echoes of Michelangelo's heroic figure style.

The pathos of the scene seems to have appealed strongly to the Baroque temperament, and nineteenth-century realists and orientalist also responded to the theme. Egypt and the East had great appeal to the French in the wake of Napoleonic forays to that country and the building of the Suez Canal. Jean-André Rixens's *La Mort de Cléopâtre* (1874), now in the Musée des Augustins in Toulouse, France, attempts to achieve authentic detail in costume and furniture while including the conventional glossary of references to the East, such as the leopard skin on the floor.

Biblical Themes

The snake appears fairly often in Christian imagery, as when the serpent tempts Eve in Paradise or when the Christ Child treads on a snake or cuts off its head with the cross. In each instance the reptile is associated with evil or sin but does not bite. A somewhat enigmatic exception is the painting *Eve, the Serpent, and Death* (circa 1512) by Hans Baldung Grien, now in the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa, Ontario. Following the tradition of the Dance of Death, Death claims Eve by laying a hand on her arm, reminding the viewer of the unpredictability and transitoriness of life. The presence of the snake corresponds with the conventional disguise of the devil but with an unexpected twist: the serpent is actually biting Death. Art historian Robert A. Koch suggests at least two possible interpretations. Death may represent Adam, and the snake bite may be understood as an effort to restrain Death and protect Eve. Or the scene may be a recondite portrayal of the origin of Death itself (Koch, p. 29).

Another biblical story that involves a snake, but one that found little echo in the visual arts, was that of St. Paul on Malta (Acts 28:3–6). After being shipwrecked, Paul and his companions attempt to light a fire; Paul gathers a bundle of sticks in which a snake is hidden. "There came a viper out of the heat, and fastened on his hand. . . . And he shook off the beast into the fire, and felt no harm." *Paul Bitten by a Viper when Throwing Wood on the Fire* (mid-eighteenth century) by Giovanni Paolo Pannini is now in the Apsley House Collection of the Duke of Wellington in London.

Moses and the Brazen Serpent

By far the most widely occurring depiction of the serpent is to be found in representations of the Old Testament narrative of Moses and the Brazen Serpent (Numbers 21:4–9). The story concerns one of the tribulations visited by God upon the Israelites as they wandered in the desert following the Exodus. The Israelites railed against Moses and God who, as a punishment and a test of their faith, "sent fiery serpents among the people, and they bit the people; and much people of Israel died." The Israelites recognized their sin in doubting God's plan and begged Moses to pray to the Lord to deliver them.

And the Lord said unto Moses, Make thee a fiery serpent, and set it upon a pole: and it shall come to pass, that every one that is bitten, when he looketh upon it, shall live. And Moses made a serpent of brass, and put it upon a pole, and it came to pass, that if a serpent had bitten any man, when he beheld the serpent of brass, he lived. (Numbers 21: 8–9)

Beginning in about the twelfth century this Old Testament subject was used pictorially as a typological reference to Christ on the cross, who had himself declared, “And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of man be lifted up: That whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life” (John 3:14–15). Examples of this typological motif are to be found in versions of the *Biblia Pauperum* woodcut (circa 1460), in which the image of the Brazen Serpent flanks the Crucifixion, with the sacrifice of Abraham on the other side. The Brazen Serpent also begins to appear on the side panels or shutters of Crucifixion altarpieces sometime before the fifteenth century. As a prefiguration of the Crucifixion, it underscores the theme of deliverance through faith in God’s chosen image; it focuses on the sacrifice of Christ, who promises salvation to believers.

Iconographer Louis Réau suggests that the double entendre—the serpent of the Fall becomes the serpent of redemption—contributed to the long popularity of the subject. Although its use in a typological sense never disappeared, the Brazen Serpent enjoyed a resurgence of popularity in the sixteenth century and in some instances took on new meaning. Both sides of the Reformation controversy interpreted the theme according to their own preferences. By the mid-sixteenth century it was often seen in northern Europe as an independent scene, as in Maerten van Heemskerck’s painting *The Brazen Serpent* (1549). This particular work seems to retain the Brazen Serpent’s traditional typological meaning, although it is also influenced by Michelangelo’s treatment of the same topic (1511) on the northwest spandrel of the Sistine Chapel, in that it is also an excuse for the virtuoso display of muscular figures.

The Brazen Serpent was used by Martin Luther as a metaphor for justification by faith alone. Catholics, on the other hand, cited the Brazen Serpent as proof of the legitimacy of image making, and Pope Leo X compared the Lutherans to fiery serpents destroying the faithful with poisonous doctrines. Luther made a clear distinction between symbolic revelation and what to him was idolatry. By choosing an image of the same object that afflicted the Israelites, God explicitly shows that faith in his Word will heal. There is no possibility that the object itself will be interpreted as the source of healing power, since it is the exact image of the cause of harm.

Later Flemish artists followed the traditional treatment of the subject but also seemed to mirror the Last Judgment by dividing the scene into the saved on one side and the damned on the other, as in a print by Michiel Coxie (circa 1533–1534). Rubens (circa 1609–1610) and Anthony Van Dyck (circa 1620) used this two-part composition, but according to art historian Egbert Haverkamp-Begemann, Rubens emphasized the suffering of those who questioned God’s plan, while Van Dyck seems to emphasize trust in the serpent, and hence trust in God (Haverkamp-Begemann, pp. 296–297). Both, however, conform to the dictates of the Council of Trent to strive for narrative clarity in the scene.

Between 1540 and 1545, Agnolo Bronzino decorated the chapel of Eleonora di Toledo in the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. Among the scenes was that of Moses and the Brazen Serpent, which art historian Janet Cox-Rearick suggests may have added a political level of meaning to the typological doctrinal program. The Israelites are equated with the Florentines, who will be saved by Duke Cosimo I Medici, a new Moses divinely inspired. The elaborate allegory may also be interpreted as a warning to the Florentines against dissent. Finally, a serpent is again portrayed curling back on its tail, signifying in this instance the eternity of Medici rule (Cox-Rearick, 1993, pp. 250–259).

There is at least one image of a death-dealing snake that has never been satisfactorily explicated. Nicolas Poussin’s *Landscape with a Man Killed by a Snake* (1648) in the National Gallery in London depicts a large serpent, a dead man, and two horrified onlookers. Whether it is a mythological or allegorical scene, has an obscure devotional purpose, or illustrates a contemporary event is not clear. This kind of ambivalence is unusual for an artist who usually strove for clarity of meaning and form, so we may hope that eventually its meaning will be elucidated. It does, however, suggest the polyvalent nature of the biting snake motif.

See also Death; Love and Death

Selected Works of Art

Death of Eurydice

- Titian, *Orpheus and Eurydice*, painting, circa 1512, Bologna, Italy, Accademia Carrara
- Quellinus, Erasmus (executed from Peter Paul Rubens’s designs), *The Death of Eurydice*, painting for Torre de la Parada, 1636–1638, Madrid, Spain, Prado
- Orley, Richard van, *Eurydice Bitten by a Serpent in the Grass*, painting, 1694, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Museum Fodor
- Scheffer, Ary, *Death of Eurydice*, oil on canvas, 1814, Blois, France, Château de Blois, Musée des Beaux-Arts
- Roubaud, François-Félix, *Death of Eurydice*, marble sculpture, 1859–1861, Aix-en-Provence, France, Musée Granet
- Corot, Jean-Baptiste-Camille, *Eurydice Wounded*, painting, circa 1868–1870, Minneapolis, Minnesota, Minneapolis Institute of Arts
- Davies, Arthur B., *Viper-Stricken Eurydice*, painting, 1916, Washington, D.C., Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden
- Picasso, Pablo, *Eurydice, Stung in the Heel by a Serpent, Dies in the Arms of the Naiads*, etching, 1930, illustration for Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, 1931

Death of Laocoön

- Laocoön Group*, Roman sculpture after Agesandros, Athenodorus, and Polydorus of Rhodes, first century A.D., Vatican, Vatican Museums
- Bandinelli, Baccio, *Copy of the Laocoön Group*, sculpture, 1520–1525, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
- Boldrini, Niccolò (after Titian), *Caricature of the Laocoön*, woodcut, mid-sixteenth century
- El Greco, *Laocoön*, painting, 1608–1614, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Death of Cleopatra

- Scorel, Jan van, *Death of Cleopatra*, painting, 1522, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
- Mignon, Jean, *Cleopatra Bitten by an Asp*, etching, circa 1543–1545
- Fontana, Lavinia, *Cleopatra*, painting, circa 1593, Cincinnati, Ohio, Cincinnati Art Museum
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- Reni, Guido, *Cleopatra*, painting, 1637, Potsdam, Germany, Sanssouci Bildergalerie
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- Rubens, Peter Paul, *Death of Cleopatra*, painting, circa 1640, Potsdam, Germany, Sanssouci Bildergalerie
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- Jordaens, Jacob, *The Death of Cleopatra*, painting, 1653, Kassel, Germany, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie
- Lairesse, Gerard de, *Death of Cleopatra*, painting, 1686, Toronto, Ontario, Art Gallery of Ontario
- Pittoni, Francesco, *Cleopatra*, painting, circa 1714, Udine, Italy, Collection Walter Mio
- Mark Anthony and Cleopatra, Staffordshire figurines, colored earthenware, late eighteenth–early nineteenth century, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
- Lassalle-Bordes, Gustave, *Death of Cleopatra*, painting, 1845, Autun, France, Musée Rolin
- Rixens, Jean-André, *La Mort de Cléopâtre*, painting, 1874, Toulouse, France, Musée des Augustins

St. Paul

- Goltzius, Hendrik (after J. Stradanus), *St. Paul Shipwrecked on Malta Bitten by a Viper*, engraving by P. Galle, 1582, no. 33 of a set of 36
- Valckenborch, Frederick van, *St. Paul Is Bitten by a Viper*, painting, circa 1600, Prague, Czech Republic, Hrad, Obrazarna
- Pannini, Giovanni Paolo, *Paul Bitten by a Viper when Throwing Wood on the Fire*, painting, mid-eighteenth century, London, Duke of Wellington's Apsley House Collection
- West, Benjamin, *St. Paul Shaking the Viper from His Hand after the Shipwreck*, oil on canvas, 1789, Greenwich, England, Royal Naval College, Chapel of St. Peter and St. Paul

Moses and the Brazen Serpent

- Crucifixion Page*, woodcut, in *Biblia Pauperum*, circa 1460
- Michelangelo, *The Brazen Serpent*, fresco, 1511, Vatican, Sistine Chapel
- Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, *Allegory of Law and Grace*, painting, 1529, Gotha, Germany, Staatliche Museum
- Coxie, Michiel, *The Brazen Serpent*, drawing, circa 1533–1534, Swarthmore, Pennsylvania, Swarthmore College
- Coxie, Michiel, *The Brazen Serpent*, engraving, circa 1533–1534
- Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, Workshop of, *Allegory of Law and Grace*, painting, 1539, Prague, Czech Republic, Národní Galerie

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- Cock, Hieronymus (after Frans Floris), *The Brazen Serpent*, engraving, 1555
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- John, Augustus, *Moses and the Brazen Serpent*, painting, 1898, London, Slade School of Fine Arts, University College

Other Subjects with Snake Bites

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SHEPHERDS/SHEPHERDESSES

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The following forms are covered in the discussion of the theme Shepherds/Shepherdesses:

CLASSICAL PASTORAL

RELIGIOUS PASTORAL

SECULAR PASTORAL



Pair of Seated Musicians: Bagpiper, Lute Player, English soft-paste porcelain, Chelsea Porcelain Manufactory, Derby Porcelain Works, circa 1765, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute. (Courtesy of the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute)

The ancient image of the shepherd originated with the pastoral, nomadic life of early civilizations. The Judeo-Christian tradition incorporates the concept of the faithful shepherd tending his flocks or presenting his animals for sacrifice. In Greek and Roman classical poetry, shepherds and shepherdesses are associated with a rustic world of innocence, inhabiting an idyllic place called Arcadia, in actuality a province in the Peloponnesus, the peninsula forming the southern section of the Greek mainland. Arcadia was older than the moon, according to Ovid, and its inhabitants were there before the Flood. Because in the *Metamorphoses* his Arcadians recall his description of the golden age—an age of simplicity without care, want, or fear when people lived in harmony in the world—for later generations of writers and artists Arcadia would be viewed as a world sufficiently remote to be peopled by their imaginations.

Shepherds and shepherdesses were an integral part of pastoral literature, which inspired innumerable visual representations. The pastoral mode long retained its popularity, although interpretation of the elements comprising it may have changed. From antiquity on, pastoral literature was designed for an aristocratic taste; indeed, in seventeenth-century France, pastoral was the leading literary genre. In the Renaissance, idealized representations of the ancient shepherd merged with ideals of courtly love. The fact that the real life of a shepherd is a hard and lonely one was usually conveniently ignored. Nostalgia for what is presumed to be a golden past is the prevalent emotion.

The shepherdess, too, had her beginning in pastoral literature. She appeared as a true peasant figure on occasion; at other times, she was not constrained to work but engaged in idealized pursuits of the pastoral life.

In *Eclogues* (circa 42–37 B.C.), Virgil adapted a set of Greek bucolic tales involving shepherds, singing contests, laments for lovers (usually lost), and similar themes couched in bantering dialogue. In this genre, he followed Theocritus of Syracuse, who had developed these rustic myths into a branch of Greek literature. Tradition later associated them not with Syracuse, on the island of Sicily, but with Arcadia in mainland Greece. The mythical founder of this branch of poetry was said to be the shepherd Daphnis, who was blinded by a nymph (or by Aphrodite, goddess of love) and spent the remainder of his life composing sad songs about his fate. This Daphnis is not to be confused with a later one, the shepherd in Longus's pastoral romance *Daphnis and Chloe* (second or third century A.D.).

Among the Virgilian shepherds whose names persist through later centuries were Lycidas, Thyrsis, and Corydon, and among the shepherdesses were Phyllis and Amaryllis. For example, Amaryllis reappears in Torquato Tasso's drama

L'Aminta (1573) and in Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* (1590). These works would contribute to a sixteenth-century revival and elaboration of the pastoral mode in both literature and the visual arts, forming the basis for many narrative paintings of events involving these bucolic personages.

Greek and Roman pastoral poetry, as exemplified by *Idylls* of Theocritus and *Eclogues* of Virgil, created a world inhabited by herdsmen and herdswomen whose principal activities were caring for their animals, contemplating life, singing or playing musical instruments, and pursuing love and romance. These activities were all to find numerous visual counterparts.

Although the literary form of the pastoral seems to predominate in classical times, some of its elements are visually present in representations of Apollo, whose various functions included the care of flocks and herds. In this capacity, he bore the epithet "Nomius" (of the pastures). Banished as a punishment for killing the Cyclopes who made Zeus's thunderbolts, he was sent to tend the herds of Admetus. In a conflation of this story with a legend from the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes*, Hermes, messenger of the gods, who was still a child when this event took place, is shown stealing Admetus's cattle while Apollo is supposed to be guarding them. Scenes based on these legends became especially popular in seventeenth-century European art in the general enthusiasm for works based on classical pastoral themes.

Many Roman wall paintings depict sacred groves in which herdsmen and their flocks are scattered among rocks, trees, and springs. It has been suggested that landscape views painted on the walls of numerous villas emphasize the opposition between natural simplicity and artifice, or between an idealized, harmonious world and the actual one of conflict, insecurity, and tension. Scenes of groves, with shepherds functioning as attributes of a specific place, evoke a sense of piety and serve as a reminder of the pleasure experienced in that place. A typical Roman landscape with goatherds in a sacred grove was found on the north wall of Cubiculum 16 (circa 90 B.C.–A.D. 1) in the Villa of Agrippa Postumus in Boscotrecase, Italy, and is now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples, Italy. Similar landscapes are described by contemporary writers in terms of their *amoenitas* (pleasantness), exemplifying Virgil's *locus amoenus* (pleasant place); this was to become a topos for later generations.

Religious Pastoral

The sheep or calf bearer carrying an animal for sacrifice is an ancient type, dating back to well before the Christian era. Among the best examples is the marble sculpture *The Calf Bearer* from the Acropolis in Athens, Greece (circa 570 B.C.).

The ancients also thought of the animal bearer in the role of the shepherd tending flocks as a general symbol of faithfulness and caring.

Christians were quick to adopt those pagan art forms that could easily be related to spiritual texts. The shepherd bearing a sheep was an especially popular form with the early Christians with its reference to Jesus Christ as a Good Shepherd; it is found more than 100 times in the catacombs outside Rome, as, for example, in the wall painting dated to the mid-third century in the Catacomb of Domitilla. The appropriate biblical text (Luke 15:4) recounts the parable of the shepherd who searches for his lost sheep. The image also encapsulates the notion of sacrifice, as in the “good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep” (John 10:11). Christ is referred to as a second David with power to preserve his sheep from danger and to uphold them even in death: “And I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even my servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd” (Ezekiel 34:23); or “He shall feed his flock like a shepherd: he shall gather the lambs with his arm” (Isaiah 40:11).

The Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, Italy, contains a fifth-century mosaic showing a youthful Apollo-like Christ with six sheep in a landscape of rocks and bushes, probably a reference to the pastures of the blessed to which the flock has been safely led. The idyllic pastures may hark back to Virgil, but they also recall the Garden of Eden destined to be restored when the time of salvation comes. Another example in Ravenna is found in San Apollinare in Classe, where Christ the Shepherd is surrounded by 12 sheep, clearly representing the apostles, who in turn stand for the general body of the faithful. The Gospel story of the Transfiguration is also depicted in San Apollinare in the apse mosaic, dated to the early sixth century, in which three sheep represent Peter, James, and John.

The figure type of the Good Shepherd seems to have descended directly from the classical figure of Apollo and appears in various media, such as the sculpture *Good Shepherd*, dated to the third century, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art in Ohio. The motif was a popular choice for decoration on gold-glass goblets and bowls, which were often given as wedding presents in the fifth century. It appears also on engraved gems, sometimes united with the figure of Jonah.

David, the biblical ancestor and antetype of Christ, is sometimes represented as a shepherd boy, as in the illumination from *Paris Psalter* (circa 960), now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. In the scene *David Composing the Psalms*, he is shown surrounded by his animals, seated in a sacred grove reminiscent of Roman wall paintings. This image also has affinities with classical Orpheus figures in which the mythological Thracian minstrel tames the animals with song. Other Old Testament personages, such as Moses or Jacob, are depicted in scenes underscoring their pastoral, nomadic lives. In a *Biblia Pauperum* dating from about 1460 in the British Library in London, Moses before the burning bush is shown in the guise of a shepherd encircled by woolly lambs and a shaggy dog. As a prefiguration of the New Testament, the sheep can be linked to Christ's sacrifice.

Other occasions for the portrayal of shepherds in a Christian context are the Annunciation to the Shepherds and

the Nativity, which form part of the Christmas Gospel. The shepherds pictured in the full-page Annunciation illumination from the *Ottonian Gospel Lectionary of Henry II* (1002–1024) accept the news with wonder and a certain astonishment; humility and simplicity are the virtues emphasized. Frequently combined with the Nativity image, by the Renaissance the Annunciation had become relegated to the background, as in Stefan Lochner's *Nativity* (circa 1440–1445), now in Munich, Germany, or Titian's *The Holy Family and a Shepherd* (circa 1510) in the National Gallery in London. Shepherds were portrayed as simple, rough men of the people; shepherdesses seem not to enter the picture at all until the later fifteenth century.

In Italy, post-thirteenth-century depictions of shepherds at the Nativity were influenced by Franciscan piety with its emphasis on poverty and humility, as seen in the plain men portrayed in a painting attributed to Giorgione, *The Adoration of the Shepherds* (circa 1505–1510), in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C. Shepherds are shown in attitudes of prayer or adoration, and their offerings are simple ones—a flute, a lamb, and flowers—and their forms are monumental and generalized.

A different type of shepherd came to be favored in Flanders, Belgium, and the northern Netherlands; he is more rustic and tattered—perhaps more realistic but certainly more individualized. Hugo van der Goes's shepherds in the *Portinari Altarpiece* (central panel) (circa 1476–1478), now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy, are the forerunners of rustic, often boisterous figures who crowd around the Christ Child.

By the sixteenth century, shepherds and shepherdesses were also joined on occasion by a host of undifferentiated common men and women. Rural gifts of produce or fruits are offered to the Christ Child; the scene becomes increasingly secularized and genre-like. It has been suggested that this type of realistic portrayal reflects current trends in Counter-Reformation art. Both Caravaggio and Jacopo Bassano are linked to the growth of interest in rustic settings of biblical subjects, but the influence of the latter is more prevalent. Rembrandt van Rijn's *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1646) echoes the themes of humility and simplicity, but he imparts a transcendent quality to the scene by bathing the Child in a flowing light, which serves to emphasize the miraculous birth and the wonder of the beholders who are standing in crepuscular gloom.

At the same time, humanistic interest in Virgil's *Georgics* prompted a revival of the calendar cycles of the seasons and months north of the Alps and around Venice, Italy. Bassano's *Sleeping Shepherd* (circa 1568) in the Szepmuveszeti Muzeum in Budapest, Hungary, may represent the month of August. Shepherds' chores, if not those of shepherdesses, had always been featured in such scenes, which depicted seasonal tasks with varying degrees of verisimilitude.

Secular Pastoral

Although often present in biblical scenes of the Annunciation and Nativity, shepherds and shepherdesses of a more secular nature rarely appeared in the art of the Middle Ages. Major exceptions are those found in calendar scenes or cycles of the

months or seasons presented in manuscript illuminations and tapestries. In no way were these works intended for the people who actually performed the tasks depicted, so they helped perpetuate the notion of an idyllic, bucolic life, similar to that described by the classical poets. A prime example is the calendar scene *Shearing Sheep* found in the *Hours of Jean de Mauléon* (1524), now in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, Maryland. A young woman in rather fanciful attire is shearing a lamb held lightly on her lap as if it were a small dog; two similarly garbed young men look on, holding shepherd's *houlettes* (staves with shovel-shaped terminals). One leans in a classically inspired contraposto pose. Clearly, their chore is not onerous and is quite removed from reality. Their pictorial descendants will be pairs of aristocratic young lovers frolicking in well-manicured pastoral landscapes. The courtly society of Europe embraced the shepherd and shepherdess as exemplifying the *vita contemplativa* (life of tranquillity and ease), as personifying freedom from hardship and worry.

The craze for pastoral literature swept sixteenth-century European princely courts and lasted well into the seventeenth century. Giorgione's *Fête Champêtre* (also known as the *Concert Champêtre*) (circa 1505–1510) in the Louvre in Paris is one of the earliest pastoral paintings. Although its meaning remains enigmatic despite numerous attempts at explication, the shepherds appearing in the right middle ground remind the viewer of a lost world of natural innocence as related by the poets. In its wake followed a stream of pastoral pictures: classical myths or legends set in remote, idealized landscapes; actual illustrations of contemporary plays, poems, and romances; portraits of individuals in shepherd's attire; and, especially in The Netherlands, music-making shepherds and wanton shepherdesses.

These highly secularized Dutch shepherds and their consorts appear first in the seventeenth century in Utrecht. Ultimately, they took many guises. Art historian Alison M. Kettering has divided them into several useful categories: the single half-length, nonnarrative multfigured scenes, narrative subjects drawn from poems or dramatic literature, and portraits (Kettering, *passim*). Paulus Moreelse specialized in half-length compositions in which the shepherd is presented as a smiling and gracious lover; Abraham Bloemaert portrays a contemplative, withdrawn youth. Dirck van Baburen and Gerrit van Honthorst's shepherds are linked to the merry company or tavern scene derived from Caravaggio.

In addition, there were numerous narrative representations of scenes from the pastoral literature, such as Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft's *Granida* (1615) and Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* (1590). Certain attributes identify the shepherds and shepherdesses, as often they are not accompanied by their sheep or goats. They may carry a simple musical instrument, such as a bagpipe or a recorder, or the tools of their trade: crooks or *houlettes*. They may wear a mantle of fur draped over a bare shoulder or a straw hat decorated with flowers.

Narrative paintings of scenes from contemporary dramas or poems were as popular in other countries as in The Netherlands. A typical example is Claude Lorrain's *Herminia and the Shepherds* (circa 1666) in the Holkham Hall Collection of the duke of Leicester in England. Taken from Tasso's *La*

Gerusalemme Liberata (1581), the scene depicts a peaceful interlude in the tale of adventure when Herminia (or Erminia), a pagan princess, having retired from the stress of court life, has gone to live with the shepherds. Whereas a pictorial tradition existed for shepherds, there seems to have been little precedent for the type of wanton shepherdess that gained such popularity in The Netherlands in the seventeenth century (Kettering, p. 48). The attributes of these shepherdesses include straw hats, laced girdles, crooks, *houlettes*, and flowers. On occasion they offer apples, plums, or pomegranates, all fruits with erotic connotations. Grapes, a fruit with bacchic associations, occasionally are proffered. Their flowers can evoke the sense of smell or suggest a personification of Spring or of the goddess Flora. The linking of sexuality with flowers might suggest a courtesan. All in all, these figures were capable of suggesting multiple meanings to their viewers. Their decorative aspects as well as their relation to literary tradition apparently appealed to a wide audience of aristocrats and urban patricians.

In contrast, Rembrandt's etchings *Flute Player* (1642) and *Sleeping Herdsman* (1644) are decidedly earthy. Presenting what appears to be a more realistic view of country life, they are a deliberate departure from the conventions of Dutch pastoral painting. Although the scenes are probably still imaginary, a note of crudeness helps create the illusion that real human relationships are being portrayed.

The pastoral portrait in which the sitters are depicted as idealized shepherds and shepherdesses, or as characters from contemporary literature, achieved widespread popularity throughout Europe. The vogue was especially strong in England, where Gerrit van Honthorst is recorded as having painted King Charles I and Queen Henrietta Maria in shepherds' costumes in 1628. The paintings are now lost. Quick to imitate the sovereign, Philip, Lord Wharton, and Lord George Stuart commissioned portraits from Anthony Van Dyck in 1632 and 1638, respectively, now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C., the Andrew W. Mellon Collection, and the National Portrait Gallery in London. Arrayed in silk and velvet garments, they are set against an idyllic landscape; only the relative simplicity of the garments and the *houlettes* they hold identify them as kin to more rustic types.

There are a number of charming portraits of children from the same period, such as Dirck Santvoort's *Portrait of Clara Alewijn as a Shepherdess* and *Portrait of Martinus Alewijn in Pastoral Dress* (both 1644) in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, The Netherlands. Each child is richly attired, holds an *houlette*, and is accompanied by lambs.

Those commissioning these portraits, when not of the aristocracy or royalty, were certainly of the upper classes; only the wealthy could afford rural retirement and the luxury of leisurely simplicity. By assimilating the pictorial attributes of their social superiors, the rising middle class associated themselves with a mode of life expressing status and rank.

Crispijn van de Passe's book of engraved portraits titled *Les Vrais portraits de quelques unes des plus grandes dames de la Chrestienté, déguisées en bergères* (1640, *The True Portraits of Some of the Greatest Ladies of Christendom Dressed up as Shepherdesses*) is perhaps revelatory of the patronage for the "bergerie" type of portrait. It portrays queens, princesses, and

other members of the nobility (as well as women from the merchant or professional milieu) all dressed in the costumes and with the attributes of shepherdesses. In contemplating these images, middle-class ladies were thus able to associate themselves vicariously with their social superiors.

In contrast, the perfection of Arcadia came to have a poignant aspect in which its basic unreality is recognized. This attitude is exemplified by the phrase "Et in Arcadia ego" (Even in Arcadia I [Death] am there), which forms the subject of Nicolas Poussin's painting of the same name. Painted around 1655, it is now in the Louvre. This picture has nothing in common with the love scenes and frivolities of the courtly, patrician pastoral tradition. The shepherds focus on the grave, and the mood is tranquil but serious. It expresses an elegiac mood, carrying with it the notion of a lost Arcadia and the inevitable end of life.

The courtly and patrician fascination with the pastoral was to last until the end of the eighteenth century. Dutch shepherds and shepherdesses anticipate the erotic hedonism of François Boucher. The scent of the barnyard comes nowhere near a painting such as *Le Bonheur au Village* (1735–1737) in the Bayerisches Landesbank, on loan to the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, Germany. In like manner, Boucher's many "bergerie" paintings, such as those in the Wallace Collection in London (e.g., *Summer Pastoral* and *Autumn Pastoral*), come from a dream world or from a stage scene. However, they may illustrate the statement by the French statesman Talleyrand that no one knew the sweetness of life (*douceur de vie*) who had not lived under the ancien régime.

Before the debacle of the French Revolution, Marie Antoinette and her ladies-in-waiting seemed to take the shepherdess role to the ultimate as they played at being milkmaids in the Petit Hameau at Versailles, France. In her search for the simple life, Marie Antoinette had her portrait painted "in rustic costume" by Marie-Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun in 1783. She sports a straw hat with plumes and a gossamer dress adorned with flowers and ribbons in what seems a definite throwback to the ladies at play in medieval tapestries. The tradition of the "bergerie" was continued in innumerable porcelain figurines, such as one derived from Boucher's *Autumn Pastoral* in Vincennes porcelain (circa 1752) in the Musée National de la Céramique in Sèvres, France. Perhaps the ultimate debasement of the genre is the Hummel figure.

The revolutions of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, combined with industrialization and agrarian change, radically altered visual interpretations of shepherds and shepherdesses. The romantic movement endowed the humblest lives with nobility; the result is often the appearance of rustic reality, but a reality that is nonetheless idealized. The eroticized frivolity or artificial simplicity of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries seemed to belong increasingly to an irrelevant past. In spite of its anthropomorphism and sentimentality, a picture such as Edwin Landseer's *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner* (1837) in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London serves to bring the Arcadian shepherd down to Earth. Any notion that Scottish shepherders are like characters from pastoral poetry is negated by the barrenness of the cottage and the

paucity of the belongings. Although it was probably not Landseer's primary intention, the picture has affinities with other Victorian depictions of rural poverty.

Jean-François Millet's *The Shepherdess: Plains of Barbizon* (circa 1862) in the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Massachusetts, strikes a different note. It is typical of many images that underline the dignity of humble labor but do not place undue stress on any of its unpleasant aspects. In this it remains a rural fiction, but the subject of Millet's work is a monumental, if humble, figure. Painted with careful attention to detail, she is light-years away from Honthorst and Boucher's carefree protagonists. Other nineteenth-century painters opted for descriptive scenes in which the shepherd, shepherdess, and their flocks seem to be appurtenances to the landscape, as in Alexandre-Gabriel Decamps's *A Shepherd with His Flock on Barren Heath in a Storm* (1843) in the Amsterdam Historische Museum or Jozef Israëls's *The Shepherd (Their Daily Bread)* (1864) in the Toledo Museum of Art in Ohio.

The shepherd is used to convey a rather different message in William Holman Hunt's *The Hiring Shepherd* (1852) in the Tate Gallery in London. Hunt wanted his painting to serve as a moral critique, with the shepherd seen as a faithless priest and his flock as the laity. He was attacking the English clergy for not providing spiritual guidance to their congregations. Not all contemporary viewers understood this somewhat arcane reading; they criticized the figures as being too rustic and objected to their idleness. Hunt seemed to be deliberately ignoring the conventions of the rustic genre. The idleness of the shepherd conflicted with the contemporary preference for landscape genre scenes in which laborers industriously tilled the land and cared for the animals. This popular mode had roots in the eighteenth-century revival of interest in Virgil's *Georgics* (the model for rural industry) rather than his *Eclogues*. Rural poverty and social conflict formed no part of this vision.

For the English urban classes, rural England served as an ideal of retreat from the stresses of city life. Furthermore, images of the countryside were now accessible to all classes of the urban public, not just the rich. Viewers were thus reassured that all was well in spite of agrarian unrest, in a way very reminiscent of the Roman audience for depictions of the *locus amoenus* almost two millennia before.

In the Americanized Arcadia, similar themes were represented. In synthetic but believable landscapes, innumerable mid-nineteenth-century painters suggest that the pastoral state (with or without sheep) is the happiest one. For example, Thomas Cole makes this explicit in his painting *The Pastoral State* from his series *The Course of Empire* (1833–1836) in the Munson-Williams Proctor Institute in Utica, New York. Eventually, American pictures, while retaining the idyllic mood, tended to have more cows than sheep. Perhaps this, too, was a rejection of the notion of idleness, in that the sheep or goat herdsman seems to have less pressing business than the cattleman does.

In spite of the decline in popularity of images of shepherds and shepherdesses except as minor figures for landscapes, they were not altogether abandoned. Paul Gauguin's *Breton*

Shepherdess with Flock (1886) in the Laing Art Gallery in Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, seems to hark back once more to the yearning for bucolic simplicity.

A testimony to the persistence of the shepherd as a theme is the set of woodcuts Aristide Maillol used to illustrate the old story of Daphnis and Chloe. In the illustration of Daphnis and Chloe (as goatherds—the equation of goats and sheep is a venerable tradition in the pastoral), we are once again in the Arcadia of docile animals and innocent men and women. The charm of the pastoral with its nostalgia for the golden age is projected once again by means of the shepherd and shepherdess.

See also Harvesting; Hunting/Hunter/Huntress; Peasantry

Selected Works of Art

Classical Pastoral

- The Calf-Bearer*, marble sculpture, Attic, circa 570 B.C., Athens, Greece, Acropolis Museum
Old Man Carrying a Lamb, marble sculpture, Hellenistic, Rome, Palazzo di Conservatori
Sacred Grove, wall painting, originally from Villa of Agrippa Postumus, Boscorecase, Italy, Cubiculum 16, circa 90 B.C.–A.D. 1, now in Naples, Italy, Museo Archeologico Nazionale

Religious Pastoral

- Christ as the Good Shepherd*, wall painting, mid-third century, Rome, Catacomb of Domitilla
Christ as the Good Shepherd, mosaic, 425–450, Ravenna, Italy, Mausoleum of Galla Placidia
Apse Mosaics, 549, Ravenna, Italy, San Apollinare in Classe
David Composing the Psalms, manuscript illumination, *Paris Psalter*, circa 960, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale
Annunciation to the Shepherds, manuscript illumination, *Ottoman Gospel Lectionary of Henry II*, 1002–1014, Munich, Germany, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
Lochner, Stefan, *Nativity*, painting, circa 1440–1445, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
Goes, Hugo van der, *Nativity*, central panel, *Portinari Altarpiece*, painting, circa 1476–1478, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
Ghirlandaio, Domenico, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, painting, 1485, Florence, Italy, Santa Trinità
Dürer, Albrecht, *Nativity*, *Paumgartner Altarpiece*, painting, 1503, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
Giorgione, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, painting, circa 1505–1510, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection
Dürer, Albrecht, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, woodcut, from the *Small Passion*, 1509
Titian, *The Holy Family and a Shepherd*, painting, circa 1510, London, National Gallery
Baldung Grien, Hans, *Nativity*, painting, circa 1520, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek

- Bassano, Jacopo, *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, painting, circa 1555–1560, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Samuel H. Kress Collection
Wtewael, Joachim Anthonisz., *Visit and Adoration of the Shepherds*, painting, 1598, Utrecht, The Netherlands, Centraal Museum
Rembrandt van Rijn, *Adoration of the Shepherds*, painting, 1646, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek

Secular Pastoral

- Giorgione, *Fête Champêtre (Concert Champêtre)*, painting, circa 1505–1510, Paris, Louvre
Shearing Sheep, manuscript illumination, *Hours of Jean de Mauléon*, 1524, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art Gallery
Bordone, Paris, *Daphnis and Chloe*, painting, 1545–1550, London, National Gallery
Titian, *Nymph and Shepherd*, painting, circa 1570–1575, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
Veronese, Paolo, *Shepherd and Sleeping Nymph*, painting, 1588, Baron von Hirsch Collection
Guercino, cycle of 12 paintings illustrating Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido*, circa 1615–1620, Cento, Italy, Villa Giovannina
Rubens, Peter Paul, *A Shepherd and His Flock in a Woody Landscape*, painting, circa 1615–1622, London, National Gallery
Boece a Belswert (after Abraham Bloemaert), *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, engraving, 1618
Honthorst, Gerrit van, *Shepherdess*, painting, 1622, Utrecht, The Netherlands, Centraal Museum
Baburen, Dirck van, *Granida and Dafilo*, painting, circa 1623, Brussels, Belgium, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten
Domenichino, *Landscape with Erminia and the Shepherds*, painting, circa 1623–1625, Paris, Louvre
Bloemaert, Abraham, *Shepherdess Reading a Poem*, painting, circa 1628, Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art
Van Dyck, Anthony, *Amarillis Crowning Mirtillo*, painting, circa 1628–1629, Pommersfelden, Germany, Schonborn Collection
Van Dyck, Anthony, *Philip, Lord Wharton*, 1632, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Andrew W. Mellon Collection
Rubens, Peter Paul, *Shepherds and Shepherdesses in a Rainbow Landscape*, painting, circa 1635, Paris, Louvre
Lorrain, Claude, *Landscape with a Goatherd and Goats*, painting, circa 1636, London, National Gallery, Sir George Blumenthal Gift
Van Dyck, Anthony, *Lord George Stuart*, painting, circa 1638, London, National Portrait Gallery
Rembrandt van Rijn, *Flute Player*, etching, 1642
Rembrandt van Rijn, *Sleeping Herdsman*, etching, 1644
Santvoort, Dirck, *Portrait of Clara Alewijn as a Shepherdess*, painting, 1644, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
Santvoort, Dirck, *Portrait of Martinus Alewijn in Pastoral Dress*, painting, 1644, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Poussin, Nicolas, *Et in Arcadia Ego*, painting, circa 1655, Paris, Louvre

Albani, Francesco, *Apollo Guarding the Herds of Admetus*, painting, 1660, Fontainebleau, France, Château de Fontainebleau

Claude Lorrain, *Heminia and the Shepherds*, painting, 1666, Holkham Hall, England, Collection of the Duke of Leicester

Boucher, François, *Le Bonheur au Village*, painting, 1735–1737, Munich, Germany, Bayerisches Landesbank, on loan to the Alte Pinakothek

Boucher, François, *Summer Pastoral*, painting, 1749, London, Wallace Collection

Boucher, François, *Autumn Pastoral*, painting, 1749, London, Wallace Collection

Autumn Pastoral, Vincennes porcelain after François Boucher, 1752, Sèvres, France, Musée National de la Céramique

Lute Player, porcelain statuette, circa 1765, Chelsea Porcelain Manufactory, Derby Porcelain Works, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute

Bagpiper, porcelain statuette, circa 1765, Chelsea Porcelain Manufactory, Derby Porcelain Works, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute

Boucher, François, *The Shepherd's Idyll*, painting, 1768, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Gainsborough, Thomas, *A Pastoral Landscape: Rocky Mountain Valley with Shepherd, Sheep and Goats*, painting, circa 1783, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art, John H. McFadden Collection

Vigée-Lebrun, Marie-Louise-Élisabeth, *Queen Marie Antoinette 'en Gaulle'*, painting, 1783, Wolfsgarten, collection of S. R. H. Ludwig Prinz van Hessen und bei Rhein

Constable, John, *The Cornfield*, painting, 1826, London, National Gallery

Richmond, George, *The Shepherd*, engraving, 1828, New Haven, Connecticut, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection

Palmer, Samuel, *Riverside Moonlight: A Landscape with Sheep*, drawing, circa 1831–1833, London, Tate Gallery

Cole, Thomas, *The Pastoral State*, painting, from *The Course of Empire*, 1833–1836, Utica, New York, Munson-Williams Proctor Institute

Landseer, Edwin, *The Old Shepherd's Chief Mourner*, painting, 1837, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

Decamps, Alexandre-Gabriel, *A Shepherd with His Flock on a Barren Heath in a Storm*, painting, 1843, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Historische Museum

Jacque, Charles, *Sheep at a Watering Place*, painting, after 1846, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland

Hunt, William Holman, *The Hiring Shepherd*, painting, 1852, London, Tate Gallery

Millet, Jean-François, *The Shepherdess: Plains of Barbizon*, painting, circa 1862, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute

Millet, Jean-François, *Shepherdess*, painting, 1862–1864, Paris, Louvre

Corot, Jean-Baptiste-Camille, *The Shepherds of Arcadia*, painting, circa 1872, Baltimore, Maryland, Baltimore Museum of Art

Homer, Winslow, *Shepherdesses of Houghton Farm*, watercolor, 1878, Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute

Israëls, Jozef, *The Shepherds (Their Daily Bread)*, painting, 1864, Toledo, Ohio, Toledo Museum of Art

Gauguin, Paul, *Breton Shepherdess with Flock*, painting, 1886, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England, Laing Art Gallery

Rodin, Auguste, *Daphnis and Chloe*, plaster sculpture, 1886, Paris, Musée Rodin

Bonnard, Pierre, series of lithographs illustrating *Les Pastorales de Longus, ou Daphnis et Chloé*, 1902, Paris

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Selected Texts

Homeric Hymns, seventh century B.C.

Theocritus, *Idylls*, third century B.C.

Virgil, *Eclogues*, circa 42–37 B.C.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, A.D. 7

Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*, second or third century A.D.

Sannazaro, Jacopo, *Arcadia*, 1502

Tasso, Torquato, *L'Aminta*, 1573

Spenser, Edmund, *Shepherd's Calendar*, 1579

Tasso, Torquato, *La Gerusalemme Liberata*, 1581

Guarini, Giovanni Battista, *Il pastor fido*, 1590

Sidney, Philip, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, 1590

Daniel, Samuel, *Queene's Arcadia*, 1606

Urfé, Honoré d', *L'Astrée*, 1607–1619

Hooft, Pieter Cornelisz., *Granida*, 1615

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SHIPWRECK

Alicia Craig Faxon

The following are covered in the discussion of the theme Shipwreck:

ALLEGORY

CLASSICAL THEMES

CHRISTIAN THEMES

LITERARY THEMES

MODERN SECULAR THEMES



Joseph Mallord William Turner, *Slave Ship (Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying—Typhoon Coming on)*, circa 1840, oil on canvas, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Henry Lillie Pierce Fund. (Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

The term shipwreck alludes to a number of different disastrous events other than the actual sinking of a boat at sea. It has, at times, been used to connote a termination or loss, as in “the shipwreck of my hopes” or “the shipwreck of a fortune.” A shipwreck also stands for the triumph of nature over human beings, their plans, their skills, and their illusions of control. The actual wrecking of a ship, usually in a stormy sea, is described in terrifying detail in such early sources as the Old Testament and Homer’s *Odyssey* (circa 720 B.C.). The height of the waves, the smallness of the ship and its passengers, and the vastness of the sea are vividly evoked in such narratives.

Emblem books, especially Dutch seventeenth-century examples such as those of Jacob Cats, used the symbol of the shipwreck to signify inconstancy, the wreck of hope, or even the frailty of worldly things. As a nation of marine venturers and colonizers, the Dutch were especially aware of the loss of fortune and worldly gain that a shipwreck entailed, as a large part of the capital of the Netherlands was involved in shipping and overseas investments.

In classical mythology, shipwreck was a prime element in tales such as the *Odyssey*, which tells of Odysseus’s struggle to return over the seas from Troy to his native kingdom on the Greek island of Ithaca. Unfortunately, he had aroused the wrath of Poseidon, the sea god, and was in constant danger of shipwreck. In Book V in the story of Calypso, Odysseus experiences a terrifying shipwreck and is in the sea for several days before he reaches shore. He also experiences a near wreck in a close call between Scylla and Charybdis in Book XII, giving rise to the expression “between Scylla and Charybdis” to describe being between two difficult choices or menaces.

Shipwreck is used allegorically in the poem *Das Narrenschiff* (1494, *The Ship of Fools*) by Sebastian Brant. Here the ship is full of life’s fools, with every contemporary type included: drunks, quack doctors, corrupt lawyers, cuckolded husbands, and so on. The original book was illustrated by a series of woodcuts, some of which may have been done by Albrecht Dürer. *Ship of Fools* (circa 1500), now located in the Louvre in Paris, was painted by Hieronymus Bosch, a specialist on the folly and vice of his time. A twentieth-century rendering of the theme is found in the novel *Ship of Fools* (1962) by Katherine Anne Porter, which showed the lack of awareness of many Germans on the eve of World War I.

In Christian literature, the Book of Jonah in the Old Testament tells of an averted shipwreck in chapter 1, when Jonah is thrown overboard to keep the ship from sinking and is swallowed by a great fish. Jonah’s three days in the belly of the whale and his escape served as a symbolic statement of Christ’s release from the grave after three days and his

Resurrection. Early Christians expressed this symbolism in frescoes in Rome in the Catacomb of St. Callixtus and the Catacomb of SS. Marcellinus and Peter.

In the New Testament, Paul was shipwrecked on several of his journeys in his mission to the Gentiles (or non-Jews of the world). Acts 27 tells of the shipwreck Paul endured when he was taken as a prisoner to Rome. Although the ship foundered off the island of Melita (possibly present day Malta), the crew and prisoners were saved. Paul himself alluded to three shipwrecks he had survived (II Corinthians 11:25), a testimony to the uncertainty of travel in biblical times.

The ship became an important symbol in the early Christian church: the ark of Noah became a vessel on which the faithful found safety and salvation. The first representations of the ship as a Christian symbol appeared in wall paintings in the catacombs in Rome where the outlawed sect met, and on the seals and lamps of early Christians.

Shipwreck was said to be imminent when Jesus Christ awakened in a storm-tossed boat on the Sea of Galilee. The wind, the waves, and the disciples’ fears were finally stilled with Christ’s command, “Peace, be still” (Mark 4:36–41). This scene is rendered in Rembrandt van Rijn’s *Christ in the Storm of the Sea of Galilee* (1633), in which disciples frantically try to haul down the sails on a foundering ship awash with water. The haloed figure of Christ on the right is being awakened by his terrified followers. The subject of shipwreck was also addressed by Eugène Delacroix in several oil paintings titled *Christ on the Lake of Genesareth* (1854). The Baltimore, Maryland, version shows disciples hauling in the billowing sails, surrounded by a menacing sky and rough seas, as Christ sleeps on the pitching ship.

Shipwrecks also appear in works based on the lives of the saints, although these are comparatively rare. One example is a Dalmatian School painting, *Helsinus Saved from Shipwreck*, on a predella panel of the *Altarpiece of the Virgin Mary*. In the panel, the saint appears in front of a storm-tossed ship while black demons flit around in the sky. Waves in the foreground are represented by a series of abstract circles. The story is taken from Jacobus de Voragine’s *Golden Legend*, a treasure trove of the miraculous adventures of saints and sinners.

A shipwreck is usually an important element of the plot when it occurs in literature. In William Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* (1611), for example, the plot hinges on a shipwreck involving Prospero’s brother, who has usurped Prospero’s kingdom. *The Merchant of Venice* (circa 1596) uses the loss of Antonio’s fortune in a shipwreck as the motivating element of the plot. Because of the shipwreck, Antonio cannot repay his loan on time to the usurer Shylock, and Shylock demands the pound of Antonio’s flesh due him in default. Portia, the wife of

Antonio's friend Bassanio, acting as judge, agrees that there is no fault with the contract and that Shylock is entitled to a pound of Antonio's flesh, but he cannot shed one drop of blood in getting the pound of flesh, an obvious impossibility ("A Daniel come to judgement"). Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (circa 1601–1602) begins with a shipwreck that involves Viola and her twin brother Sebastian, which results in a subsequent sorting out of identities and sentiments.

Daniel Defoe's novel *Robinson Crusoe* is the story of a shipwrecked man on a desert island, and Johan David Wyss's *The Swiss Family Robinson* uses the same device to strand a whole family on an island. In a similar manner, the plot of Alfred, Lord Tennyson's *Enoch Arden* depends on the shipwreck of the main character, his subsequent long exile on a desert island, and his eventual rescue. A shipwreck is the subject of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem "The Wreck of the Hesperus" and Gerard Manly Hopkins's epic "The Wreck of the Deutschland"

The shipwreck became an extremely popular subject with painters, both for the opportunities it provided to realistically portray dramatic emotions and elements and for its symbolic overtones. Many representations of shipwrecks came from descriptions of contemporary disasters, such as Théodore Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (1819) in the Louvre, which was based on newspaper accounts and court testimony of survivors of the French frigate *Medusa*, which was bound for Senegal, French West Africa, when she ran into a reef. Because many of the lifeboats were rotten, a makeshift raft was built to be towed by the crew, but the rope to it was cut, and 150 people on it were set adrift with no water or food. When they were finally rescued 10 days later, there were only 15 survivors.

Géricault dramatically portrays the raft angled to the right, the lower left cropped to include the viewers of the painting in the drama, as if they, too, are on the raft. In the left and right foreground, the dead bodies of two naked male figures protrude over the raft, while at the apex of the composition, on the right, a black man dramatically signals a tiny passing ship in the distance. The progression from death to life follows a diagonal line from lower left to upper right, following the thrust of arms and bodies on an upward projectory. Many contemporary viewers identified with the shipwreck victims, and even saw the painting as an allegory of the foundering French state.

Inhumanity is also the subject of Joseph Mallord William Turner's *Slave Ship* (circa 1840) in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. The full title of the painting was *Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying—Typhoon Coming on*, and as it suggests, the painting dramatizes the account of a ship carrying slaves. The crew is portrayed throwing slaves overboard in the face of an oncoming storm, because insurance would be paid for any cargo jettisoned in order to save the ship. The "cargo" is, of course, human beings, as the foreground of the painting, with manacled arms and legs rising from the waves, makes quite clear. The coloring of the ocean and sky reflect a sunset—on a metaphysical level, the blood of lives lost. As John Ruskin, who once owned the painting, put it,

Between these two ridges [of the sea] the fire of the sunset falls along the trough of the sea, dyeing it with an awful but glorious light, the intense and lurid splendor which burns like gold and bathes it with blood. . . . Purple and blue, the lurid shadows of the hollow breakers are cast upon the midst of night, which gathers cold and low, advancing like the shadow of death upon the guilty ship as it labors amid the lightnings of the sea, its thin masts written upon the sky, in lines of blood, girded with condemnation in the fearful hue which signs the sky with horror, and mixes its flaming flood with the sunlight, and cast far along the desolate heave of the sepulchral waves, incarnadines the multitudinous sea. (*Modern Painters*, vol. I, part I, sect. V, ch. III)

Here both artist and critic combine the natural setting of the event with its moral dimensions in an unforgettable way.

Turner, a great lover of the sea, painted a number of other shipwrecks: *Fire at Sea* in the Tate Gallery in London; *A Shipwreck*, a mezzotint; and *The Wreck of the Minotaur* in the Tate Gallery, among others. Caspar David Friedrich's *The Polar Sea (Wreck of the "Hope")* (1824) in the Kunsthalle in Hamburg, Germany, shows a wrecked ship in the Arctic, humankind again defeated by the elements. The eerie calm of the icebound wreck, realistically done in meticulous, cool blues and grays, contrasts greatly with the more lurid reds, oranges, and yellows of Turner's shipwrecks. The shattered wood of Friedrich's ship is painted in distinctly warmer brown, possibly the evidence of humankind's conflict with the inhuman, icy sea. Other paintings of polar shipwrecks can be found in the work of American artist Frederic Edwin Church, such as *The Icebergs* (before 1915), and of British painter Edwin Landseer. Landseer's *Man Proposes, God Disposes* (1863–1864) is particularly gruesome, as it shows two huge polar bears munching on the remains of the wreckage.

Several nineteenth-century shipwreck paintings have their origin in literature. Eugène Delacroix's *The Shipwreck of Don Juan* (1841) in the Louvre, is taken from canto II, stanzas 74 and 75, of Lord Byron's epic poem *Don Juan* (1819), which vividly describes the shipwreck itself in stanzas 40–51. Ford Madox Brown's painting *Haidée Finding Don Juan After the Shipwreck* (1873) portrays the aftermath of the shipwreck (canto II, stanzas 110–112), with Don Juan washed up on the beach.

George Morland's painting *The Wreckers* in the William Coolidge Collection presents a more sinister type of shipwreck: those involving cargo vessels that have been deliberately lured onto the rocks by lanterns so that their cargoes might be pilaged. Winslow Homer's *The Gulf Stream* (1899), in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and *After the Tornado* in the Worcester Art Museum, show a wreckage of boats and humans after the devastation of a storm. In *The Gulf Stream*, the figure of a black man appears alone on a mastless ship, while sharks circle the crippled boat. *After the Tornado*, a watercolor set near Homer's residence in the Bahamas, shows a man face down, washed up on the beach, beside a wrecked sailboat. Here, as in earlier paintings, the artist dramatizes the lonely struggle of humans against the dangerous vicissitudes of

the sea. The symbol of the shipwreck finally stands as a warning of human limitations and frailty, and as a sign of the mutability of human life and fortunes.

See also Destruction of City; Misfortune

Selected Works of Art

Allegory

Brant, Sebastian, *The Ship of Fools*, woodcuts, 1494

Bosch, Hieronymus, *The Ship of Fools*, oil, circa 1500, Paris, Louvre

Classical Themes

A *Shipwreck*, Geometric vase, eighth century B.C., Ischia, Italy, Museum

Rubens, Peter Paul, *The Shipwreck of Aeneas*, oil, 1604–1605, Berlin, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Allori, Alessandro, *The History of Odysseus*, frescoes, circa 1607, Florence, Italy, Palazzo Salviati

Fuseli, Henry, *Odysseus Shipwrecked on a Raft*, oil, circa 1805, Basel, Switzerland, Richard Dreyfuss Collection

Christian Themes

Jonah and the Whale, wall fresco, third century, Rome, Catacomb of St. Callixtus

Story of Jonah, marble (three pieces), third century, Cleveland, Ohio, Museum of Art

Jonah Sarcophagus, marble relief sculpture, late third century, Vatican, Museo Pio Cristiano

Jonah Thrown to the Whale, fresco, fourth century, Rome, Catacomb of SS. Marcellinus and Peter

Nicholas of Verdun, *Jonah and the Whale*, from *Klosterneuberg Altarpiece*, gilt bronze and niello relief, 1181, Klosterneuberg, Austria, Stiftsmuseum

Dalmatian School, *Helsinus Saved from Shipwreck*, oil on panel, London, National Gallery

Giovanni di Paolo, *Shipwreck—Miracle of St. Nicholas of Bari*, tempera on panel, circa 1450, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art

Bril, Paul, *Jonah and the Whale*, oil, before 1626, Brussels, Belgium, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts

Ryder, Albert Pinkham, *Jonah*, oil, before 1917, Washington, D.C., National Collection of Fine Arts

Literary Themes

Delacroix, Eugène, *The Shipwreck of Don Juan*, oil, 1841, Paris, Musée d'Orsay

Brown, Ford Madox, *Haidée Finding Don Juan After the Shipwreck*, oil, 1873, Paris, Musée d'Orsay

Modern Secular Themes

Vernet, Claude-Joseph, *A Storm with a Shipwreck*, 1754, London, Wallace Collection

Turner, Joseph Mallord William, *Shipwreck*, oil on canvas, 1805, London, Tate Gallery

Turner, Joseph Mallord William, *Wreck of a Transport Ship*, oil on canvas, circa 1810, Lisbon, Portugal, Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian

Géricault, Théodore, *The Raft of the Medusa*, oil, 1819, Paris, Louvre

Friedrich, Caspar David, *The Polar Sea (Wreck of the "Hope")*, oil, 1824, Hamburg, Germany, Kunsthalle

Turner, Joseph Mallord William, *Slave Ship (Slavers Throwing Overboard the Dead and Dying—Typhoon Coming on)*, oil, circa 1840, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Landseer, Edwin, *Man Proposes, God Disposes*, 1863–1864, Egham, Surrey, University of London, Royal Holloway College

Homer, Winslow, *The Gulf Stream*, oil, 1899, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Church, Frederic Edwin, *The Icebergs*, oil, before 1915, Dallas, Texas, Dallas Museum of Fine Arts

Ernst, Max, *The Sinking of the Titanic*, oil, 1912, St. Louis, private collection

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SIN/SINNING

Christine M. Boeckl

The following motifs and iconographic narratives are covered in the discussion of the theme Sin/Sinning:

THE FALL OF MAN

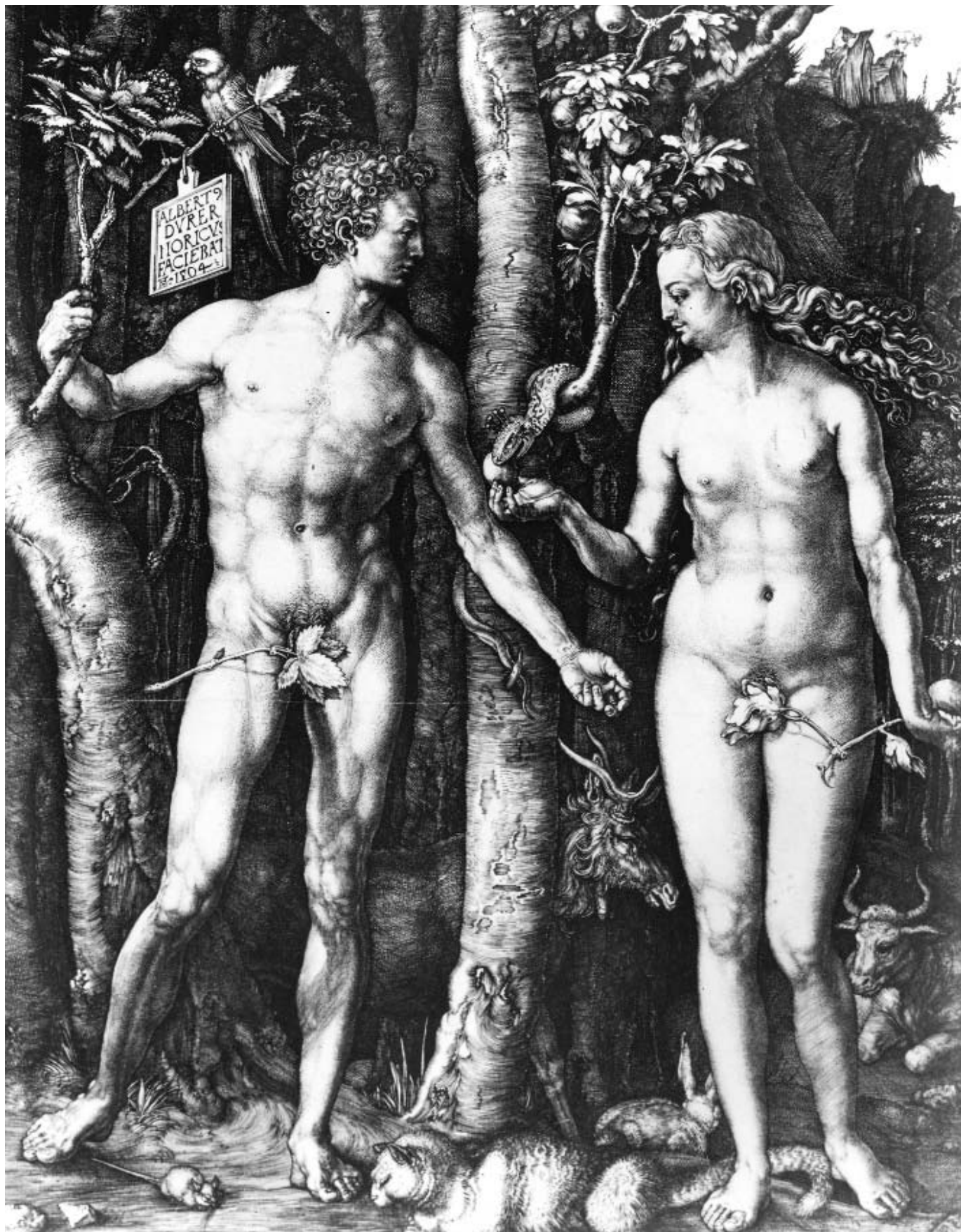
LAST JUDGMENT/HELL

OTHER RELIGIOUS SUBJECTS

SEVEN DEADLY SINS/

TEN COMMANDMENTS

SECULAR WORKS



Albrecht Dürer, *Adam and Eve*, 1504, engraving. (Courtesy of Foto Marburg/Art Resource, New York)

Albrecht Dürer's engraving *Adam and Eve* describes the pivotal events surrounding the Fall of Man as described in Genesis 3. The print shows the couple in the Garden of Eden (a metaphor for innocence) under the Tree of Knowledge. It conveys the serpent's promise to Eve that man will be godlike. Eve will succumb to the temptation of the devil and disobey the Lord's command. Dürer represents Eve's acceptance of the fruit from the snake's mouth, and "eating the apple" will cost the primal parents God's gift of immortality. Judeo-Christian theology teaches that all future generations are burdened by this act, the original sin, which explains the corruption of human nature. Joseph Campbell writes that in light of this tradition "every natural impulse is sinful unless it has been circumcised or baptized" (*The Power of Myth*, p. 47).

In the Christian worldview, human history began with this single, momentous transgression. The most important topics concerning sinners are the Fall and the Last Judgment, which will make people accountable for their earthly lives. These two subjects are the primary focus of this essay. The dramatic theme of the final day of reckoning, rendering the horrors of hell, has inspired some of the greatest artists, from Gislebertus to Auguste Rodin and from Giotto to Michelangelo.

Narrative Scenes

After the Middle Ages, the emphasis on sin is less apparent in Christian art and is replaced by didactic narratives taken from accounts of Christ's life to indicate a more positive philosophy. First, and foremost, his sacrificial death on the cross promises salvation to a sinful humankind: "Who his own self bore our sins in his own body on the tree" (I Peter 2:24). Second, the knowledge that the Redeemer sought the company of sinners affords comfort. The feast in the house of Levi, protecting the adulteress from the self-righteous crowd, and converting Mary Magdalen to a life of virtue are two of the New Testament subjects frequently chosen for portrayal.

The visualization of special human frailties, especially the seven deadly sins, is most memorably recorded in Hieronymus Bosch's oeuvre. A few examples of lust are now treated in greater detail, as are some moralizing genre paintings alluding to sin, the Ten Commandments, and allegories from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* as well as political cartoons. Although the question of what constitutes sinful behavior changes over time and with different cultures, the concept of sin is widespread (heaven and hell also exist in Eastern religions) but is by no means universal.

The interpretation of the Fall of Man depends largely on the individual roles Adam and Eve play in this fateful event. In rabbinical accounts, the command not to eat from the forbidden tree was given to Adam alone (before Eve was created), absolving her from the sin of disobedience. St. Augustine, in contrast

to earlier Christian authors who saw Eve as flesh (sense), describes in *De Trinitate* the relationship of the primal parents as humans equipped with a soul (*ratio*). Eve represents lower reason, that is, *scientia* (knowledge) concerning itself with *corporalia* (the body), and Adam represents higher reason, that is, *sapientia*, the part of the soul acquainted with *spiritualia* (transcendent truth). The snake symbolizes animalistic base instincts and pleasure; and, although Adam and Eve, or even Adam alone, appear in limbo among the just, Eve is forever identified with sin.

The sixteenth century reexamined the Genesis story and emphasized free will. By establishing free will, humankind is allowed to influence its own destiny. This interpretation also declared human sexuality the main culprit for the Fall. Therefore, at times Eve is given the entire fault for the corruption of humanity; on the other hand, in some works Adam actively participates in obtaining the forbidden fruit. The hierarchy of the importance of various sins changed frequently. Since Pope Gregory I, the dominant view has been that pride, Lucifer's transgression, was the mother of all sins. Adam and Eve were disobedient, but they also were accused of several or even all the deadly sins, including envy, gluttony, and lust. Because intricate theological debates are difficult to translate into images, it is not easy to specify which author's opinion the artists represented.

A brief history of the different visualizations of the first parents and their eternal guilt will give some insight into the subject's iconology. Early Christian art depicted the Fall in a straightforward manner without much narrative detail. In catacomb paintings and on the *Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus*, Adam and Eve, separated by tree and serpent, turn away from each other and cover their bodies in shame. Nudity must have been an important issue in the transition from the pagan era to Christianity. Medieval masterpieces described the events in a very direct narrative. For example, in a panel of the Doors for St. Michel of Hildesheim Cathedral in Germany, God points threateningly at Adam, who immediately passes the guilt on to his wife, while Eve's gesture accuses the snake. The buck stopped there, but paradise was lost. The next panel shows the immediate result of the original sin—Adam tilling the field "by the sweat of his brow" and Eve "bearing her children in pain" (Genesis 3:16–19). The lintel of the penitents' portal of Autun Cathedral in France also refers to the Fall. It represents the first medieval monumental nude—Eve is shown lying down (to accommodate the horizontal design). She holds the forbidden fruit in one hand and raises the other to her cheek in a gesture of shame.

In the fifteenth century, two innovative monumental paintings of Adam and Eve appear almost simultaneously in Italy and in the north, emphasizing that the original sin affected all human endeavors. In Brancacci Chapel in Florence, Italy, Adam

and Eve are depicted before and after the Fall. These scenes frame a number of seemingly unrelated stories taken from the Acts of the Apostles and put them into perspective. Just about the same time, Jan Van Eyck includes the first parents in the grandiose altar that was originally called *Altar of Adam and Eve* or *Triumph of the Lamb*, better known as the *Ghent Altarpiece*. The individual panels support a complex iconographic program promising salvation. Important is the inclusion of a deesis, Mary and John interceding for people's sins, Adam and Eve appear on the outside panels of the polyptych, after the Fall, covering their nude bodies with fig leaves: "And the eyes of them both were opened, and they knew that they were naked; and they sewed fig leaves together, and made themselves aprons" (Genesis 3:7). Above Adam, rendered in grisaille, Cain and Abel are seen worshiping; above Eve, the first fratricide takes place.

Although the iconography of the Fall seems well defined and often appears repetitive, an analysis of the relationship of the three proponents (Adam, Eve, and the snake) generates greater understanding of the subject's iconology. For this reason, the most innovative works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are reviewed here together.

Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling represents the Temptation, Fall, and Expulsion from paradise in a continuous narrative. The Tree of Life forms the center of the large composition and reflects an analogy to Christ's Crucifixion, which will redeem humanity (sin withered the Tree of Life, which, in turn, is said to have become the wood of the cross). What distinguishes Michelangelo's work from numerous other versions is Adam's willing participation in the Fall. Standing next to the seated Eve, both reach into the branches of the tree. Adam's action has been dubbed *felix culpa*, indicating the gift of free will and the responsibility of Christians to search for their own redemption (facilitated by grace). Because the Bible explicitly states that Adam had not shown any initiative in getting the fruit, few artists followed Michelangelo's design, and Johannes Fabricius wrote in his treatise *Disputatio Theologica qua Historia sacra contra nonnullos pictorum errores vindicatur* (1684) that such depictions were erroneous.

Only a stone's throw away from the Sistine Chapel, Raphael worked at the very same time in the Vatican Palace and chose a more literal interpretation of the Bible in his ceiling detail for the Stanza della Segnatura. His *Adam and Eve* resembles Michelangelo's temptation scene only inasmuch as Raphael also adopted a dynamic style. True to traditional theology, however, it is Eve who energetically plucks the fruit from the branch. Adam is seated on the other side of the tree to indicate his refusal to participate in the act.

In the sixteenth century, artists began to treat Eve as a temptress no man could resist. Raphael manifests this when he gave Eve and the snake the same alluring features. Marcantonio Raimondi's engraving after Raphael's *Temptation of Man* disseminated the master's composition into the north.

In northern Renaissance art, the Fall was treated innumerable times. In Münster, Germany, Lucas Cranach the Elder adopted a nontraditional pose showing Adam indicating his sexual desire by embracing Eve. He also included the first parents in his Reformation picture *Rechtfertigung des Sunders durch den Glauben* (*Allegory of the Old and the New Law*). The symbolic panel (popularized by a woodcut design reversed

from the painting) shows a male sinner forced by the devil and Death into the flames of hell. To the back, in a smaller scene, the Fall of Man is shown. Adam and Eve jointly hold the apple in a deliberately symmetrical composition. In a later version of *The Old and the New Law*, attributed to Hans Holbein the Younger, Eve is faulted for the Fall. Peccatum (Sin) is written above her head, and she stands intimately close to the serpent, from which Adam seems to shy away.

Peter Paul Rubens, too, defined the positions of the first parents very carefully. In an early work (circa 1600), Eve is the temptress and the culprit; she is a sensuous and seductive nude. Coyly she holds the fruit close to her mouth. Clinging to the tree with the reptile (the pose is derived from the Raimondi print), she opposes Adam, who reproaches her vehemently. Adam is propped against another tree, indicating no intentions to disobey God.

Rembrandt van Rijn, generally nonjudgmental, produced a psychologically penetrating etched version of the Fall. In his *Fall of Man*, the couple are far from being idealized. We are privileged to observe a domestic squabble. Eve holds the apple and wants to share it with her husband. However, Rembrandt's Adam seems painfully aware of the grave consequences: His right hand expresses a warning, and he wants to prevent Eve from eating the fruit with his left. At the end he must have lost the argument. Rembrandt's tempter in the tree has the shape of a dragon (only after the Fall does God command the snake to crawl) and resembles the creature in Dürer's woodcut *Christ in Limbo* (1510), a scene in which Adam and Eve appear as a "saved" couple, thereby linking the two subjects.

Sole guilt for the Fall is assigned to Eve in a print by Philip Galle (1610), which belongs to a series titled *The Fatal Power of Women*. The first of the six circular engravings shows a seated Adam passively receiving the fruit from his wife's hand. The other illustrations depict Lot's daughters, Jael killing Sisara, Samson betrayed by Delilah, a pagan princess persuading Solomon to worship idols, and Judith decapitating Holofernes. In Protestant Bibles, the Book of Judith is excluded from the Old Testament, thereby changing her status from heroine to villain. Analogous collections of seductive women who had contributed to the destruction of men had been popular since the sixteenth century. Similar and related subjects endured over the centuries; for example, a beguiling Salome becomes responsible for St. John's death. Gustav Klimt's *Salome with the Head of St. John* portrays such a femme fatale.

The artists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries made few original statements about the Fall. Yet, a twentieth-century female artist, Judith Lodge, painted a series of large works titled *The Walls of Eden*. The origin of these paintings was a dream involving the serpent in the earthly paradise. Lodge views the story from a woman's point of view. Large canvases create an environment in which the viewer plays the role of the expelled Eve. The artist envisioned a magnificent closed gate to separate herself from Eden.

A number of artists expanded the iconography of the Fall with erudite symbolism. In Dürer's illustration *Adam and Eve* (mentioned earlier in this essay), the primal parents are seen before the Fall. They are nude, and only leaved branches cover their genitals, as if by accident. Their poses recall classical statuary, such as *Apollo of Belvedere* in the Vatican Collection and *Venus de Medici* in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy. Adam's

and Eve's idealized figures stand in contrast to the dense grove of a northern landscape. Some of the engraving's enigmatic features need further explanation. The wooded area is populated by peacefully resting animals: an ox, a cat, a mouse, a rabbit, and an elk. Adam clings to a tree next to the one in the center. A tropical parrot, symbolizing the virgin birth of Christ, is perched on a limb right above Adam's shoulder as an antidote against Satan. Eve stands closer to the centralized hybrid of an apple-fig tree, the habitat of the snake.

The sleeping animals in the foreground can be explained by sixteenth-century northern writings on natural history and represent the four temperaments: sanguine, choleric, phlegmatic, and melancholic. Dürer certainly would have known such books, as he used the temperaments as a subtheme in *Four Apostles* (1526) in the Alte Pinakothek in Munich, Germany. According to these writings, the curse of the Fall unleashed the imbalance of the humors or temperaments. Hildegard von Bingen explains that if man had remained in paradise, he "would not have had those noxious fluids [humor] loose in his body." The fluids consisted of secretions of the liver: Black gall prompted the vices of despair and avarice, whereas yellow bile caused melancholy, traditionally depicted as an elk. Choleric humor caused pride and wrath, symbolized in Dürer's "aggressive" cat. Phlegm, carried by the lungs, resulted in sloth and gluttony, represented in the phlegmatic ox. Sanguine humor was caused by excessively active blood circulation, as seen in the vice of lust characterized by the fertile rabbit. Until humankind sinned, there was peace in the animal kingdom; cat and mouse coexisted. Also, "the battle of the sexes" has been directly related to the Fall of Man.

Dürer's student Hans Baldung Grien renders a more negative picture. *Eve, the Serpent, and Death/Adam* is an idiosyncratic variation of the Fall and refers to the debate as to whether sexual intercourse existed before the Fall. *De originale peccato*—written in 1518 although not published until 1529—claimed that carnal desire for Eve caused Adam's spiritual death. In Baldung Grien's painting, Adam grabs Eve's wrist with obvious sexual intent while the snake strikes his hand. At the same time, Adam's body undergoes a metamorphosis from life to a putrefied corpse (*transi*). In the inclusion of Death, Baldung Grien's painting follows earlier prototypes.

The Salzburg Missal (1481, Austria) shows a similar figure of Death in the illustration *Tree of Death and Life*, an allegorical version of the Fall. The tree in the center not only is loaded with fruits but also bears communion wafers. Adam is seated dejectedly on the ground, expressing his shame. His wife, just as in Baldung Grien's painting, is a seductive nude. Lilith, the snake (a convention taken from Hebrew and Mesopotamian sources), holds an apple in her mouth that Eve touches. Simultaneously, the first mother distributes fruits with her other hand to kneeling burghers dressed in fifteenth-century garb, thereby indicating that the original sin is passed on to later generations. Behind the group a grinning Death appears, again not as a skeleton but as a *transi*. In Baldung Grien's panel, as well as in the Salzburg manuscript, Adam is ensnared by the coils of the serpent and holds in his hand the fruit that caused his spiritual death. In the tree above Eve's head hangs a skull. Opposite her, on the left, Mary, the new Eve, crowned as queen of heaven, serves eucharistic hosts to a kneeling crowd in front of her. Instead of the symbol of death seen on Eve's half,

Mary's tree branches hold the image of the crucified Jesus Christ. The juxtaposition of Eve and Mary indicates their roles in the plan of salvation; Eve's sin will be redeemed by the Virgin through her son, Jesus. (Mary's exemption from the burden of original sin is expressed in the dogma of the Immaculate Conception.)

From the loss of paradise to the Second Coming of Christ, humankind is condemned to act out a more or less pessimistic future. Along with the Fall of Man, depicting Last Judgment scenes gave artists opportunities to render the punishment of sin. The tympanum of Autun Cathedral is a prime example of a medieval Last Judgment scene: Christ is the dominant presence in the relief while next to him St. Michael weighs souls (a concept that can be traced to ancient Egypt). In a frieze below, the saved on Christ's right and the sinners on his left await the outcome of the trial. Devils, and even disembodied claws, pull the unfortunates into hell while the angels lead the blessed to God.

In the twelfth century, scenes of sinners in hell were prevalent not only in Europe but in Asia as well, although their respective spheres of influence have not yet been investigated. In a Cambodian relief titled *Heaven and Hell*, large demons herd sinners by brute force into hell. The scroll *Hell Scene* (circa 1200) depicts demons with iron rods bashing the heads of pitifully small figures of monks in a fiery setting. The monks have been herded into the western gate of hell because they are guilty of unkindness to animals—certainly not a reason for Western sinners to be condemned to eternal tortures.

The fifteenth century introduced new psychological insight into the subject of heaven and hell. The novelty in Rogier van der Weyden's *Last Judgment Altarpiece*, in the otherwise traditional rendering of the final events, is the lack of the sinners' satanic torture. The damned display horrifying grimaces and gestures of despair and "are forced under their own power toward their fate. No demons are needed to pull man into inferno, no angels will rescue him. The damned lead themselves to their destiny, a pessimistic proclamation that in some respects anticipates the negative character of humankind later expressed so vividly by Hieronymus Bosch" (Snyder, p. 133).

In the *Last Judgment* in Vienna, Austria, Bosch and a collaborator single out a few sins, such as lust, wrath, and gluttony. The triptych, according to at least one author, might have been intended as a warning to a young prince. In the left wing, which traditionally shows the Garden of Eden, God the Father appears in a bright aureole—yet there is trouble in the cosmos from the start. The fall of the proud rebel angels, characterized as dark, insectlike creatures, precedes the creation of Adam. The center of the triptych depicts the Last Judgment. Christ presides over a holocaust that takes up three-quarters of the panel. The humanoid male and female monsters—disfigured by spots and nodules, skin lesions, and other blemishes—populate brothels, taverns, and bathhouses. This has been interpreted as placing great emphasis on the danger of venereal diseases, such as the Spanish pox (syphilis), all of which were associated with lack of chastity. Gigantic war machines appear on the right. The third panel displays hell. God is absent, and the devil reigns supreme. Surprisingly absent also are members of the aristocracy and the clergy, which supports the theory that the commission was intended for Charles, the 15-year-old son of Philip the Fair, on his inspection tour through the Netherlands in 1515.

Humanist ideas had originated in Florence in the fourteenth century and characterize Giotto's *Last Judgment* in the Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy. Giotto introduces new ideas along with earlier iconographic traditions by depicting a large Christ in an aureole as the focal point in the events of the day of wrath. Also medieval is the view of the Son of man surrounded by angels and the blessed. To his right, the saved are resurrected from their graves and guided toward heaven. Unprecedented, however, is the inclusion of Enrico Scrovegni, the donor of the church, who aims to atone for his father's sin of usury. On Christ's left, hell occupies a quarter of the wall, distinguished by its fiery red and filled with sadistic devils who torture the damned. The usurers, recognizable by their money bags, were singled out as among the worst sinners. The date (circa 1305) precedes Dante's publication of *Inferno*, yet it can be assumed that Giotto was acquainted with his compatriot's ideas.

Michelangelo, in his treatment of the Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel more than 200 years later, retained a hierarchical structure similar to that described in Giotto's fresco. The Renaissance artist also introduced Dantesque themes in his hell. The mythological ferryman Charon drives the damned from his boat with an oar, and Minos, a serpent wrapped around his powerful body, reigns in hell (divergences from the biblical text got Michelangelo in trouble with the Inquisition). The torments have become less physical, yet the sinners' haunting expressions reveal their despair at being severed from their Maker.

Rubens, among many others, emulated Michelangelo's style in his *Last Judgment* yet remained orthodox in his theology. Rubens also created a variation on the theme in a similar dynamic composition, *Fall of the Damned*. This subject may have inspired the majestic vault decorations in Rome's Il Gesu, *The Expulsion of the Heretics and Unbelievers from the Heavens* by Giovanni Battista Baciccio (Il Gaulli). The light in the Baroque fresco seems to generate from the symbols IHS, signifying the name of Jesus, which hurtles the sinners into the world of the spectator.

At the time of the inception of his *Gates of Hell*, Auguste Rodin was an ardent admirer of Michelangelo. The dynamics of his composition are unthinkable without the Renaissance master's canonical solution. *Gates of Hell* was commissioned in 1880 but never completed; however, the nineteenth-century sculptor secularized the subject and introduced Dante's *Divine Comedy* as his theme. Eventually, Rodin even replaced the proposed figure of Dante with the *Thinker* to ponder the human condition. From the original sinners, only *Ugolino and His Sons* and *Paolo and Francesca* remained. Later, Charles Baudelaire's *Flowers of Evil* replaced Dante as a source of inspiration. Rodin's chaotic design renders the individual figures anonymous and has to be experienced as a metaphor of dark forces governing human lives.

Apart from the depictions of the beginning and the end of time, other biblical narratives from the Old and New Testaments were chosen to render sinners. The most prominent illustration of the first murder from the Old Law is Cain slaying Abel (already mentioned in the *Ghent Altarpiece*), which is frequently included in larger cycles to show cause and effect. In later centuries, the topic was treated independently. For example, Tintoretto and Rubens gave the subject great drama: Cain brutally attacks Abel, who fights desperately and vainly for his life.

The Old Testament and the Christian Middle Ages considered an act of sacrilege one of the gravest transgressions a human could commit. In the First Book of Samuel, the two sons of the last judge Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, were accused of having blasphemed against God when they misappropriated the sacrificial meat of the holocaust. Their sin "was very great before the Lord: for men abhorred the offering of the Lord" (I Samuel 2:16–17). The repercussions were severe; God rebuked the old judge and foretold that his male heirs would be killed. This prophesy came true in the battle at Ebenezer, where not only were Eli's sons slain but the Ark of the Covenant was lost to the Philistines. Representations of the sin of Hophni and Phinehas, depicting two men at the sacrificial cauldron, appear only in some medieval manuscripts. The consequences of their shortcomings are illustrated more frequently, for example, in an illustration in Erhard Altdorfer's Lutheran Bible (1533), *The Battle of Ebenezer, Eli and the Messenger, and the Fall of Dagon*, which emphasizes the episode's significance in the transfer of leadership from the rule of the judges to that of the kings.

As already indicated, scenes from the New Testament emphasized different sins, yet above all they featured the possibility of redemption. The narratives involving Jesus consorting with sinners repeatedly depict Mary Magdalen. She is frequently found in the proximity of Christ: anointing his feet in Bethany, pleading for her brother's life at the resurrection of Lazarus, under the cross, and (after her Master's resurrection) in *noli me tangere* (do not touch me) scenes. The reason Jesus is often found in the company of sinners is contained in Christ's answer to the Pharisees, "They that be whole need not a physician, but they that are sick" (Matthew 9:12). The case of Paolo Veronese, who because of Inquisitional interference changed the name of his *Last Supper* to *Feast in the House of Levi*, had a happy ending. In the latter subject, the objectionable "buffoons, drunkards, dwarfs, Germans, and similar vulgarities" were quite appropriate.

Throughout the centuries, the scene of Jesus and the adulteress proclaimed the Lord's mercy and made an appeal for tolerance. Rembrandt's *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* deviates from the customary scene of Christ writing illegible words on the ground (as depicted by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, among others) because the artist moved the action indoors. The spectacle is placed in the dark, cavernous interior of a large temple. Christ, surrounded by his apostles and bathed in warm light, stands only a few steps above the contrite woman. He is a commanding figure yet simply clad and barefoot. Rembrandt sees Christ as a spiritual leader about to say, "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her" (John 8:7). The group of accusers is dressed in sumptuous robes and hats. In the background, in semidarkness, appear the ceremonious high officials of the temple. The painting transcends the narrative and becomes a pictorial discussion of the merits of the Old versus the New Law. Christ is depicted as very human (possibly seen through the eyes of Mennonite or Socinian sects, whose ideology Rembrandt seemed to have favored). On the other hand, the Orientalist Vasilii Polenov replaced theological concepts with historic accuracy. His *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (1907) re-creates an authentic setting in front of the temple steps, where Christ is seated among his followers calmly teaching when a furious, unruly crowd drags a

young woman to be stoned. The realism makes us relive the event—this is how it could have happened. Emil Nolde's version focuses primarily on the two proponents. Christ puts his arm protectively around the woman's shoulder.

Jesus healing a man suffering from palsy with the words "Man, thy sins are forgiven thee" (Luke 5:20) gave hope where medicine was at a loss. The universal appeal of such themes is the confirmation that God is willing to forgive all penitent sinners. Already in antiquity, disease had been assumed to be a divine punishment.

With the appearance of the modern scourge of AIDS, the concept of sin seems to be reintroduced into the vocabulary of some artists. Because medical science still struggles to find a cure, a regression toward a more medieval sense of guilt characterizes the latest art. For example, a Korean designer compares bubonic plague with AIDS. *The Penalty of God* is written in the center in bold print, and the words "Pest/AIDS" are placed diagonally in the corners. Alluring lips and rats are juxtaposed; they are to blame for the spread of the afflictions—lips because the virus is sexually transmitted and rodents because they harbor plague-infested fleas. Russian propaganda posters also seem to blame female prostitutes for the spread of the disease by showing a lush, rouged mouth with a taxi meter instead of teeth. This refers to the pecuniary aspects of prostitution and the fact that time is running out. American educational material advocating preventive measures shows a snake coiled around an apple, camouflaged by lush blossoms; the Garden of Eden is lost, and sickness is a reality.

The Seven Deadly Sins and the Ten Commandments

The allegorical prototype for sin appears in Ripa's *Iconologia*. *Peccato* is depicted as a dark (impure, without grace), seminude youth (imprudent youths frequently sin) who stands in a rocky landscape. A serpent (symbol of the devil) gnaws on his breast (seat of the soul that has sinned), eating his heart; an even larger snake is wrapped around his waist. In the seventeenth-century editions, sin has his eyes closed; later he is blindfolded, indicating that sin is blind to God's commandments. Ripa also singles out individual sins: *Pride*, *Disobedience*, *Murder*, and so on.

One of the earliest symbols manifesting sin is carved on French cathedrals as 12 Vices (Cathedral of Amiens, among others), later to be superseded by the ever-popular seven deadly sins. Pride, gluttony, lust, wrath, envy, avarice, and sloth are frequently portrayed in late medieval art. According to Pope Gregory I and Thomas Aquinas, they were the roots of all evil. Bosch's panel *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins* is arranged around the eye of God and divided into seven genre scenes illustrating that daily life is filled with sinful activities. Avarice is represented by a corrupt judge accepting a bribe, gluttony by the usual excesses of food and drink, wrath by a murder, pride by a woman looking into a mirror, and so on. His paintings convey late medieval ethics signifying a current concern, *memento mori*. Four small circles in the corner refer to the four last things. One circle shows a deathbed scene as a man is given his last rites (as often depicted in *ars moriendi*), another shows Christ appearing on Judgment Day, and two others illustrate the entrances to heaven and hell. Many of these secular examples were derived from *sermões vulgares*, which started in the

thirteenth century and continued in a strong tradition of type-casting the worldliness of sinners.

Hans Makart painted an orgy that is sometimes called *Seven Deadly Sins* or *Plague in Florence* (again sin and an epidemic are closely associated). The painting may have some moralizing aspects, although the subject matter and the racy title seem to have been the main reasons the artist created this canvas.

A modern *Seven Deadly Sins* (1933) appears in the work of Otto Dix. The date is important because the painting makes a political statement. It displays Death (Sloth) confronting a grotesque procession in which an ugly witch, clutching money (Avarice), leads the group. A gnomelike child whose mask bears Adolf Hitler's features (Envy) rides on her shoulders. Other horrid creatures represent Wrath, Pride, Lust, and Gluttony. The latter reveals its debt to Netherlandish tradition most conclusively: Gluttony is represented by a child wrapped in sausages with a pretzel and a soup kettle that hide his identity (Nazi official Hermann Göring?). The symbols are documented and preserved in Dix's cartoon for this painting in which the names of the sins are written next to the individual figures. On a ruinous wall appears a Friedrich Nietzsche quote: "Die Wüste wächst, Weh dem der Wüsten birgt." (The barren desert groweth, woe unto him, who harbors in himself such a wasteland) (*Zarathustra*). Soon after this painting was completed, Dix lost his position as an academy professor and was declared one of the "degenerate artists."

Political caricature involving sin has had a time-honored tradition. For example, James Gillray's cartoon *Sin, Death, and the Devil* shows Queen Charlotte of England as Sin crouching between Prime Minister William Pitt (Death) and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Thurlow (the devil). Gillray satirized William Hogarth's *Satan, Sin, and Death*, a scene from John Milton's *Paradise Lost* depicting his "Unholy Trinity."

Human Frailties

Carnal lust (i.e., human sexuality) is by far the most commonly depicted sin. Women were blamed for this evil in the New Testament (Whore of Babylon). A particular form of preoccupation with sex is found in the witches' trials after a celibate priesthood issued an encyclopedia of demonology, *Witches Hammer*. Such sadistic fantasies may have influenced the depiction of the "devil's brides," which stood for the antithesis of nuns. Hans Baldung Grien, Salvator Rosa, Alessandro Magnasco, and Francisco de Goya, among others, depict their witchcraft, incantations, and orgies. However, it has not yet been established whether the artists believed these satanic rites to be real and sinful. For one, Goya did not depict his fears; the only sin his witches have committed is to prolong narrow-mindedness and delay enlightenment in Spain.

Lust and avarice are characterized in *Ill-Matched Lovers* by Quentin Massys. The painting represents a "dirty" old man and a young woman who steals his money. The artist emphasized that man corrupted by sin becomes ugly. Massys's caricatures are intended to teach morality much as Bosch does but with a significant difference: Massys considers humans to be capable of righteous conduct. His hideous characters are a warning, and they might deter the viewer from committing similar transgressions (much like Desiderius Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*).

Didactic pictorial traditions remained strong in the north and resurfaced in a number of seventeenth-century genre scenes. However, by then the treatment of these secular morality lessons had become more subtle. For example, Jan Vermeer's *The Concert* depicts a man with two charming women making music. The subject of lust is indicated with a sophisticated allusion provided by a picture within the picture: Dirck van Baburen's *Procuress* hangs above the harpsichord. Thomas Couture's *The Romans of the Decadence* was exhibited in Paris along with a quote from the historian Juvenal: "Crueler than arms, lust descended upon Rome and avenged the conquered world." The artist insinuated in his epic painting that moral decline and sin had caused the fall of the Roman Empire.

One of the few biblical scenes of the twentieth century concerning lust is Emil Nolde's *Mary of Egypt with Sinners* (Mary Egyptica had a colorful past, much like her namesake, Mary Magdalen). Nolde's Mary is living it up with her clients. She shows no sign of remorse in this section of the triptych. The German expressionist, who was deeply religious, emphasizes the ugliness of the debauched lifestyle by introducing clashing colors and expressive forms in a moralizing way. Vincent van Gogh also signaled his intention to express "evil" in his *Night Cafe* (1888, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut) by disharmony in his brilliant hues.

John Bossy observed that the "Reformation brought to conclusion the process of replacing the Seven Deadly Sins by the Ten Commandments as the system of Christian ethics" (Bossy, p. 116). Yet the Ten Commandments are only occasionally depicted. One of the few examples preserved is the fifteenth-century woodcut *The Ten Commandments*, which is divided into 10 equal quadrangles. Although there is a distinction between mortal and venial sins, little emphasis is placed on such theological details in the visual arts. Many of the motives originated from the earlier depictions of the seven deadly sins and the *danse macabre* (dance of death) because they involve characters from all social classes. In all "thou-shalt-not" illustrations, figures of demons hover above the sinners' heads. The first commandment shows Moses before a vision of God holding the tablets of the Law; in the background a heretic prays to a devil. The second scene depicts gamblers at card tables taking the Lord's name in vain; Sunday's desecration is represented by farmers working in the field. To show how to honor parents, two children wash their father's feet. The fifth commandment illustrates a murder, and the command "thou shalt not steal" shows such an infamous act in progress. Lust is symbolized very traditionally as a couple embracing and singing to a lute. The eighth and ninth commandments are represented, respectively, by a man swearing a false oath before a judge and by "lusting for the neighbor's wife," acted out by a charming lady in front of her castle at a clandestine meeting with an equally elegant dandy. The tenth commandment shows envious neighbors next to a man displaying his wealth.

Every religion has different ways to grant absolution from sin. The Protestant view differs from the Mosaic law and Catholic theology. *Tashlikh* is a symbolic ceremony in which sins are cast into the water during the Jewish New Year celebration. Protestants prefer public confessions. The Catholic sacrament of penance is customarily administered in private. The clerics reserve the right of absolution (the power of the

keys—Christ's institution of the papacy). Few depictions of these rites found their way into the mainstream of the visual arts. A unique work by a fifteenth-century master, *Mass of St. Giles*, depicts the saint holding a service in the presence of Holy Roman Emperor Charlemagne. An angel bearing a scroll miraculously reveals an "unconfessed sin" of the emperor. Most of these works address the power struggle between church and state.

Although many sins can and would be punishable by secular law, they are not identical with it, and they always remain in the realm of religious teachings. Sinfulness and repentance are often closely related to the belief in an afterlife or reincarnation and must be viewed with these moral assumptions in mind. Therefore, with few exceptions, the twentieth century avoided the subject of sin altogether.

See also Avarice; Envy; Evil Eye; Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale; Humors; Luxury; Penitence/Repentance; Vices/Deadly Sins

Selected Works of Art

The Fall of Man

Adam and Eve, fourth century, Rome, Catacomb Sotto la Via Latina

Adam and Eve, sculpture on the *Sarcophagus of Junius Bassus*, 359, Vatican, Grottoes of St. Peter

Adam and Eve Passing the Blame Before God, sculpture, 1015, Doors for St. Michel, Hildesheim, Germany, Cathedral

Gislebertus, *Eve*, sculpture, 1120–1132, Autun, France, Musée Rolin

Masolino, *Temptation*, circa 1425, Florence, Italy, Brancacci Chapel

Masaccio, *Expulsion from Paradise*, circa 1425, Florence, Italy, Brancacci Chapel

Van Eyck, Jan, *Adam and Eve*, 1432, *Ghent Altarpiece*, Ghent, Belgium, St. Bavo

Furtmeyr, Berthold (workshop of), *Tree of Death and Life*, 1481, Salzburg Missal, Munich, Germany, Bayerisches Staatsarchiv (Clm 15710 fol. 60v.)

Dürer, Albrecht, *Adam and Eve*, 1504, engraving

Raphael, *Adam and Eve*, 1508–1511, Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura

Michelangelo, *Fall of Man*, 1510, Vatican, Sistine Chapel

Raimondi, Marcantonio (after Raphael), *Adam and Eve*, circa 1520, engraving

Baldung Grien, Hans, *Eve, the Serpent, and Death/Adam*, 1520, Ottawa, Ontario, National Gallery of Canada

Cranach, Lucas, the Elder, *Adam and Eve*, 1525?, Münster, Germany, Westfälisches Landesmuseum

Cranach, Lucas, the Younger (?), *Eve Tempted by the Serpent*, circa 1530, Antwerp, Belgium, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten

Tintoretto, *Adam and Eve*, circa 1550, Venice, Italy, Accademia

Rubens, Peter Paul, *The Fall of Man*, circa 1600, Antwerp, Belgium, Rubenshuis

Galle, Philip, *Fall of Man*, 1610, from the engraved series *The Fatal Power of Women*

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Fall of Man*, 1638, engraving
 Lodge, Judith, *Eve at the Walls of Eden*, 1977, collection of
 the artist

Last Judgment/Hell

Last Judgment, fresco, eleventh century, Sant' Angelo in
 Formis
 Gislebertus, *Last Judgment*, sculpture, 1120–1135, Autun,
 France, Cathedral
 Heaven and Hell, bas-relief, late twelfth century, Angkor Wat,
 Cambodia
 Jigoku Zoshi, *Hell Scene*, scroll, circa 1200, Seattle,
 Washington, Art Museum
 Giotto, *Last Judgment*, 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
 Weyden, Rogier van der, *Last Judgment Altarpiece*, circa
 1445, Beaune, France, Musée de Hôtel Dieu
 Bosch, Hieronymus, and collaborator, *Last Judgment*
Triptych, 1515, Vienna, Austria, Akademie der Bildenden
 Künste
 Michelangelo, *Last Judgment*, 1536–1541, Vatican, Sistine
 Chapel
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Last Judgment*, circa 1615, Munich,
 Germany, Alte Pinakothek
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Fall of the Damned*, 1620s, Munich,
 Germany, Alte Pinakothek
 Baciccia, Giovanni Battista (Il Gaulli), *The Expulsion of the*
Heretics and Unbelievers from the Heavens, 1676, Rome,
 Il Gesù
 Rodin, Auguste, *Gates of Hell*, sculpture, 1880–1917, Paris,
 Rodin Museum

Other Religious Subjects

Brailes, William de, *Hophni's and Phinehas's Sin*, manuscript
 illumination, twelfth century, Baltimore, Maryland,
 Walters Art Gallery (Ms. 500, fol. 17v.)
 Master of St. Giles, *Mass of St. Giles*, 1480–1490, London,
 National Gallery
 Altdorfer, Erhard, *The Battle of Ebenezer, Eli and the*
Messenger, and the Fall of Dagon, woodcut, circa 1533,
 for *Lutheran Bible*, Baltimore, Maryland, Walters Art
 Gallery
 Tintoretto, *Cain Slaying Abel*, circa 1550, Venice, Italy,
 Accademia
 Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Christ and the Woman Taken in*
Adultery, 1565, London, Courtauld Institute Galleries
 Veronese, Paolo, *Feast in the House of Levi*, 1573, Venice,
 Italy, Accademia
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *Cain Slaying Abel*, circa 1608, London,
 Courtauld Institute Galleries
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Christ and the Woman Taken in*
Adultery, 1644, London, National Gallery
 Polenov, Vasilii, *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*,
 1907, Williamsburg, Virginia, William and Mary College
 Klimt, Gustav, *Salome with the Head of St. John*, 1909,
 Venice, Italy, Museo d'Arte Moderna-Ca' Pesaro
 Nolde, Emil, *Mary of Egypt with Sinners, Conversion, Death*
in the Desert, triptych, 1912, Hamburg, Germany,
 Kunsthalle
 Nolde, Emil, *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, 1926,
 Bern, Switzerland, Fehr Collection

Seven Deadly Sins/Ten Commandments

Virtues and Vices, sculpture, twelfth century, Portal of the
 Savior, Amiens, France, Cathedral
Ten Commandments, single woodcut, 1460–1480, Munich,
 Germany, Graphische Sammlungen (Sch. 1846)
 Bosch, Hieronymus (?), *Table of the Seven Deadly Sins*,
 1480–1485, Madrid, Spain, Prado
 Cranach, Lucas, the Elder (workshop of), *Allegory of the Old*
and the New Law, 1529, Gotha, Germany, Schlossmuseum
 Holbein, Hans, the Younger (attributed to), *Allegory of the*
Old and the New Law, circa 1535, Edinburgh, National
 Gallery of Scotland
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SLEEP/SLEEPING

Petra ten-Doesschate Chu

The following motifs and periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Sleep/Sleeping:

SLEEP AND DEATH

SLEEP AND LOVE

SLEEP AND THE LOSS OF
ALERTNESS AND VIRILITY

SLEEP, SLOTH, AND
DRUNKENNESS

SLEEP AND DREAMS

SLEEP, REST, MENTAL PEACE,
AND INNOCENCE

ANCIENT

MEDIEVAL

RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Gustave Courbet, *The Sleeping Spinner*, 1853, Montpellier, France, Musée Fabre.
(Courtesy of Musée Fabre, Montpellier, France)

Sleep is defined as a periodic, temporary condition in humans and animals marked by a diminution of physiological and psychological functions, its purpose being the restoration of bodily and mental powers. Human beings generally sleep during the night, but short periods of daytime slumber (known as siesta, nap, or doze) are common.

In Western culture, sleep carries with it a number of important associations that have determined and shaped its iconography from classical antiquity to the present: death; love; loss of alertness and virility; sloth and drunkenness; dreams and visions; and rest, mental peace, and innocence. The following sections correspond largely to these six categories of association, although it will become clear that there is, at times, considerable overlap among them. This discussion of the iconography of sleep will touch on images of personifications of sleep (gods, allegories, emblems) and on representations of sleeping figures.

Sleep and Death

The association of sleep with death dates to the beginning of Western culture. In Greek mythology (Hesiod's *Theogony*) Hypnos (Sleep) and Thanatos (Death) are the twin sons of Night. Homer (*Iliad*) has them remove the dead body of Sarpedon, son of Zeus, king of the gods, from the Trojan battlefield. The scene appears on several Greek red-figure vases, such as Euphronios's calyx krater (circa 590–580 B.C.) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, on which Hypnos and Thanatos are rendered as two identical winged gods, dressed in soldier's garb. In later Greek vase painting, particularly on some fifth-century B.C. white lekythoi, the brothers are more clearly distinguished from one another. On a fifth-century B.C. lekythos in the British Museum in London, for example, Thanatos is painted white, whereas Hypnos is black, no doubt in reference to the darkness of night.

Hypnos and Thanatos survived in Roman times as Somnus and Mors. In *Metamorphoses* Ovid describes in detail the deeply recessed cave where Somnus dwells in the company of a "host of sons," including Morpheus, Phantasos, and Phobetor. The river Lethe (root of the words *lethargy* and *lethal*), flowing from the depths of Somnus's cave, connects it with the house of the dead of Pluto, god of the underworld. Slumbering putti, spirits of sleep, often appear on Roman sarcophagi, as do representations of the sleeping shepherd Endymion (see below, "Sleep and Love").

The association between sleep and death remained powerful in the Christian era when death was seen as a prolonged sleep and resurrection as the final awakening. The early medieval legend of the Seven Sleepers (first known versions are from the

sixth century A.D.), which was also incorporated into the Koran, recounts the story of seven young men living in Ephesus, Turkey, at the time of Emperor Decius. Persecuted for their Christian beliefs, they took refuge in a cave. There they fell asleep and did not wake up until 200 years later, when, during the reign of Emperor Theodosius, Christianity had become the state religion of the Roman Empire. The legend, generally interpreted as a metaphor for resurrection, is represented in Byzantine, medieval, and Islamic art. Throughout history the story of the "long sleep" has returned in many variations, both religious and secular. The fairy tale *Sleeping Beauty* and Washington Irving's "Rip Van Winkle" (in *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.*, 1819–1820) are perhaps best known among them.

During the Renaissance the connection of sleep with death seems to have influenced several Renaissance representations of the Madonna with sleeping Christ Child (Giovanni Bellini, Piero della Francesca, Cosima Tura, Parmigianino). Although the meaning of these paintings is often complex, in many instances they seem to allude to a meditation, by the Madonna, on the future death of her son. As a prototype of the dead Christ, the sleeping Christ Child, often with skull and instruments of the Passion, also occurs in Renaissance and Baroque prints and folk art.

Finally, the analogy between sleep and death finds expression in funeral monuments in which the deceased is rendered as if asleep. This mode of representation of the dead first occurs in so-called *kline* sculptures on Roman sarcophagus lids and sepulchral reliefs. It largely disappears in the Middle Ages and Renaissance but recurs in the nineteenth century, when numerous grave monuments, particularly of women and children, show the deceased lying in bed or on a couch as if in a temporary slumber. Henri Chapu's tomb of the Duchess of Orléans in the Royal Chapel at Dreux, France (1885), is a particularly moving example.

Sleep and Love

The association of sleep with love and lovemaking is a natural one. In English and many other languages the expression "to sleep together" is a euphemism for copulation. The late Hellenistic sculpture of the sleeping Hermaphrodite (circa A.D. 120) in the Museo Nazionale Romano in Rome may be seen as the embodiment of this intimate relation between love and sleep. Also from the Hellenistic period are several sleeping figures of Eros, the god of love, including a well-preserved bronze in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (250–150 B.C.) of a chubby male infant asleep on a rock. According to the scholar Magdalene Söldner, such figures probably served as garden

statues and must be read in a Dionysian (erotic) context. In Roman times the meaning of sleeping infants changed: they were incorporated in sepulchral monuments where they seem to have represented the spirit of sleep (see above, "Sleep and Death"). As an allegory of sleep, the slumbering putto returned in Italian Baroque sculpture (Alessandro Algardi), but in seventeenth-century prints—with his head resting on a skull—he also could serve as an image of death. Indeed, the sleeping putto, signifier of Hypnos and Eros as well as Thanatos, is symptomatic of the close connection in Western thought between sleep, love, and death (see also the discussion of Endymion below).

In painting from the Renaissance onward, sleeping female nudes, often in a landscape, alone, or in the presence of a lover, are commonplace. Most often they appear in the context of a erotically charged classical myth or a later derivative thereof: Jupiter, the king of the gods, and the mortal Callisto (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*); Ariadne on Naxos, with or without the wine god Dionysus (Philostratus, *Imagines*); Amymone (whose story is told by Hyginus, Pindar, Apollodorus, and others) found in the woods by a satyr; Cimone and Efegenia (Boccaccio, *Giornata*); Venus asleep; and a nymph uncovered by a satyr.

Although the motif of the sleeping female nude seems to have originated in the late Hellenistic period with such figures as the *Sleeping Ariadne* in the Vatican Museum (copy of a late Hellenistic original from circa 150 B.C.), it became especially popular in Renaissance and Baroque painting. According to art historian Millard Meiss, the sleeping nude in a landscape had its origin in Venice, Italy, where Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus* from Dresden, Germany (circa 1510) seems to have served as a source of inspiration for many later renderings of nude female sleepers. Meiss connects the subject of the sleeping Venus (which has neither visual nor literary sources in antiquity) with Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499) in Venice, which includes a description of a wonderful fountain with a sleeping nymph at its center. In Giorgione's painting a female nude is represented sleeping outdoors with one arm bent around her head, a gesture of sleep derived from Greco-Roman Art.

In the wake of Giorgione's Dresden *Venus*, the sleeping nude became popular in Venice and beyond. The subject survived throughout the seventeenth century, in Italian and northern European painting, and well into the eighteenth century, when such rococo painters as François Boucher and Jean-Honoré Fragonard favored it.

As an object of erotic attraction, the sleeping female nude remains an important topos in nineteenth- and twentieth-century art. The work of the French realist painter Gustave Courbet includes several sleeping nudes (both in natural and indoor settings), whose sexual availability and defenselessness make them highly erotic. Sleeping nudes are also found in nineteenth-century popular prints (Achille Devéria and others) and soft-pornography photographs. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the subject was treated by such well-known artists as Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Pablo Picasso, and Henri Matisse.

Like the sleeping female nude, her male counterpart occurs in art in different narrative contexts, such as Cupid and Psyche

(Apuleius, *The Golden Ass*); Rinaldo and Armida (Torquato Tasso, *La Gerusalemme Liberata*); Cephalus and Aurora (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*); Somnus visited by Iris (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*); and, most importantly, the sleeping shepherd Endymion visited by Diana, the goddess of the hunt, or her alter ego, Selene-Luna (Apollodorus, *The Library*; Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods*; and others). The earliest representations of this theme are found in Roman wall paintings and sarcophagi such as the Endymion sarcophagus in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. As the Romans believed that, after life, the soul traveled to the moon, Endymion visited by Luna during his eternal sleep was a consoling image of death. Together with the sleeping Eros figures discussed at the beginning of this section, Endymion is the classic case of the intersection of sleep, love, and death.

In Renaissance painting, Endymion appears for the first time in a small *cassone* (coffer) roundel *Diana and Endymion* (late fourteenth century) by Cima da Conegliano, now in the Galleria Nazionale in Parma, Italy. The subject subsequently became popular in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century painting in Rome, Florence, and Bologna, Italy. It also enjoyed a certain vogue in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century. But it was in France at the end of the eighteenth century that the theme of Endymion found its most striking visualization. Anne-Louis Girodet-Trioson's *Sleeping Endymion* (1791) features an effeminate, life-size sleeping male nude dramatically illuminated by the pale rays of the moon. More than any previous work it suggests the close connection between sleep, love, and death.

Sleep and the Loss of Alertness and Virility

Sleep makes one vulnerable, as it causes the loss of watchfulness and alertness. In the Bible, Samson (Judges 16:4–22), Sisera (Judges 4:12–24), and Holofernes (Judith 13:1–10) all become victims of women when they fall asleep because of fondling, exhaustion, or drink. Countless examples of the fates of these three sleepers can be found in the pictorial arts, from Medieval manuscripts to nineteenth-century painting. Often they are slumped on the ground or on a bed, overcome by fatigue or in a drunken stupor, helpless against their female assailants. Other examples of endangered sleepers appear in paintings based on classical mythology. The story of the thousand-eyed watchman Argus, lulled asleep and subsequently killed by Mercury, messenger of the gods (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*), is often depicted in seventeenth-century Dutch painting as a model of the dangers of distraction.

Although the above-mentioned sleeping warriors and watchmen, through their tragic fates, embody a warning against sleeping at one's post, another class of sleeping warriors has a more positive meaning. In paintings of the god of war Mars sleeping in the company of Venus (works by Botticelli, Piero di Cosimo, and Ferdinand Bol), the sleeping god signifies the peace that is brought about by the power of love.

Finally, sleeping warriors may also signify men's inability or unwillingness to see God's greatness. In representations of the Resurrection of Christ, the tomb is often flanked by sleeping soldiers who are oblivious to the miracle that takes place right

beside them. The subject has perhaps been treated most poignantly by Piero della Francesca in his fresco *Resurrection* (early 1450s) in Sansepolcro, Italy.

Sleep, Sloth, and Drunkenness

The association of sleep with sloth and the neglect of religious and civic duty has roots in the Bible. The subject of Christ praying at Gethsemane, in vain begging his three disciples, Peter, James, and John, to stay awake with him (Matthew 26: 36–46; Mark 14: 32–42; Luke 22: 39–46), has frequently been represented in art since the Middle Ages. Some of the most famous examples appear in Italian fifteenth-century paintings by such artists as Andrea Mantegna and Giovanni Bellini.

In the story of Christ at Gethsemane, sleep constitutes a negative force that prevents human beings from performing their highest religious duty, prayer. Representations of the so-called Ladder of Virtue found in Romanesque manuscripts (such as one in the Biblioteca Vaticana in Rome, Cod. gr. 394) often include a sleeping figure, alternately defined as *hypnos* or *acedia*, among the many vices that hinder the virtuous person (usually a monk) from ascending toward heaven. The idea is expressed in more down-to-earth form in Hieronymus Bosch's table top with images of the Seven Deadly Sins (1480–1485) in the Prado Museum in Madrid, Spain, in which a monk is caught napping by a nun; as well as in seventeenth-century paintings by Nicolaes Maes showing praying or Bible-reading figures dozing off.

Sleep prevents humans from performing their secular duties as well. In Philip Galle's print *Acedia* (circa 1600) a sleeping woman signifies apathy. Seventeenth-century Dutch painting is full of figures, mostly female, who are asleep instead of doing their jobs. Jan Vermeer's *Sleeping Girl* (circa 1657) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and Maes's numerous scenes of sleeping kitchen maids serve as examples. Sleeping women as emblems of slothfulness continue to be found in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century art, particularly in moralizing images of sleeping spinners (Courbet), seamstresses, and so forth.

From the discussion above it would appear that sloth is generally represented by sleeping women rather than men. Indeed, men forsaking their duty because of sleep are relatively rare in art. Constantyn Verhout's painting of a student snoozing behind a pile of books, in the National Gallery in Stockholm, Sweden, may serve as the exception confirming the rule.

A special subcategory of slothful sleepers is formed by individuals who are sleeping off the effects of drink, and in this group males tend to predominate over females. Sleeping drunks are not only portrayed as lazy, they are also portrayed as having lost their sense of propriety. The loss of decorum is an important subtext of these lazy sleepers made explicit in the Old Testament story of Noah, whose shameful behavior is topped only by that of his son Ham, who laughs at his own father (Genesis 9:20–27). Images of Noah's drunkenness are common in art from the Middle Ages onward, particularly in series rendering the narrative of Genesis. Michelangelo's fresco of the subject in the Sistine Chapel (1508–1512) is no doubt the most famous among them. Noah is represented lying

face down, naked, with his legs parted, a pose that recalls a famous Hellenistic image of a sleeping drunk satyr, the so-called *Barberini Faun* (circa 220 B.C.) in Munich. It was a pose that would recur frequently in images of drunkenness.

In a secular context, their meaning unchanged, sleeping drunks make their appearance in seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish genre painting by artists such as Adriaen Brouwer, Adriaen van Ostade, and Jan Steen. A print by Hendrik Bary (1670) after Jan van Mieris makes their meaning explicit: a laughing man who sticks out his tongue places a pot on the head of a sleeping drunk woman. The caption reads, *De Wijn is een Spotter* (Wine is a mocker).

Sleep and Dreams

In Greek mythology, Hypnos is the friend of the Muses (Pindar), no doubt because sleep causes dreams, which are connected with fantasy and creativity. The Romans also thought of Somnus as the dream dispenser. According to Ovid (*Metamorphoses*), Somnus's sons, Morpheus, Phobetor, and Phantasos, could take on the shapes of different humans, animals, and inanimate objects that entered into people's dreams. During the fifteenth century, the Neoplatonists developed a concept of sleep as a state of *vacatio*, an emptiness of the human soul that made it particularly receptive to communication with the divine. Hence, sleep in the Renaissance is often seen as a visionary state, a moment of revelation.

The subject of dreams and visions is discussed in other essays, but a few examples of representations of sleepers who are also dreamers deserve mention here. Although such images appear in medieval manuscripts and architectural sculpture, they occur most frequently in Renaissance art in the guise of a variety of mythological, biblical, and saintly figures. These figures include Hecuba, the mother of Paris, who dreams of giving birth to a torch that sets the city of Troy aflame (Ovid, *Heroïde*); Jacob, who dreams of a ladder reaching up to heaven with angels ascending and descending (Genesis 28:10–19); Constantine, to whom it is revealed, in the sign of the cross, that he will defeat Maxentius (Eusebius, *Life of Constantine*); and Ursula, who is told by an angel that she and her virgins will die as martyrs in Cologne, Germany. Representations of these dreamers may be found in works by Giulio Romano, Raphael, Piero della Francesca, and Vittore Carpaccio, respectively.

A special group within the sleep-dream-vision category is constituted by images that show magical "operations" on the body that are performed while the "patient" is asleep. The prime examples of this theme are paintings and reliefs depicting the creation of Eve out of a sleeping Adam's rib (Lorenzo Ghiberti's *Gates of Paradise*, Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel ceiling). Another example of this theme applied to an unrelated subject is Fra Angelico's *Miracle of the Deacon Justinian* (1438–1440), which depicts Deacon Justinian's leg replacement during sleep by Saints Cosmas and Damian. These miraculous operations have a counterpart in nineteenth- and twentieth-century paintings and photographs of operations performed by the "saints of modern medicine" during the artificial sleep of narcosis, such as Henri Gervex's *Before the Operation* (1887) and Thomas Eakins's *The Agnew Clinic* (1889).

Sleep, Rest, Mental Peace, and Innocence

Sleep as reward for hard work is a notion that appears to be associated in particular with physical toil and the work of farmers and laborers. Drowsy figures are frequently found in paintings of harvesting scenes, such as Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *Harvesters* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, or Jules Bastien-Lepage's *Haymaking* (1878) in the Musée d'Orsay in Paris.

Sleep is also the reward of those who have a clean conscience and faith in God. Christ on the Lake of Gennesaret (Sea of Galilee) (Matthew 8:23–27; Mark 4:36–41; Luke 8:23–25) is often shown asleep, undisturbed by a storm that rocks the boat. The theme was a favorite of Eugène Delacroix, who painted it at least 10 times.

A related theme, particularly popular in romantic art, is the sound sleep of innocents, most often represented by sleeping children. Paul and Virginie sleeping in the forest (for example, the numerous illustrations in nineteenth-century editions of the novel *Paul et Virginie* by Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre) or sleeping infants watched by their parents (William Bouguereau, Berthe Morisot) may serve as examples. In this context mention should also be made of the “babes in the wood,” popular in nineteenth-century painting, sculpture, and popular graphics. The subject of an old English ballad, the babes in the wood bring us back to the beginning of this article because, although nineteenth-century representations of the theme, such as Thomas Crawford's *The Babes in the Wood* (1851), show two toddlers peacefully asleep, they did in fact die in each other's arms: “two pretty babes, til deathe did end their grief, in one another's arms they dyed.”

See also Death; Dreams/Visions; Nightmare

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

Euphronios, *The Removal of Sarpedon's Dead Body from the Trojan Battlefield by Hypnos and Thanatos*, red-figure calyx krater, circa 590–580 B.C., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Thanatos Painter, *The Removal of Sarpedon's Dead Body from the Trojan Battlefield by Hypnos and Thanatos*, white lekythos, fifth century B.C., London, British Museum
Sleeping Eros, bronze, 250–150 B.C., New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Sleeping Satyr (Barberini Faun), marble, circa 220 B.C., Munich, Germany, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek

Sleeping Ariadne, marble, Roman copy after late Hellenistic original of circa 150 B.C., Vatican, Vatican Museums

Sleeping Hermaphrodite, marble, circa 120 A.D., Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano

Medieval

The Dream of St. Marc, relief over the central door, thirteenth century, Venice, Italy, San Marco

Renaissance

Cima da Conegliano, *Diana and Endymion*, painting, late fourteenth century, Parma, Italy, Galleria Nazionale

Angelico, Fra, *Miracle of the Deacon Justinian*, predella of San Marco Altarpiece, 1438–1440, Florence, Italy, San Marco Museum

Piero della Francesca, *Resurrection*, fresco, early 1450s, Sansepolcro, Italy, Pinacoteca

Piero della Francesca, *Dream of Constantine*, fresco, 1452–1457, Arezzo, Italy, San Francesco

Mantegna, Andrea, *Agony in the Garden*, painting, circa 1460, London, National Gallery

Bellini, Giovanni, *Agony in the Garden*, painting, circa 1460, London, National Gallery

Piero della Francesca, *Madonna with Sleeping Child and Saints*, painting, 1472–1474, Milan, Italy, Brera Gallery

Botticelli, *Venus and Mars*, painting, circa 1483, London, National Gallery

Carpaccio, Vittore, *Dream of St. Ursula*, painting, circa 1495, Venice, Italy, Accademia

Piero di Cosimo, *Mars and Venus*, painting, circa 1500–1505, Berlin, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Michelangelo, *Drunkenness of Noah*, fresco, 1508–1512, Vatican, Sistine Chapel

Michelangelo, *Creation of Eve*, fresco, 1508–1512, Vatican, Sistine Chapel

Giorgione, *Sleeping Venus*, painting, circa 1510, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Raphael, *Jacob's Dream*, fresco, 1511–1514, Vatican, Stanza d'Eliodoro

Titian, *Bacchanal of Andrians*, painting, circa 1522–1523, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Pamigianino, *Madonna with the Long Neck*, painting, 1534–1540, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Seventeenth Century

Galle, Philip, *Acedia*, engraving, from print series *Seven Capital Sins*, circa 1600

Brouwer, Adriaen, *Drinking Peasants*, painting, before 1638, The Hague, The Netherlands, Mauritshuis

Algardi, Alessandro, *Somnus*, black marble, before 1654, Rome, Borghese Gallery

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jacob's Dream*, etching, 1655 (Bartsch 36)

Vermeer, Jan, *Sleeping Girl*, painting, circa 1657, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Bol, Ferdinand, *Venus and Sleeping Mars*, painting, circa 1660, Braunschweig, Germany, Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum

Guercino (Giovanni Francesco Barbieri), *Sleeping Rinaldo in Armida's Chariot*, fresco, before 1666, Rome, Palazzo Costaguti

Meyer, Conrad, *Memento Mori*, engraving, 1667, Hamburg, Germany, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe

Eighteenth Century

- Girodet-Trioson, Anne-Louis, *Sleeping Endymion*, painting, 1791, Paris, Louvre
 Schadow, Johann Gottfried, *Tomb of Count von der Mark*, marble, 1790, Berlin, Germany, Dorotheenstädtische Kirche

Nineteenth Century

- Delacroix, Eugène, *Christ on the Lake of Gennesaret*, painting, 1850s, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Crawford, Thomas, *The Babes in the Wood*, marble, 1851, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Courbet, Gustave, *The Sleeping Spinner*, painting, 1853, Montpellier, France, Musée Fabre
 Courbet, Gustave, *Two Women Asleep*, painting, 1866, Paris, Musée du Petit Palais
 Burne-Jones, Edward Coley, *The Sleeping Princess*, 1872–1894, Dublin, Ireland, Municipal Gallery of Modern Art
 Bastien-Lepage, Jules, *Haymaking*, painting, 1878, Paris, Musée d'Orsay
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 Rousseau, Henri, *The Sleeping Gipsy*, 1897, New York, Museum of Modern Art
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Twentieth Century

- Picasso, Pablo, *Meditation*, watercolor and pen, 1904, New York, Collection Bertram Smith
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SPORT

Karen Pinkus

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Sport:

ANCIENT

SEVENTEENTH AND
EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Alexander Archipenko, *Struggle (La Lutte)*, also called *The Boxers* and *The Fight*, 1914, bronze, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Milwaukee Art Museum, purchase, Virginia Booth Vogel Acquisition Fund. (Courtesy of the Milwaukee Art Museum Collection, Purchase, Milwaukee, Wisconsin)

It is difficult to imagine an aspect of culture that is as universal as the concept of sport, but we should be careful to distinguish this from the game as structurally agonistic. The English word *sport* is a shortened form of the Middle English *disporten*, meaning to divert or disport. Etymologically, the word *sport* sustains the radical duality of *serio ludere* (sport as jest or pleasantry) and an engagement with a series of repeated physical motions that exercise an individual body and insert that body into a team of exercising bodies. Unlike the game, which figures prominently in various representational practices as a moment of tension between at least two opposing parties, sport can be considered as pure physical motion outside of considerations of intersubjective narrative, political or social conflict, or cultural exchange in general.

The iconography of sport includes representations of the athlete whose only “function” is to express the form or shape of the body engaged in some physical activity. A wide variety of cultures have produced sculptural or painterly representations of figures either in some typical pose (the discus thrower winding up for the throw, the runner in midstride) or holding a typical attribute (the “football” in pre-Columbian statues) that identifies that individual with the particular activity practiced. Generally, then, such figures “represent” a sport in spite of the fact that he or she is necessarily in a static position—a moment of repose or anticipation of the kinetic activity itself.

In addition to its proximity to the category of the game, sport can also be conflated at times with ritual. The famous Minoan wall paintings from the second millennium B.C. discovered at Knossos include a scene of bull dancing, in which a human figure practices what may have been part of a religious rite. Early depictions of the hunt, such as a bas-relief from the Assyrian Palace of Ashurbanipal, might serve a ritualistic function but also express some forms of heroism that serve to bolster the community or strengthen kinship or tribal bonds.

To distinguish sport from the game in a strict sense, however, sport should be defined as an act of pure motion. Yet in many cultures, the practice of various sports is inevitably linked with agon, ritual, or pre- or paramilitary activities (in Greek, *agon* can refer to an athletic competition or a battle to the death). In ancient narrative, sport is often a convenient device; a catalog of competitors may serve the same kind of function as the Homeric catalog of ships in *Iliad*, that is, as a way of keeping track of military divisions and their components. Roman mosaics of boxing and fighting discovered near Gafsa in Tunisia exemplify this sort of categorical function. Within these complex narratives, a victor is indicated by a laurel crown, or arbiters hold out a palm to the figure on top in a wrestling contest. Tables filled with prizes to be awarded are depicted in meticulous detail. Whatever else these mosaics accomplish, they serve as records of an actual cycle of games.

The difficulty in identifying the function of ancient sport representations is exemplified by the Hellenistic *Wrestling Group*, restored in the eighteenth century and now in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, Italy. Two naked men are tensely locked in a focused context. Although one figure appears dominant in relation to the other, scholars have struggled to interpret this incomplete sculpture without precise knowledge of the exact original position of the arms and legs. *Wrestling Group* might simply represent two athletes in the *pankration*, or it might have been sculpted to commemorate a particular victor. Such figure groups, indicating a struggle in progress (and not a final decision), were often made for exhibition in gymnasiums, where they served primarily decorative functions.

In both visual and verbal language, sport can serve as an elaborate metaphor for other, more socially “useful” activities. In Inuit culture, boys take up sports as a way of preparing themselves for adult male hunting tasks, and in many forms of so-called primitive representation this visual passage from “play” to “reality” should be understood as essential. Unlike games, often dedicated to, for example, a divine being, the nonagonistic sporting practice remains distant from specifically sacrificial activities but might be closely linked with hero worship in that the participants, often (although not exclusively) male and physically strong, embody certain cultural values to an especially high degree. For example, in *Iliad* (Book 23) the account of funeral games held to honor the dead soldier Patroclus suggests that the human figure being commemorated will enjoy a more “heroic” immortality because of the competitions; but the presence of the gods intervening in the outcome of the games also links this moment with the divine agon. These games appear in various visual contexts, including the Attic black-figure krater known as the *François Vase*, which includes the hunt of the Calydonian boar as well as the funeral games of Patroclus. The compositional limitations of the krater form dictated that figures in motion (the *esprit de corps*, so to speak) would essentially stand one behind another along a horizontal band with minimal interaction.

A similar composition can be found in various sculptural representations of sport. In a marble relief of a ball game (circa 510–500 B.C.) in the National Museum in Athens, Greece, male figures are lined up along a horizontal axis, some overlapping others in order to fit in the space. The sculpture is a very low relief and was apparently meant to serve as a base for a conventional kouros. The scenes include athletes practicing, and—something quite rare in Greek art—a team ball game with a player on the left throwing a ball into a playing arena.

It is fitting that this relief should have been intended as decoration for the base of a kouros. Indeed, counterparts to these narratives of games or sports are the many statues and drawn or painted figures of the heroic muscular youth that in some sense define classical aesthetics. The standing male (and espe-

cially the kouros) was the most common type of statue in the classical period. Such figures were used principally to represent athletes who had won in major games, even if we do not see these figures engaged in sport. The standard size of such figures was a little less than life-size. Not until the Hellenistic period did Greeks commission private sculptures for various purposes, such as to honor family members in games or athletic competitions (as distinct from cultic statues of deities in similar poses or sculptural styles).

The fifth-century *Discobolus*, attributed to the sculptor Myron of Eleutherae, perhaps one of the most famous antique statues, not only represents a male body engaging in sport but also is constitutive of an entirely aesthetic category of sculpture that cannot be separated from a certain image of masculinity. *Discus Thrower* (*Discobolus*) shows the athlete in a *contrapposto* position, about to launch his discus but straining in such a way that we see each flexed muscle. Critics have noticed that the athlete appears calm—more posed than in “motion.” *Discus Thrower* was probably constructed first as a frontal relief so that the back was carved out later. The same procedure was probably followed in the production of a bronze statue (circa 460 B.C.) found off Cape Artemisium, Greece, depicting either a god or an athlete (again, the difficulty in identification results from the widespread popularity of the nude male body). As with *Discus Thrower*, the Artemisium javelin thrower’s chest displays no muscular response to the action of the arms and could thus belong to a quite static figure.

Another ancient sculpture of importance for a discussion of sport is *Apoxyomenos*, or “man scraping himself.” The existing work, a marble statue of a life-size nude man with arm extended, is probably a copy of a bronze statue (circa 330 B.C.) attributed to Lysippus. If complete, the figure would have been holding a strigil—a long, thin scoop that athletes used to scrape themselves off after exercise. Thus, although this statue does not represent sport per se, it does provide information about the more mundane attention to the body associated with physical culture in the ancient world.

It is difficult to view these canonical classical bodies without considering the homoeroticism of the entire culture of the gymnasium—the tutelage of young boys by older men that was so central to the organization of social relations in Greece. As the nude male body tends to disappear over time from Western aesthetics, especially with the privileging of oil painting over other forms, the classical body becomes a more problematic and perhaps disturbing theme. The supernatural powers of the athlete are replaced by a more bourgeois conception of leisure time that also finds the reclining, inviting, sexualized female body as the object of a male gaze. In some narratives, sport is also a means of defining and ordering social groups. Only rich, well-born Greeks competed in the early games, setting the cultural paradigm for Western representational practices linking status with physical well-being. Women also participated in sports in antiquity, although they were banned from the Olympic Games. The figure of Atalanta, the mythological virgin huntress, was known for her expert skills as a runner, and she is represented in sculpture, vase painting, and other forms. Nevertheless, the figure of the athlete is most closely associated with masculine values, especially as it is imitated in later, neoclassical art.

Sport can be a social equalizer. In *Iliad*, even the last-place charioteer receives a prize (not as prestigious as those bestowed

to the winners of various events), signifying the importance of sport as a safety valve for social tensions rather than a purely competitive struggle to eliminate individuals. The *palio* races in medieval and Renaissance Italy that are represented, for example, on the walls of the Schifanoia Palace in Ferrara helped a community come to terms with its various classes and their interactions. Young men of noble distinction always came in first, and the most marginal social groups (prostitutes and Jews in the Ferrarese work) kept to the rear. The frescoes, painted for the d’Este family of Renaissance nobility, could not provide a more seamless account of how an entire community is ranked.

Pre-Columbian society played *pelote* (similar to jai alai), which was seen by Spanish colonizers as occupying an ambiguous position between ritual and sport, a distinction that would not have surfaced within the indigenous culture in such clearly oppositional terms. Representations of the ball players were often carved in bas-relief or statuary with a full frontal, full-body image holding the ball. A Mayan vase from the Charles W. Bowers Museum in Santa Ana, California, is inscribed with a mythological god playing with a hard rubber ball in the underworld. The focus of the composition is on the body and its musculature and on the playing apparatus itself. No other figures are present, implying the importance of sport for the exercise of the individual body over the element of competition. It is difficult to say whether such a representation constitutes an aesthetic category in the way that the athlete does within Greek culture, and any attempt to define its value as either ritualistic or merely representational would only repeat the binary structures imposed on the culture by its “civilized” observers.

In addition to being a social marker, sport can be a marker of time. During the Middle Ages in the West, pagan traditions from Islam and Rome interacted with events of the Roman Catholic church calendar for periodic games, including jousts, ball games, bearbaiting or bullbaiting, forms of billiards and bowling, and hunting. Tournaments and other events were organized by feudal lords and the clergy, either as aristocratic pastimes or as organized social activities for the general population. But the idea of regularly scheduled calisthenic movement for the masses was still inconceivable until the gradual increase in leisure time brought on by the Industrial Revolution. Thus, throughout the early modern period, the representation of sport (often interchangeable with notions of the game) often takes one of two forms: either a portrait of nobility or a social catalog or, in the case of a distinctive work like Pieter Bruegel the Elder’s *Children’s Games*, a broad metaphor in which the uselessness of games represents moral decrepitude but within the narratological tradition of the catalog.

During the early modern period, sport was often included as part of the education of a noble boy, and various manuals demonstrate body position or technique. An important fencing manual of the sixteenth century, Federico Ghislieri’s *Regole di molti cavagliereschi essercitii*, illustrates proper body position against geometric charts, vectors, and angles. Richly illustrated, the treatise follows Aristotelian theoretical principles of movement. Indeed, the tradition of utilizing visual aids for physical combat dates to the wrestlers at Beni Hasan, Egypt (2050 B.C.).

Like fencing or boxing, hunting is important to the self-representation of the elite classes. A princely hunt scene from a Shiraz manuscript of India shows the central figure (the prince) engaged in a duel, wielding his spear from atop a horse. The mul-

figured scene is typical of representations from a variety of cultures. In the West, the noble on horseback is a subgenre of portraiture in which both the rider and the horse display common aristocratic stances. The upper class also saw itself mirrored in “leisure” activities of spectatorship: Jean-Léon Gérôme’s *Pollice Verso* (*Thumbs Down*), a late-nineteenth-century oil painting, renders a bloody battle of Roman gladiators witnessed by a well-to-do audience in contemporary dress. There is a clear equation made in this work between the “nobility” of upper classes and the antiquity of ancient athletic practices.

With the birth of mass leisure and the rise of the middle classes, sport finally takes on the physiognomy of pastime. To the degree that the bourgeoisie lives as a reflection of (degraded) noble values, this is merely an appropriation of long-standing representational codes by a wide segment of the populace. In particular, gymnastics comes to embody the *new body* of the middle class. As an aesthetic code, this activity imitates the neo-classical, aristocratic, muscled body, but now its lines are not quite so attenuated, nor is it quite so stiff or perfected in its motions. Then again, this middle-class body, represented in mass culture in various poses (e.g., skiing, swimming, diving, ice-skating, and stretching), will be filtered down into a working-class ideal, thickened at the waist in fascism, and desexualized. A poster for a diving exhibition from the Soviet Union includes images of identical, perfect, degendered bodies in a “totalitarian” formation. But we should add a cautionary note: These forms of sport in art officially commissioned by modern political regimes do not necessarily correspond with working-class practices themselves. Activities such as pub sports, gambling, betting on horses, and bowling are not necessarily part of any artistic canon, nor do they find specific, codified cultural paradigms. On the other hand, contemporary mass culture, especially various forms of advertising, abounds with elements of the sporting body, and this is true over a wide spectrum of ethnic and national boundaries.

In the context of American painting, George Bellows’s striking fight scene *Stag at Sharkey’s* (1909) takes liberties with realism but captures the savage brutality of the ring. When criticized for his loose attention to anatomy and musculature, Bellows was quoted as saying, “I don’t know anything about boxing. I’m just painting two men trying to kill each other.” Although born in the Midwestern United States, Bellows was trained at the New York School of Art, and this work exemplifies rough-minded realism rather than classical ideals of the body in motion.

In modernism, there seems to be an inevitable link between sports and nationalism that was finally crystallized in fascist and totalitarian physical education policies. For example, in countless representations from the 1920s and 1930s, individual bodies lose their identities to a formation. Nazi propaganda of mass rallies, photography of sporting events, and so on enter the mass cultural vocabulary. We might conclude, finally, that the modernist and totalitarian revival of the classical body in this context produces a new aesthetic but one that inevitably mimics sports from the ancient world and so raises troubling questions about the centrality of athletic activity to any cohesive social group (and thus even to a liberal democracy). In Italy, the futurists were very interested in the “pure motion” of sport. Works such as Umberto Boccioni’s *Dynamism of a Cyclist* capture the athlete in the midst of his activity.

Alexander Archipenko’s *The Boxers*, a bronze cubist sculpture, reflects the ancient practice of reducing sport to a representation of ideal, harmonious muscular effort. This piece was sculpted during Archipenko’s “golden section” phase. Along with other cubists, Archipenko belonged to a movement that sought a return to the pure and harmonious measurements of antiquity. As a theme, then, sport transcends the beauty of pure motion and forces the viewer to consider the supremacy of the body in its possible relation with divinity or sublimity.

This notion of sport transcendent is finally codified in the heroization of the demiurgic athlete, such as American basketball star Michael Jordan, with his image emblazoned on a wide variety of media, from T-shirts to billboards, which are so dominant in current visual culture. Called “Air Jordan” for his ability to “float” around the basket, Jordan is routinely deified in print advertisements and commercials that either exaggerate his actual physical capabilities or simply represent his body in motion as an ideal and associated with a product on the market.

See also Hunting/Hunter/Huntress; Naked/Nude

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

Lion Hunt, bas-relief, ninth century B.C., Ninevah, Assyria, North Palace of Ashurbanipal

Kleitias, *François Vase*, Attic black-figure krater, circa 575 B.C., from Chiusi, Italy, now in Florence, Italy, Museo Archeologico

Figure of a Running Girl, bronze, circa 550–520 B.C., from Prisrend, Yugoslavia, now in London, British Museum

Myron, *Discus Thrower* (*Discobolus*), bronze sculpture, Roman copy after Greek original, circa 450 B.C., Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano

Apoxyomenos, marble sculpture, Roman copy after Greek original, circa 330 B.C., Vatican

Wrestling Group, Hellenistic sculpture fragment, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Apollonios of Athens, *Seated Boxer*, bronze, circa 50 B.C., Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano

Mayan Vase, A.D. 550–950, Santa Ana, California, Charles W. Bowers Museum

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Velázquez, Diego, *Portrait of Gaspar de Guzman* (on horseback), painting, circa 1634, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Nineteenth Century

Katsushita Hokusai, *Wrestlers*, sketch, 1814–1815

Gérôme, Jean-Léon, *Pollice Verso* (*Thumbs Down*), painting, 1872, Phoenix, Arizona, Phoenix Art Museum

Twentieth Century

Luks, George, *The Wrestlers*, oil on canvas, 1905, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Bellows, George, *Stag at Sharkey’s*, oil, 1909, Cleveland, Ohio, Cleveland Museum of Art

- Bellows, George, *Both Members of This Club*, oil on canvas, 1909, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Gleizes, Albert, *Football Player*, oil on canvas, 1912–1913, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
- Gill, Eric, *Boys Boxing*, sculpture, 1913, London, Tate Gallery
- Archipenko, Alexander, *The Boxers*, bronze sculpture, 1914, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Milwaukee Art Museum
- Bellows, George, *Dempsey and Firpo*, oil on canvas, 1924, New York, Whitney Museum of American Art
- Klutsis, Gustav, *Spartakiada Divers*, colored paper, collage, photomontage, and gouache on cardboard, Riga, State Art Museum of Latvia
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SUBLIME

David D. Nolta

The following genres and periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Sublime:

LANDSCAPE: RENAISSANCE

LANDSCAPE: SEVENTEENTH
AND EIGHTEENTH
CENTURIES

LANDSCAPE: NINETEENTH
CENTURY

FIGURAL WORKS:
RENAISSANCE

FIGURAL WORKS:

SEVENTEENTH AND
EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

FIGURAL WORKS:
NINETEENTH CENTURY



Gian Lorenzo Bernini, *The Ecstasy of St. Teresa*, 1647, sculpture, Rome, S. Maria della Vittoria, Cornaro Chapel. (Courtesy of Alinari/Art Resource, New York)

The term sublime is most commonly used in the adjectival sense to describe natural or man-made wonders of noble or exalted character that arrest the sight of, and inspire awe in, the viewer. However, to determine and explore an iconography of the sublime, it is also helpful to consider the word's more technical, scientific connotation: a verb meaning to purify a solid by heating it to its gaseous state, then recondensing the vapor. The following discussion consequently takes into account not only sublime art—art that is or represents what is powerful and awe-inspiring, a highly subjective topic—but the art of the sublime—art that deals with the confrontation of the physical world, especially the tangible human body, with the spiritual world, with death, and with God, a confrontation that, whether it results in purification or destruction, inevitably leads to a complete human transformation.

The most celebrated discussion of the sublime in ancient times is found in a treatise traditionally ascribed to the Greek rhetorician and philosopher Longinus, whose origins are vague and controversial. *Peri Hupsous* (early first century A.D., *On the Sublime*) deals almost exclusively with locating the sublime in literature and identifying those qualities that make the works of Homer and the Greek dramatists worthy of the term. For Longinus, these qualities are summarized as “an eminence and excellence in language,” and an effect of ecstasy rather than persuasion. Although Longinus's *On the Sublime* does not specifically address the visual arts, the general ideas of his writings were extracted and applied to the visual arts by considerably later European, and especially English, writers during the Enlightenment's revival of ancient critical methods and concerns. It is to these eighteenth-century writers that we owe our modern conception of the sublime in the visual arts, and of sublimity as a criterion for regarding the visible world.

What Longinus is to the classical idea of the sublime in literature, Edmund Burke is to the modern idea of the sublime in art. Like its ancient prototypes, Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) is a fairly theoretical text. It contains numerous references to classical literature, William Shakespeare, and John Milton. In addition, Burke further isolates and examines individual components of the natural world—for instance, light and color—and their role in producing a sublime vision in the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture. For example, generally speaking, monumentality and shadow increase the sublime element in architecture, as do somber or dark colors and vast perspectives in painting. The result of these numerous, detailed postulates is not, however, a general formula for the creation of sublime works of art, which ultimately depends upon the presence of genius. Nevertheless, in his attempt to elucidate the differences between the sublime and the beautiful, and in associating the former with magnificence, drama, darkness, and terror, Burke at once summarized and shaped much

of the eighteenth-century response to the Italian Renaissance and post-Renaissance art so idolized by his countrymen during what was the age of “the grand tour.”

Many of Burke's contemporaries and followers were also interested in issues of the sublime in art, most notable among them being the writer Horace Walpole and the first president of the Royal Academy, Sir Joshua Reynolds. From the writings of these and others arose a concept of artistic sublimity based upon the physical magnitude of the work, the physical magnitude of the subject represented, the grandeur of the artist's conception, the dramatic richness of the representation, and the skill in its execution. For example, the monumental works of Michelangelo, whose virtuosity had long since rendered them divine in the eyes of his commentators, became perfect specimens of the sublime.

Gradually, however, the term sublime came to be used predominantly, if not exclusively, in reference to an unofficial school of landscape painting, the father and most brilliant exponent of which was Salvator Rosa, a seventeenth-century painter from the south of Italy whose name became synonymous with the sublime. In any of a large corpus of landscapes attributed to Rosa, all the properties of the sublime landscape can be seen: dark and threatening skies, windblown and blasted trees, unquiet seas, ruined castles, jagged rocks, and the gaping black jaws of caves. Above all, these scenes evoke an ever-present sense of danger, whether from the storm clouds, from the *banditti* (bandits) who lurk in the middle ground, or from some source outside the picture frame.

Rosa had a great number of copyists and followers in Italy and abroad, most of whom followed, without significant variation, the master's formulas for the sublime landscape. Rosa also had a profound influence on later landscape artists of the highest originality and merit. The true heir to the genius of Rosa, and the culmination of two centuries of sublime landscape painting, was the nineteenth-century English artist Joseph Mallord William Turner, who in fact considered himself the rival of the great seventeenth-century landscape painters, particularly Claude Lorrain. In works such as *The Slave Ship* (1840), which depicts the barbarism of sailors on board a ship trapped in a violent storm at sea, Turner captures the inexorable rage of nature. Here again are the elements of the traditional sublime landscape—the dark sky and seas, the wind, and the danger—but utterly transformed into a scene of unprecedented magnitude and drama. In numerous depictions of storms and avalanches, Turner explored the possibilities of the sublime landscape, and he remains the greatest practitioner of the genre in modern times.

Several of Turner's scenes of natural disasters allude, at least nominally, to biblical events such as the Flood. This is also true of the visionary paintings by Turner's fellow Englishman, John Martin. In a work such as Martin's *Belshazzar's Feast* (1820),

the viewer is confronted with a panorama of architecture and nature that functions as an active backdrop to a scene of divine retribution. The Old Testament was especially rich in literary images long considered sublime and therefore worthy of translation into large-scale paintings and sculptures. In particular, Genesis and the Book of Job provided Burke and numerous other writers and artists, most obviously William Blake, with examples of, and inspiration for, visions of the confrontation between human beings and their maker in the infinite spaces of the newly created world. (St. John and John Milton were also natural sources.) Of course, Blake wasn't a landscape painter, but the absorption of the sublime by the landscape genre was very much an incomplete eighteenth-century phenomenon.

The most important feature of the art of the sublime, which is a constant, whether the work is a landscape painting or a monumental figural sculpture is the participation of a divine force. The presence of a Creator, acting through, or interchangeable with, the powerful forces of nature, is assumed in the landscapes of the sublime from Rosa to Turner. The confrontation between human beings and God, whether on a personal or apocalyptic scale, has been one of the great concerns of Western artists since primitive times, particularly those of the late Renaissance and Baroque periods. Examples of the sublime in art prior to the formalization of theories on the subject in the eighteenth century can be found in the works of such masters as Titian and Correggio. Correggio, in his celebrated mythological paintings *The Rape of Ganymede* and *Jupiter and Io* (circa 1532), both now in Vienna, Austria, depicted intimate encounters between gods and mortals. In each case, the emotional reaction of the human being is a complex mixture of fear and pleasure. In the expression of Io, especially, the artist has successfully depicted the ecstasy that is, according to Longinus, the effect of a sublime experience.

In the Ovidian tale of Jupiter and Io, the maiden Io is ultimately transformed into a heifer by her union with the king of the gods, Jupiter. When viewed in this sense, as the destruction or transformation of a human being as a result of an encounter with the divine, the sublime experience can be understood as life's climactic experience, irrevocably altering both body and spirit. This is, of course, as much the subject of Turner's *The Slave Ship* as it is of Correggio's mythologies.

The artist most interested in, and renowned for, depicting such experiences was the Italian Baroque sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini. *The Ecstasy of St. Teresa* (1647), and even more subtly *The Death of the Blessed Ludovica Albertoni* (1674), combine all the elements of the sublime: from the encounter of a mortal creature with God—present by proxy in the angel of *The Ecstasy*, and invisible but unmistakable in the facial expression and electrified draperies of the dying Ludovica—to the seeming infinitude of space and time in which the mystical events occur. Bernini's work can be seen as the culmination of the art of the sublime, insofar as it both successfully portrays human beings immersed in sublime experiences and reproduces the sublimity of the vision or interaction for the external observer.

Like Rosa's monumental works of nature, or the paintings of later artists in which natural wonders are represented, the effect of Bernini's sculptures is, to borrow from Longinus on the speeches of the great orators, "like a lightning flash" that reveals "at a stroke and in its entirety" the genius of the artist.

Although the illustration of experiences traditionally identified as sublime decreases throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is possible to extend our conception of the sublime in art to include much of the modern art, whether abstract or surreal, that seeks to address and explore the spiritual, the supernatural, and the human relationship to the divine that is the essence of the sublime.

See also Apocalypse; Ecstasy

Selected Works of Art

Landscape: Renaissance

Leonardo da Vinci, *Landscape with a Storm in the Alps*, drawings, circa 1503

Landscape: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Rosa, Salvator, *Landscape with the Finding of Moses*, circa 1650, Cincinnati, Ohio, Art Museum

Poussin, Nicolas, *Winter*, from the *Four Seasons*, 1660–1664, Paris, Louvre

Peeters, Bonaventura, *A Shipwreck off the American Coast*, circa 1648

Ruisdael, Jacob van, *The Jewish Cemetery*, circa 1670, Dresden, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

Ruisdael, Jacob van, *The Portuguese-Jewish Cemetery, St. Oudekerk*, 1660–1670, Detroit, Michigan, Detroit Institute of Art

Rosa, Salvator, *Landscape with Soldiers and Hunters*, before 1673, Paris, Louvre

Wilson, Richard, *The Destruction of Niobe's Children*, circa 1760–1761, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Wright, Joseph, of Derby, *An Eruption of Mount Vesuvius, Seen from Portici*, oil on canvas, 1774–1776, Aberystwyth, University College of Wales

Wright, Joseph, of Derby, *Eruption of Mount Vesuvius with the Procession of St. Januarius' Head*, circa 1778, Moscow, Russia, Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts

Volaire, Pierre-Jacques, *Eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 1771*, 1779, Rouen, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Landscape: Nineteenth Century

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- Turner, Joseph Mallord William, *The Slave Ship*, 1840, Boston, Massachusetts, Museum of Fine Arts
- Martin, John, *The Great Day of His Wrath*, 1851–1854, London, Tate Gallery
- Hamilton, James, *Last Days of Pompeii*, 1864, New York, Brooklyn Museum
- Innes, George, *Niagara Falls*, 1893, Washington, D.C., Hirshhorn Museum

Figural Works: Renaissance

- Correggio, *Jupiter and Io*, circa 1532, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum
- Michelangelo, *The Last Judgment*, 1535–1538, Vatican, Sistine Chapel

Figural Works: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

- Caravaggio, *The Conversion of St. Paul*, 1601, Rome, S. Maria del Popolo
- Lanfranco, Giovanni, *The Ecstasy of St. Margaret of Cortona*, circa 1618–1620, Florence, Italy, Palazzo Pitti
- Rosa, Salvator, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, circa 1645–1649, Florence, Italy, Palazzo Pitti
- Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, *The Ecstasy of St. Teresa*, sculpture, 1647, Rome, S. Maria della Vittoria, Cornaro Chapel
- Bernini, Gian Lorenzo, *The Death of the Blessed Ludovica Albertoni*, 1674
- Jones, Thomas, *The Bard*, 1774, Cardiff, National Museum of Wales
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Figural Works: Nineteenth Century

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- Friedrich, Caspar David, *Monk by the Sea*, 1809, Berlin, Germany, Staatliche Schlösser, Gärten und Seen
- Blake, William, illustrations for Dante's *Divine Comedy*, chalk, pencil, pen, and watercolor, 1824–1827
- Briullov, Karl Pavlovič, *The Last Day of Pompeii*, oil on canvas, 1830–1833, St. Petersburg, Russia, Russian Museum
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TEMPTATION

Alicia Craig Faxon

The following iconographic narratives are covered in the discussion of the theme Temptation:

ODYSSEUS

AENEAS

ADAM AND EVE

DAVID AND BATHSHEBA

TEMPTATION OF CHRIST

TEMPTATION OF
ST. ANTHONY

TEMPTATION TO RICHES

LITERARY THEMES

SECULAR TEMPTATION



Martin Schongauer, *St. Anthony Battling with Demons*, late fifteenth century, engraving, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Gift of Mrs. W. Scott Fitz and Duplicate Print Fund. (Courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Temptation is that which tempts or tries a person's desires and character. We see the crux of the matter in the immortal words of Oscar Wilde: "I can resist everything except temptation. . . ." (*Lady Windermere's Fan*, act II). One person's temptation might be another's salvation. Everyone's temptation is different, but there are major temptations we all share, such as those to power, wealth, acceptance, sensuality, knowledge, control, and pride.

In classical literature, the temptation is often love or ease. The heroes are tempted to give up their larger mission. This, of course, is very male oriented. The battle, the voyage, or the mission is all-important, and this is appropriate for a society dominated by the masculine values that created such sagas as *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and *Aeneid*. In *Odyssey*, temptation is presented in the form of the beautiful nymph Calypso, with whom Odysseus dallies until recalled by Athena, the goddess of wisdom, to his mission (*Odyssey*, Book V). In a similar manner, his men are tempted to a life of slothful ease and pleasure in the land of the lotus-eaters until Odysseus recalls them to their duty (*Odyssey*, Book IX). Circe as temptress lures men by their sensual appetites and then turns them into swine in Book X of *Odyssey*, until Odysseus forces her to return them to their rightful forms so they can get on with their voyage. The temptation to give up a mission or take the easy way out was one that a male-dominated society could not tolerate. A similar temptation occurs in Book IV of Virgil's *Aeneid* when Aeneas wants to stay in Carthage with Dido, but Zeus, the king of the gods, calls him to his duty to found Rome (stanza 35), leaving Dido to immolate herself on a funeral pyre.

The earliest biblical temptation story precedes the Fall of Adam and Eve in Genesis 3. Here Eve is tempted by the serpent to eat the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge (traditionally an apple but not named as such in the account) and to pass the fruit on to Adam. After they have eaten, they realize that they are naked, so they make aprons of leaves and hide when God appears in the garden. Their disobedience is recognized when Adam says that they hid because they were naked, and God replies, "Who told thee that thou wast naked? Hast thou eaten of the tree, whereof I commanded thee that thou shouldest not eat?" (Genesis 3:11). Adam then blames Eve, who in turn says that the serpent made her do it, a scene perfectly embodied in early Christian art on the relief of the bronze doors of Bishop Bernward on the Church of St. Michael's in Hildesheim, Germany (1015), where God points accusingly at Adam, who points at Eve, who points down to the serpent.

A twelfth-century relief of Eve by Gislebertus at the Cathedral of Autun in France shows Eve undulating through foliage like a serpent, making her the tempter, not the serpent. The blaming of woman as a symbol of the flesh responsible for the world's ills is not exclusive to Christianity; it occurs also in Buddhism, Hinduism, and other religions. Psychological literature accounts

for it as part of the Oedipus complex (the prohibition of the father to the son against annexing the mother) and as a projection of a person's desires onto the object desired, thereby blaming the object as temptation rather than one's own desires.

The temptation in Genesis has provided innumerable artists with an important visual theme, among them Albrecht Dürer in an engraving of Adam and Eve; Michelangelo on the Sistine Chapel ceiling in the Vatican; Lucas Cranach in the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum in Boston; Titian in the Prado in Madrid, Spain; Peter Paul Rubens in the Mauritshuis in The Hague, The Netherlands; and countless illustrations for the Bible.

In 1504, Dürer made an engraving of the first man and woman in Eden before the Fall. Both were intended to show the acme of God's creation: Adam, standing on the left, modeled after *Apollo Belvedere*, the most esteemed example of classical male grace from antiquity, and Eve, facing him in profile on the right, intended as an example of perfect female-figure proportions. The serpent, wound around the tree in the center of the composition that divides the pair, gives an apple to Eve while Adam holds a partially eaten fruit. Around the pair four animals—a cat, an elk, a hare, and an ox, symbols of the four humors or temperaments of humanity—indicate that all of Adam and Eve's descendants are implicated in the temptation and Fall. This version of temptation contrasts with Dürer's two oil panels of *Adam* and *Eve*, painted four years later. Here, both figures are shown frontally, the serpent and tree on Eve's side on the far right and Adam holding an untouched apple on a branch. This pair indicates a change in Dürer's ideal of perfect human proportions, as they are more slender than the engraved figures, with a ratio of around nine heads to body length instead of the earlier eight. The later Adam and Eve have more Germanic features and coloring and seem to float rather than stand firmly on the ground, as in the earlier engraving. The overall effect seems more Gothic than Italian Renaissance, perhaps even protomannerist. Placing the serpent on Eve's side seems to reflect blame on her for temptation rather than on both, as implied in the earlier version.

Other occasions of temptation in the Old Testament and Apocrypha present women as temptresses, as in the episode of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, painted by Rembrandt van Rijn and other artists. In the account of Susanna and the Elders in the Apocrypha, Susanna, although clearly a victim, represents Temptation, as does Bathsheba, the wife of Uriah the Hittite, whom David sees bathing on the roof. As told in II Samuel 11 and 12, David, tempted by seeing the unaware Bathsheba, sends for her. When she becomes pregnant by him, he tries to recall her husband Uriah home from the war. However, Uriah does not cohabit with Bathsheba and is returned to the thick of battle, where he is killed. David then takes Bathsheba as one of his many wives.

The tempting figure of Bathsheba bathing appears in various compositions and interpretations. The mannerist painting of Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *Bathsheba in the Bath* (1694), ignores the text and sets the scene in a landscape. The nude Bathsheba appears in three-quarter view on the right, contrasting with a black female nude next to her and the back view of another nude on the left, all seated at a tiled pool. Here, the biblical story served only as a pretext to show contrasting female nude figures and poses. Rubens's treatment painted in 1636 shows a semidraped blonde woman at a fountain; a Moorish page brings her David's message on the right. In Rembrandt's *Bathsheba* (1654), the letter is the focal point of the scene. Bathsheba, shown nude in three-quarter view on the right, is having her feet washed by a kneeling maid on the left as she meditates on the letter that has just arrived; her expression is thoughtful and melancholy. At least two of Rembrandt's followers essayed this theme from very different perspectives. Willem Drost's *Bathsheba* (1654) depicts a half-length, partially draped nude looking out at the viewer with a distinctly seductive gaze. Nicolaes Maes's *Bathsheba* (circa 1655) shows the woman in a landscape, next to a fountain rather than on a roof (as in the biblical account) and nude from the rear and reading the letter from David. A tree behind appears to bear fruit—a possible reference to the temptation in the Garden of Eden.

Artemisia Gentileschi's *David and Bathsheba* (circa 1640–1645) presents a completely different pose and setting. Here, the partially draped Bathsheba is shown frontally in three-quarter pose, slightly to the right of center in the foreground, before a balustrade. A kneeling maid on the left holds a silver basin with water as Bathsheba turns to the right to look at the necklace her maid is displaying. In the distant background left, David watches Bathsheba from the balcony of a classical palace while a maid behind and to the left of Bathsheba prepares to hand her his letter. The right background, an elegant park, is the work of Domenico Gargiolo; the background architecture is the work of Viviano Codazzi. Gentileschi reserved her talent for the main figural work. As this is a daytime scene, bright light accentuates the figure of Bathsheba, the back of the kneeling maid, and the figure of the maid on the right, who is dressed in elegant gold and light blue. The figures are more slender than in Gentileschi's early work, with small heads in proportion to body length and more classical restraint of emotions. Here, we see the setting for temptation before Bathsheba is even aware of David's intentions, her seminude body vulnerable as well as beautiful. She is clearly not an obvious temptress but more of a victim of events over which she has no control.

In the New Testament, the account of Christ's temptation in the wilderness appears in Matthew 4:1–11, Mark 1:13, and Luke 4:1–13. Here, the devil presents three classic temptations to Christ, who is fasting 40 days and 40 nights in the desert. First, the devil asked Christ to prove he was really the son of God by transforming stones into bread for food—a real temptation to Jesus, who was hungry. Jesus answers, "It is written, man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God" (Matthew 4:4). Second, the devil took him up to the pinnacle of the temple and said, "If thou be the Son of God, cast thyself down: for it is written, He shall give his angels charge concerning thee: and in their hands

they shall bear thee up, lest at any time thou dash thy foot against a stone," but Jesus replies, "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God" by compelling him to perform a miracle to show his own power (Matthew 4:6–7). Finally, the devil shows Jesus all the kingdoms of the world that will be his if he will worship the devil. Jesus replies, "Get thee hence, Satan: for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve" (Matthew 4:10).

Luke reverses the last two temptations, which seems a more correct account, as temptation to worldly wealth and power might be less than the temptation to prove divinity. In art, the temptation of Christ appears in the eighth-century *Book of Kells* in the Trinity College Library in Dublin, Ireland, and in works by Duccio (a totally black devil framed against a gold background in the Frick Collection in New York), Botticelli (Sistine Chapel in the Vatican), and Tintoretto (Scuola di S. Rocco in Venice, Italy), among others. The contrast between the Duccio *Temptation* and that of Tintoretto is extreme. Duccio's *Temptation*, part of the *Maestà Altarpiece* in the Cathedral in Siena, Italy, is in an iconic Sienese style and shows Christ on the right above a stylized landscape, flanked by angels, sternly pointing to a retreating black devil on the left. Tintoretto, on the other hand, playing with extreme lights and darks, shows the devil as a crouching, insidious tempter in the dark shadows.

Another temptation of Christian tradition is the temptation of St. Anthony. Anthony was a rich young Egyptian of the fourth century who gave up his life of wealth and ease to live in the desert as a hermit. Fed by a raven that brought a loaf of bread every day, Anthony resisted multiple temptations by devils. The temptations of a holy man by demons excited artists' imaginations, inspiring them to portray all types of devilish forms. An astounding engraving by Martin Schongauer in the late fifteenth century has the saint being lifted into the sky by grotesque demons who pull his hair, robe, and hands and beat him with cudgels. The demons have strange animal faces, and many have insectlike bodies—the northern imagination represented in its darker aspects. The hallucinatory quality of the saint's ordeal externalizes his inner demons and possibly echoes the reptilian and insect life of the desert.

A similar grotesque rendering of St. Anthony tempted by multiple demons appears on a wing of Matthias Grünewald's *Isenheim Altarpiece* in the Musée Unterlinden in Colmar, France, with an added element of brilliant, discordant color. The *Temptation of St. Anthony* that Gustave Flaubert saw at the Palazzo Balbi inspired him to write his *Temptation of St. Anthony* between 1845 and 1872. In turn, Flaubert's book inspired a number of artists to give their own version of the subject, among them Félicien Rops, in the Bibliothèque Albert 1er in Brussels, Belgium; Fernand Khnopff in a private collection in Brussels; and Odilon Redon, who produced three print cycles. The young Paul Cézanne painted *The Temptation of St. Anthony* (circa 1870) in the Foundation E. H. Bührle Collection in Zurich, Switzerland, in which the saint in the background is almost invisible among the nude women who tempt him (perhaps more a portrait of Cézanne's temptations than St. Anthony's). By the nineteenth century, temptation by women had replaced the horrific demons of the Gothic imagination.

Another temptation mentioned in the Bible is the temptation of riches. It occurs in the gospels of Matthew (19:20–24) and

Luke (18:21–25), who tell the story of the rich young ruler who could not give up his wealth when Jesus asked him to sell all he had and follow him. George Frederic Watts beautifully realized the story before 1904 in a painting in the Watts Gallery in Compton, England, that shows an opulently dressed young man turning away sorrowfully, “For he had great possessions” (Matthew 19:22). Jesus went on to point out in Matthew 19:23 and Luke 18:25, “It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.”

This theme is continued in I Timothy 6:7–10: “For we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out. And having food and raiment let us be therewith content. But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil.”

In literature, the theme of temptation has been prominent, from *The Confessions of St. Augustine* to the present. William Shakespeare made it a motivating force in *Measure for Measure*, when the Duke’s deputy Angelo is tempted to lust by the pleas of Isabella to save the life of her brother Claudio, imprisoned for fornication. It is especially ironic that the very sin that Angelo condemns in Claudio becomes his own temptation in act II, scene II, and in act II, scene IV, when Isabella returns the next day to plead for her brother’s life. Angelo says he will remit the sentence if Isabella, a novice in a convent, will yield her body to his desires. Here, an element in the nature of temptation is revealed to suggest that we repress consciously or unconsciously in ourselves the temptations we most condemn in others, or as T. S. Eliot, paraphrasing Charles Baudelaire’s preface to *Les Fleurs du Mal*, puts it in *The Wasteland*, “You! Hypocrite lecteur!—mon semblable—mon frère!” (l. 76). (You! Hypocrite reader—my mirror image—my brother!). William Holman Hunt’s painting *Claudio and Isabella* (1850–1853) depicts Claudio’s temptation to save his life at the expense of his sister’s chastity in *Measure for Measure*. Here, the options and temptations are clearly spelled out. Claudio, in chains on the left, stands before a window opening to a sunny landscape, a symbol of life and freedom. His sister, in nun’s white robes on the right, reacts with grief and horror to his plea to sacrifice herself for his life, her hands on his chest as he moodily fingers his manacles.

Shakespeare uses Othello’s temptation to jealousy by Iago as the motivating element of his play *Othello*. Succumbing to this temptation, Othello kills Desdemona and then commits suicide, destroyed by suspicion from within and by temptation from without.

Another secular temptation appears in seventeenth-century Dutch art in representations of the procuress, or brothel proprietor. Here, the image of sexual temptation is very clear, as in Dirck van Baburen’s *Procuress* (1622) in which a jolly and obviously available lady plays a lute on the left as the cavalier in the center looks longingly at her and an old hag on the right holds out her palm, insisting on a fee. Jan Vermeer’s early work *The Procuress* (1654) is a little more subtle, with a fully clothed and bonneted lady on the right being fondled by an admirer with a hat askew who hands her a coin while the procuress in black on his right looks on eagerly. An elegant gentleman with slashed jacket and lace collar on the far left looks at the viewer knowingly, as if to invite us to enjoy the spectacle. Vermeer’s

painting, unlike the quiet interiors of his later scenes, is influenced by the low-life subject matter of the Utrecht School, of which Dirck van Baburen was a member. Vermeer was an art dealer as well as an artist in later life and must have owned the van Baburen *Procuress*, which appears on the wall in Vermeer’s *Concert* (circa 1670).

Sexual temptation is the motivating force in Nathaniel Hawthorne’s novel *The Scarlet Letter*. The temptation lies in the minister’s relationship with Hester Prynne, although it is she who wears the scarlet letter of adultery. The temptation to avarice on the part of the miser dominates George Eliot’s novel *Silas Marner*. In the twentieth century, Nikos Kazantzakis’s novel *The Last Temptation* provides a new interpretation of the temptation of Christ. Obviously, there is no end to temptation.

See also Adultery; Choice/Choosing; Sin/Sinning

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Odysseus

Lairesse, Gerard de, *Odysseus and Calypso*, oil, circa 1690, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
Böcklin, Arnold, *Odysseus and Calypso*, oil, 1869, private collection

Aeneas

Siene School, *The Story of Dido*, oil, fifteenth century, Avignon, France, Musée du Petit Palais
Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *The Meeting of Dido and Aeneas*, oil, circa 1480, Portland, Oregon, Portland Museum of Art
Claude Lorrain, *Dido Showing Aeneas Carthage*, oil, 1676, Hamburg, Germany, Kunsthalle
Turner, Joseph Mallord William, *Dido and Aeneas*, oil, 1814, London, Clore Gallery

Adam and Eve

Adam and Eve, bronze door, 1015, Hildesheim, Germany, Church of St. Michael
Gislebertus, *Eve*, relief, twelfth century, Autun, France, Cathedral
Masolino, *Temptation*, circa 1425, Florence, Italy, Sta. Maria del Carmine, Brancacci Chapel
Della Quercia, Jacopo, *Temptation*, marble bas-relief, 1425–1438, Bologna, Italy, S. Petronio
Dürer, Albrecht, *Adam and Eve*, 1504, engraving
Michelangelo, *Temptation and Expulsion*, ceiling fresco, 1508–1512, Vatican, Sistine Chapel
Titian, *The Fall of Man*, oil, 1565–1570, Madrid, Spain, Prado
Rubens, Peter Paul, *Adam and Eve*, oil, circa 1620, The Hague, The Netherlands, Mauritshuis

David and Bathsheba

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Bathsheba*, 1636, Dresden, Germany, Staatliche Gemäldegalerie
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Drost, Willem, *Bathsheba*, 1654, Paris, Louvre
 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Bathsheba*, 1654, Paris, Louvre
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 Cornelisz. van Haarlem, *Bathsheba in the Bath*, 1694, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Temptation of Christ

The Temptation of Christ in the *Book of Kells*, manuscript illumination, eighth century, Dublin, Ireland, Trinity College Library
 Duccio, *The Temptation of Christ*, oil and tempera on panel, circa 1308–1311, New York, Frick Collection
 Botticelli, *The Temptation of Christ*, fresco, 1481–1482, Vatican, Sistine Chapel
 Tintoretto, *The Temptation of Christ*, oil, 1577–1581, Venice, Italy, Scuola di S. Rocco
 Magnasco, Alessandro (Lissandrino), *Christ Tempted by the Devil*, oil on canvas, circa 1715
 Kokoschka, Oskar, *The Temptation of Christ*, oil, 1911–1912, Vienna, Austria, Österreichische Galerie

Temptation of St. Anthony

Schongauer, Martin, *St. Anthony Battling with Demons*, engraving, late fifteenth century, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
 Grünewald, Matthias, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, from *Isenheim Altarpiece*, oil on panel, circa 1515, Colmar, France, Musée Unterlinden
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 Dalí, Salvador, *Temptation of Saint Anthony*, oil on canvas, 1946, Brussels, Belgium, Musée Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique

Temptation to Riches

Watts, George Frederic, *The Rich Young Ruler* or “*For He Had Great Possessions*,” oil, before 1904, Compton, England, Watts Gallery

Literary Themes

Hunt, William Holman, *Claudio and Isabella* (from William Shakespeare’s *Measure for Measure*) oil, 1850–1853, London, Tate Gallery

Secular Temptation

Baburen, Dirck van, *The Procuress*, 1622, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts
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TOILET SCENES

Diane Apostolos-Cappadona

The following periods and iconographic narratives are covered in the discussion of the theme Toilet Scenes:

ANCIENT AND CLASSICAL
RENAISSANCE

SEVENTEENTH AND
EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

NINETEENTH AND
TWENTIETH CENTURIES

BATHSHEBA AT THE BATH
SUSANNA AT THE BATH



Toilet of Queen Kawit, Eighteenth Dynasty, bas-relief from the Queen's Burial Chamber in the Funerary Temple of Monthuhotep-Nebhepaire, Deir el Bahri, Thebes, Egypt, Cairo, Egyptian Museum.
(Courtesy of Max Hirmer)

The topos of the lady's toilet (or *toilette*), found throughout the history of Western art, derives from the classical theme of the *hieros gamos* (sacred marriage), which was a common aspect of all world mythologies. The sacred marriage of the primordial earth mother to the sky father, or that between the gods and goddesses of the mythological pantheon, is a prefiguration of the earthly marriage of men and women. The primordial *hieros gamos* of the earth mother and the sky father explained the creation of the fertility of the Earth and, thereby, its sustenance of human life. The classical prototype of the toilet scene evolved from the Egyptian toilet of Hathor. As the Egyptian goddess of love and joy, Hathor protected women and presided as deity over the bridal toilet.

The common elements found in the topos of toilet scenes in Western iconography are a beautiful young woman, usually partially nude, with long flowing hair (possibly being combed or dressed either by the woman herself or by her maidservant), a mirror, hairdressing implements, ointment jars and perfume bottles, jewelry, cosmetic jars and brushes, flowers and/or fruits, a little dog or cat, and a maidservant. All of the toilet scenes with these elements have a direct relationship to Western cultural interpretations of being female and to the initiation of a virginal young girl into womanhood, especially in the theme of the bridal toilet.

The depiction of a physically beautiful young woman, especially in a state of partial nudity, suggests the female generative powers and the cycle of human procreation. Most often, the young woman is seated either looking at her reflection in the mirror, combing her hair, or arranging her jewels, flowers, or makeup. She is "lost in her thoughts," signifying, if this is a bridal toilet, her preoccupation with her impending initiation into womanhood through sexual intercourse or, if this is simply a woman at her toilet, her anticipations of sexual pleasure and/or the conception of a child.

All of the aforementioned common attributes of the toilet scene have symbolic values, the most significant of which are the mirror and hair. Like all symbols, the mirror has ambiguous properties. It can signify the absolute or "naked" truth, thus leading to the classical adage that the mirror does not lie. In classical Mediterranean mythology, the mirror was an attribute of prudence as a sign of self-knowledge. As an artificial organ of sight, the mirror can be identified with the five human senses; as an instrument of self-absorption, as in the myth of Narcissus, it can signify the vices of pride, vanity, and lust. The mirror is also a universal symbol for the reflection of one's soul, thus leading to the superstition of mirrors as "soul catchers." A common element in the burial chambers of most Egyptians (not simply women) was a mirror placed in close proximity to the head, a sign of solar power, especially in terms of the reproduction of life (the Egyptian word for "mirror" was the same as the word for "life"). By the Middle Kingdom

(2000–1786 B.C.), an elaborately decorated mirror was a necessary part of a woman's funeral dowry as a central element in the ritual toilet of Hathor (and thereby of the newly dead woman's initiation, if not preparation, for her new life). In a similar vein, Celtic women prized their personal mirrors and were regularly buried with them.

Hair is a controversial and multivalent symbol. At its most common level, hair signified life force, strength, and energy. Loose, flowing hair on a woman represented virginity and was a common attribute of virgin saints and brides. Throughout the mythologies of world religions (from the Egyptian goddess of procreation and birth Isis, to Cybele the goddess of nature of Asia Minor, to the Hebrew female demon Lilith, to the destructive Hindu earth mother Kali), there are consistent references to the ritual of the binding or unbinding of a goddess's or heroine's hair as an activation of cosmic forces of creation or destruction. Folk traditions have maintained the aura of hair combing or dressing as a way of "making magic"—even attributing it to a control of the weather. The tradition of hair as the repository of the soul supported the lovers' practice of giving a lock of hair as a love token. In Egyptian mythology, Isis's hair restored Osiris to life and protected her children from illness and evil. Similarly, the hair of mother goddesses was believed to be a talisman of protection, resurrection, and/or reincarnation. On the other hand, the disheveled tresses of witches were believed to be a source of magical incantations and negative energies. Thus, a woman's act of combing or dressing her hair before a mirror carries multivalent messages.

The hair-dressing implements refer to the symbolic properties of hair and to the sexual interpretations of this larger topos. In classical Mediterranean culture, courtesans elegantly coiffed their hair into elaborate designs with decorative elements such as jewels, flowers, and gold ornaments. Modest matrons covered their heads in public places, leaving the beauty and texture of their hair for their husband's personal pleasure, while youthful virgins wore their hair loose and flowing. Toilet scenes that present a woman with loose, flowing hair that is about to be (or is in the act of being) combed or dressed curiously combines the categories of virgin and courtesan.

The presence of a variety of jars and bottles for ointments, cosmetics, and perfumes heightens the sexual symbolism, for these varied fluids will presumably cover the woman's body as she caresses it, an implication of the desire for her lover's touch. Following the Egyptian interpretation, the jar as an attribute of Isis—a fountain of living waters—was a fertility symbol. From a Jungian perspective, jars and bottles as receivers and containers signify the feminine sexual nature.

The jewelry that rests on the toilet table or with which the woman is adorning herself, is an embodiment of spiritual qualities. Amulets that ward off evil and illness or aid in sexual

pleasure and the conception of a male child might be found among the jewelry of a Mediterranean woman's toilet. Pearl earrings signified Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, whereas coral or turquoise stones warded off evil. The presence of flowers or fruits signified the fecundity of the Earth and, by analogy, the fecundity of woman.

As a symbol of fidelity and a companion of Artemis, a little dog represented fidelity in love and marriage, while a cat as companion to Isis signified goddess worship (and by extension the adoration of woman). The maidservant engaged in the act of assisting her mistress at the toilet may be read as a sign of wealth and social position, a sign of the cultural practice of having a protectress chaperon an unsuspecting virgin, and may signify the role of the procuress, especially in the later, secularized depictions of the toilet of Venus (Aphrodite) or eighteenth-century boudoir scenes. In the most positive of readings of the toilet topos, the natural beauty of woman exceeds the radiance and value of the implements of the toilet—from her cosmetic brushes to her perfume bottles to her jewelry and flowers—the scene becomes a meditation on beauty, woman, sexuality, and fecundity.

The classical mythological paradigm for the topos of the lady's toilet is the toilet of Hathor. A very popular ritual during Egypt's Middle Kingdom, the toilet of Hathor was the source of the theme of a lady's toilet both in daily life and in funerary monuments. Given the popular persistence of the toilet of Hathor in Egyptian culture, it must have had indigenous precedents in folk traditions. The iconography of Aphrodite washing her hair can be read as a Greek variant of the toilet of Hathor and the indigenous folk tradition.

Originally an eastern Mediterranean deity, Aphrodite brought female nudity into Greek art as the visual and physical symbol of the powers of generation and fertility, as well as love and beauty. The sacred prostitute became an integral element in the worship of Aphrodite, and the ritual toilet of the young virgins and holy women was a religious act signifying the sacred power of sexual intercourse as a terrestrial equivalent of the *hieros gamos*. In her representations as Kore, Aphrodite became one of the three elements of the mother goddess along with Hera, the wife of the king of the gods, and Athena, the goddess of wisdom. In this triumvirate Hera signified motherhood and domesticity and Aphrodite as Kore eternal virginity by means of her ritual baths. As the toilet of Hathor was transformed into the toilet of Aphrodite (or Venus), it became humanized into the ritual of the bridal toilet.

The scriptural prototypes for the toilet are the images of Susanna at the Bath and Bathsheba at the Bath. The innocent matron Susanna is said to have walked one afternoon in what she believed was the privacy of her husband's garden to bathe. Sending her maid for her bathing and toilet items, Susanna contemplated the solitude of the garden. Once her maidservant returned with the necessary accoutrements, Susanna began her bath ritual in the quiet and privacy of the enclosed garden. Suddenly, the unsuspecting Susanna was accosted by two elders who threatened her with an unjust accusation of adultery unless she agreed to have sexual intercourse with them. In many of the artistic interpretations of Susanna at the Bath, such as those by Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese, there is a visual emphasis on her beauty ritual, including the objects of the toilet, such as perfume jars, ointment bottles, jewelry, a mirror, a

comb, and flowers. The sexual implications of the toilet are heightened by the symbolism of the garden setting.

Bathsheba, said to have been espied by King David as she bathed, was ostensibly partaking of a *mikveh* (ritual bath) following the end of her monthly menstrual flow. As the *mikveh* is also a ritual bath for a bride and signifies her entry into womanhood (and by extension her preparation for the conception of a child), the sexual symbolism of the toilet is clear. Artistic depictions of this scene, including those by Rembrandt van Rijn in the seventeenth century, emphasize the toilet as an enhancement of a woman's natural beauty, such as the dressing of her hair or a pedicure. In these two scriptural themes of Susanna and Bathsheba, the motif of the toilet scene is represented by its identifiable iconographic elements, such as a mirror, perfume bottles, ointment jars, brushes, flowers, etc., and is expanded with the implication of ritual bathing of the body in preparation for sexual intercourse. These ritual baths are a referent to the bathing of Aphrodite by which she restores her youthful beauty and virginity.

A scriptural variant of the toilet scene is the conversion of the Magdalen. In these renderings, the Magdalen is depicted as a beautiful young woman with long, flowing hair who is seated before a mirror and the other iconographic elements of the toilet—including ointment and perfume bottles, jewelry, and hair brushes—scattered on the table and the floor. These traditional iconographic elements are enhanced, however, by the addition of *vanitas* (vanity) elements such as a skull or book that signifies her recognition of the transitory nature of human existence (and physical beauty) and the salvation afforded by Christianity. Caravaggio's *Repentant Magdalene* (1590s) is an example of this Christian variant of the toilet.

The medieval transformation of the toilet resulted in the secular representations of the bridal toilet such as Jan van Eyck's lost painting *Toilet Scene*, which is believed to have been a pendant to his famed *Arnolfini Wedding* (*Portrait of Giovanni Arnolfini and Giovanna Cenami*) (1434). From the presence of the necessary implements for the toilet, including the mirror, jugs, maidservant, and small dog, to the modest gesture of the female bather in covering her genitals in the manner of the Venus Pudica, the secularization of the sacred scene is complete.

During the Renaissance, the toilet topos returned to its mythological origins as the toilet of Venus once again became a popular theme. The master of this new Renaissance iconography was Titian, who created a new variant of this theme by adding the previously implied male lover, as in his *Venus and the Lute Player* (1562–1565). During the Reformation, this motif was included in the iconography of the morality prints of evil seductresses, which included Delilah, who betrayed Samson to the Philistines, and Judith, who saved the Jews by killing Holofernes. In the contemporary Spanish art of Diego Velázquez, however, the Renaissance revival of the toilet of Venus is taken to a new dimension in *Toilet of Venus* (*The Rokeby Venus*) (1657–1658) with the innovative use of mirror reflection and Venus's body postures.

In the rococo period, this theme was again transformed into the secular in the boudoir paintings made famous by Jean-Honoré Fragonard. All the necessary iconographic elements are present in these works, from the mirror to the cosmetic implements to the little dog, as a beautiful young woman is "lost in

her thoughts." This iconography influenced and helped to popularize similar prints and engravings in antebellum American ladies' magazines and annuals and eventually found its way into the late nineteenth-century American motifs of the languid ladies of leisure and the theme of young love. In the twentieth century, the lady's toilet as a meditation upon female beauty and fecundity is renewed in Pablo Picasso's *Girl Before a Mirror* (1932).

In the transformations and evolution of the topos of the toilet from its sacred and ritual nature to secularized boudoir and love scenes, the unifying element remained the homage to female beauty. Like one of its central icons, the mirror, this topos has displayed the ambiguity of sacredness and secularity, sexuality and sensuality, reality and illusion, and vanity and contemplation.

See also Bath/Bathing; Female Beauty and Adornment;
Hair/Haircutting; Marriage/Betrothal; Mirror/Reflection;
Vanity/Vanitas

Selected Works of Art

Ancient and Classical

Toilet of Queen Kawit, bas-relief from the Queen's Burial Chamber, Funerary Temple of Monthuhotep-Nebhepaire, Deir el Bahri, Eighteenth Dynasty, now in Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Mirror of Queen Kawit, silver disk with obsidian handle with gold and electrum fittings, from the Queen's Burial Chamber, Funerary Temple of Monthuhotep-Nebhepaire, Deir el Bahri, Eighteenth Dynasty, now in Cairo, Egyptian Museum

Funerary Chest of Khai and Merit, painted wood chest, from Deir el Medinah, Eighteenth Dynasty, now in Turin, Italy, Museo Egizio

Turin Papyrus, illustration of a young girl with lotus blossom on her head, painting her lips, Twentieth Dynasty, Turin, Italy, Museo Egizio

Aphrodite of Melos, Parian marble, circa 160–140 B.C., Paris, Louvre

Aldobrandini Wedding, fresco, circa 29 B.C.–A.D. 20, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica

Bridal Casket of Secundus and Projecta, chased silver, partly gilded, circa A.D. 380, London, British Museum

Renaissance

The Love Spell, oil on wood, northern Renaissance, circa 1450–1500, Leipzig, Germany, Museum der Bildenden Künste

Eyck, Jan van (copy after), *Woman at Her Toilet*, fifteenth century, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum

Titian, *Woman with Mirror*, oil on wood, 1512–1515, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek

Titian, *Young Woman at Her Toilet*, oil on canvas, 1515, Paris, Louvre

Bellini, Giovanni, *Young Woman at Her Toilet*, circa 1515, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Titian, *Venus of Urbino*, oil on canvas, 1538, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Titian, *Venus with a Mirror*, oil on canvas, circa 1555, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Titian, *Venus and the Lute Player*, oil on canvas, circa 1562–1565, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
Clouet, François, *Diane de Poitiers in Her Bath*, oil on wood, circa 1571, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

School of Fontainebleau, *The Lady at Her Toilet*, circa 1590, Dijon, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

School of Fontainebleau, *The Lady at Her Toilet*, sixteenth century, Worcester, England, Worcester Art Museum

Caravaggio, *Repentant Magdalene*, 1590s, Rome, Galleria Doria Pamphili

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Dubreuil, Toussaint, *The Lever and Toilet of a Lady*, circa 1600, Paris, Louvre

Fontana, Lavinia, *Minerva at Her Toilet*, oil on canvas, 1613, Rome, Borghese Gallery

Gheyn, Jacob de, the Elder, *Vanity*, engraving, seventeenth century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Franco, Giacomo, *Courtesan Being Groomed by a Maidservant*, engraving, from *Habiti delle donne Ventiane*, seventeenth century, Venice, Italy, Biblioteca de Civico Museo Correr

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Woman with a Mirror*, oil on canvas, 1640, Kassel, Germany, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

Mieris, van, *Woman at Her Toilet*, oil on wood, seventeenth century, Paris, Louvre

Velázquez, Diego, *Toilet of Venus (The Rokeby Venus)*, oil on canvas, 1657–1658, London, National Gallery

Steen, Jan, *The Morning Toilet*, before 1679, London, Buckingham Palace

Boucher, François, *Toilet of Venus*, 1751, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Courbet, Gustave, *Portrait of Jo, the Beautiful Irish Girl*, oil on canvas, 1865?, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Rossetti, Dante Gabriel, *Lady Lilith*, oil on canvas, 1868, Wilmington, Delaware Art Museum

Degas, Edgar, *Standing Nude at Her Toilette*, lithograph, circa 1890–1892

Picasso, Pablo, *Girl Before a Mirror*, oil on canvas, March 14, 1932, New York, Museum of Modern Art

Bathsheba at the Bath

Memling, Hans, *Bathsheba at the Bath*, oil on wood, fifteenth century, Stuttgart, Germany, Staatsgalerie

Gentileschi, Artemisia, *David and Bathsheba*, early 1640s, Columbus, Ohio, Columbus Museum of Art

Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Toilet of Bathsheba*, oil on wood, 1643, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Bathsheba at the Bath*, oil on canvas, 1654, Paris, Louvre

Brülov, Karl, *Bathsheba*, oil on canvas, 1832, Moscow, Russia, Tetyakov Gallery

Susanna at the Bath

Tintoretto, *Susanna*, oil on canvas, early 1560s, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Tintoretto, *Susanna*, oil on canvas, circa 1575, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Jacopo da Empoli (Jacopo Chimenti), *Susanna at her Bath*, oil on canvas, circa 1600, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Susanna at the Bath*, oil on wood, circa 1636–1640, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Susanna at the Bath*, oil on panel, 1637, The Hague, The Netherlands, Mauritshuis

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Susanna and the Elders*, oil on wood, 1647, Berlin-Dahlem, Germany, Gemäldegalerie

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UPSIDE DOWN

Janice McCulloch

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Upside Down:

MEDIEVAL

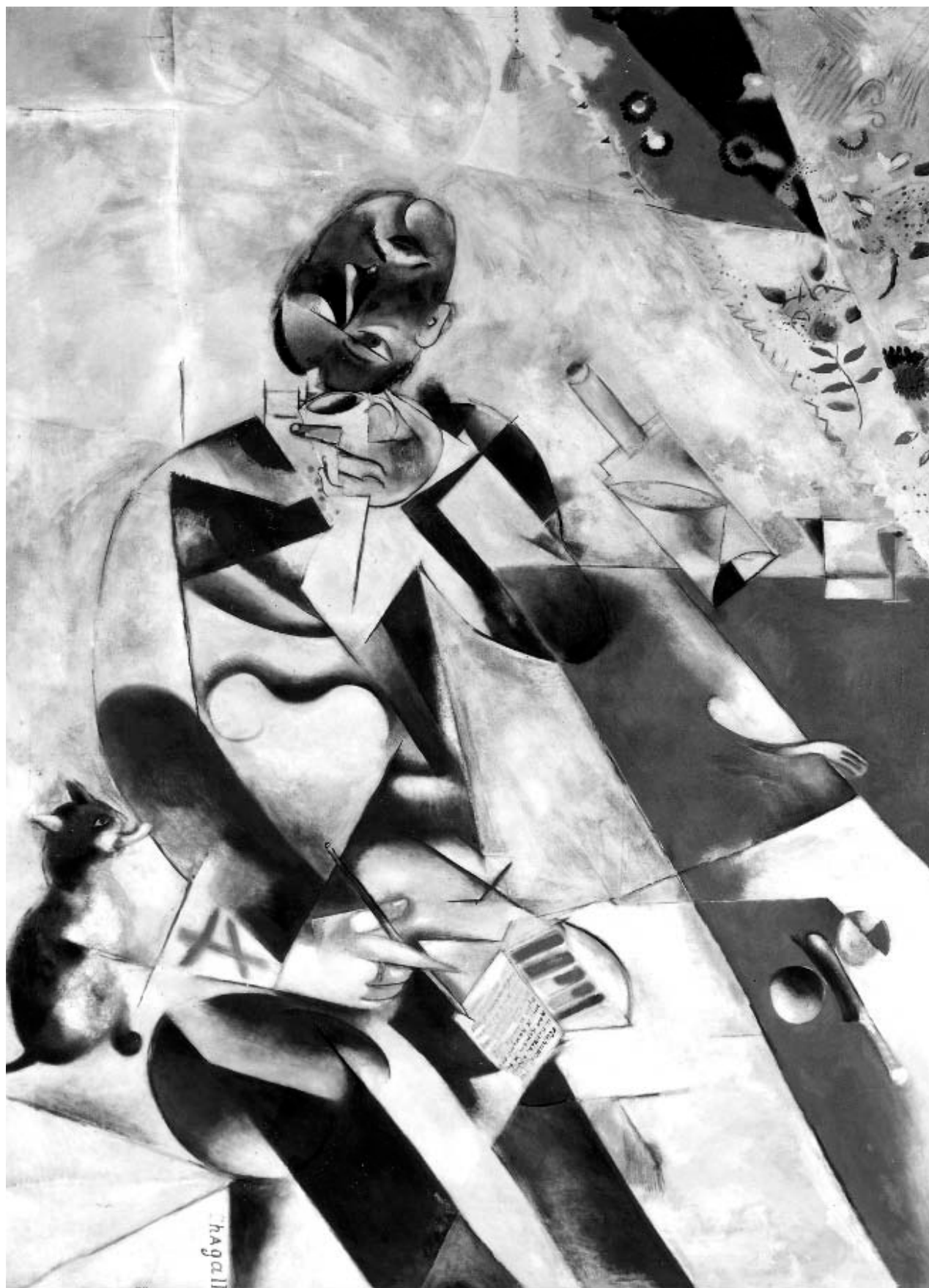
NINETEENTH CENTURY

RENAISSANCE

TWENTIETH CENTURY

SEVENTEENTH AND

EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES



Marc Chagall, *Half Past Three (The Poet)*, 1911, oil on canvas, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection. (Courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)

Ours is not a topsy-turvy world. One of the constants we quickly acknowledge in the human experience is that from very early on we are vertically oriented in a gravity-controlled environment. Knowledge about the world is carried into expectations of imagery. The representation of people with their feet down and a ground line has a foothold in the pictorial dimension firmly rooted in the way we perceive. Depictions of an inverted world create a sense of disorientation. To be upside down, an awareness of the represented form as an inverted image must take place. With that recognition, the viewer may incorporate a feeling of disequilibrium. Artists appreciate this basic law of perception and have explored it.

The notion of upside down can be conceived of from various points of view. As a form of inversion, it is a principle found in many contexts. Literary, anthropological, and even musical ideas of the upside down carry meaning parallel to its expression in the visual arts. Upside down is defined here as a retinal disorientation of a top/bottom reversal, a literal inversion, or a rotationally symmetrical inversion of all or part of an image. Visually related themes, such as falling, floating, and acrobats, are linked to this definition of the upside down.

Upside down implies the opposite: right side up. Oppositions are sometimes viewed as reaching the point of contrast at a focal point where they are inverted, like rays of light. The letter X stands as a symbol of the principle of inversion. This structure reflects the process of seeing itself. Historical studies of optical science suggest that, as early as the tenth century, Arab scholars might have recognized that the eye receives an inverted image like that revealed by the camera obscura. Current studies in perception probe the scientific aspect of the process of perception through orientation studies, such as the use of reversing prisms (Dolezal). Upside-down imagery can be understood readily, but expectations require the viewer to first recognize the convention of uprightness and then to visually reorient the information, forcing a deliberate awareness of the process of perception.

Understanding the upside down as negative in connotation may go back farther than the inverted image itself. In ancient Egyptian texts that deal with the passage through death to resurrection, there are spells such as "Spell in order not to go upside down in the realm of the dead" (Zandee, p. 72). Ancient texts suggest that the Egyptian concept of the realm of the dead was as a domain on the underside of the disk of the Earth, where people walked with their feet against the ceiling. Going upside down belongs to the terrors of the West and was part of a whole complex of conceptions, "according to which one has not the normal use of the parts of one's body" (Zandee, p. 74). In contrast to going upside down is going on one's feet. Because this was the positive orientation, upside-down figures were not typically shown in art.

Greek iconography holds few occasions for upside-down imagery. The sea goddess Thetis dips her son Achilles upside down in the River Styx while holding his heel. The Cercopes are slung upside down on a pole and carried away by Hercules. Such figures are inverted within the scene as the narrative required.

More recently, Western European culture has a tradition of the notion of a realm of Antipodes, a region directly opposite the Earth where our world is mirrored. Antipodeans, meaning "opposite footed," were thought to live at the bottom of the world, and they had to walk upside down. Christians generally opposed such a notion as either geographically impossible or theologically unsound. St. Augustine denied that Antipodeans could exist. The revered Lactantius, whom Constantine chose to tutor his son, asked, "Can any one be so foolish, as to believe that there are men whose feet are higher than their heads, or places where things may be hanging downwards, trees growing backwards, or rain falling upwards?" (Boorstin, p. 107). The idea of Antipodeans appears in art and literature.

The topos of *Mundus inversus* is an ancient and widespread one, found very extensively in popular art and literature throughout Europe from classical times. It was a favorite subject for popular engravings: remarkably similar sets of illustrations of the world upside down appeared in England, France, Italy, Russia, Scandinavia, the Netherlands and elsewhere over a period of many centuries. The most common image in these illustrations is that of a global man, standing precariously on his head, and sometimes attended by a couple of jesters. (Donaldson, pp. 21–22)

This tradition represents role reversals between animals and men, men and women, or adults and children more often than figures that are literally upside down. The theme as expressed in broadsheets has been studied by David Kunzle in "World Upside Down: The Iconography of a European Broadsheet Type." He "examined about sixty distinct broadsheets spanning three centuries, from seven countries, nearly all of them carrying in the title the term World Upside Down, or its equivalent in other languages: *Mundus Perversus*, *Mondo alla Rovescia*, *Monde à l'envers*, *Mundo al Revés*, *Verkehrte Welt*, *Verkeerde Wereld*" (Babcock, pp. 39–94).

In the theatrical tradition, the comic play *The Antipodes* (1638) by Richard Brome was based on the idea that on the southern side of the globe manners and morals are exactly opposite. This play is considered possibly the first to present this Antipodean world as topsy-turvy. Subsequent examples suggest that Antipodeans not only walk upside down but, as geographic opposites, were also moral opposites (Donaldson). The world upside down often occurs in English tragedy, ballads, complaints, and satire, as in Ben Jonson's *Time*

Vindicated to Himself and to His Honours, where the revelers proclaim:

Let's have the giddy world turn'd the heeles upward,
And sing a rare blacke *Sanctus*, on his head,
Of all thing out of order.

Of the 22 principal tarot cards, two relate to the upside-down theme. These cards, whose origins go back to the fourteenth century, display The Hanged Man, a figure upside down, and the Wheel of Fortune. The Wheel of Fortune, the tenth enigma of the tarot pack, expresses the "equilibrium of the contrary forces of contraction and expansion—the principle of polarity. The wheel is set on the ocean of chaos. The two halves symbolize the constructive and destructive forces of existence" (Held). In the Wheel of Fortune, the image suggests that the figure of success is on top, "at the height of his power." The figure of misfortune or poverty is not only on the bottom but also upside down.

In Christian iconography, angels fall from heaven, and the inversion suggests the disorientation of moving from the orderly world of heaven to the chaos of the damned. Rebel angels often fall headlong into hell. Citizens who fall from the towers of a destroyed city or sinners, such as the embodiment of pride, also fall in inverted positions, which indicate their fallen nature. In the late Middle Ages in Italian cities, members of opposing factions were painted "hanging on the gallows or hanging head downwards and to add to the perpetual insult, their coats of arms were turned upside down" (Kris, p. 193). The most notable case of a Christian upside down is the apostle Peter at his crucifixion. He considered himself unworthy of being crucified in the same manner as Jesus Christ. Therefore, at his own request and out of humility, he was crucified upside down. St. Phillip and St. Bartholomew also are sometimes considered to have been crucified upside down.

The upside-down experience can be found ritually enacted during a carnival or at the circus. On such occasions, the rules of the world are inverted and gravity is defied. Fools' festivals and other such sanctioned rituals create an arena where acrobats and clowns become the embodiments of disorder, often comically turning somersaults, hanging, or walking upside down. Art often fulfills the role of visual circus. Edward Lear's *Nonsense Botany* (1871) presents an image of "Manypeeplia Upsidedownia." The experience of the inverted image is one in which recognition involves mental gymnastics. It takes a moment for the mind to do a somersault and accept the overturned world.

The state of looking at art upside down belongs most firmly to the tradition of modernism. It has developed in parallel with abstraction and as part of the self-referential tendency of modern art. By the early romantic period, critics noted that some paintings of the period had a tenuous relation to any object and that they could just as easily be looked at upside down. Stories of artistic upside downs abound in modern art. At a posthumous auction, Paul Gauguin's *Breton Village in the Snow* was displayed upside down with the title *Niagara Falls* and sold for seven francs (Le Pichon, p. 193).

The pedagogical practice of modern art incorporates the notion of the upside-down image. Teachers often turn a painting on its head to distance the student from the subject and force a strict view of the work as a formal composition. The

viewer then sees the upside-down painted surface as design rather than subject. This mental distance is a kind of "forgetting" of the representational aspect and a fresh understanding of the painting as an abstraction.

This practice is given historic credence by Wassily Kandinsky's recollection of the development of his own art toward elimination of the object from painting:

I was enchanted on one occasion by an unexpected spectacle that confronted me in my studio. It was the hour when dusk draws in. I returned home with my painting box having finished a study, still dreamy and absorbed in the work I had completed, and suddenly saw an indescribably beautiful picture, pervaded by an inner glow. At first, I stopped short and then quickly approached this mysterious picture, on which I could discern only forms and colors and whose content was incomprehensible. At once, I discovered the key to the puzzle: it was a picture I had painted, standing on its side against the wall. . . . Now I could see clearly that objects harmed my pictures. (Lindsay and Vergo, "Reminiscences," pp. 369–370)

Kandinsky's now nearly mythic moment in the history of modern art underlines the skirting relationship that the state of being upside down has with abstract art. What Kandinsky experienced was a delayed recognition that allowed him to view the painting first as a play of color and form. This experience of gradual identification is similar to the experience he wished to re-create in his paintings of 1911–1912 using "veiled imagery." In his earliest "abstract" works, he often maintained a landscape conception, that is, a defined horizon. It was not until later, during the Bauhaus years (and then relatively rarely) that his nonobjective works might be seen as lacking definite vertical/horizontal orientation. Kandinsky was still often concerned with the meaning of the orientation of the abstract elements. Contemporary artists continue to pursue Kandinsky's exploration of nonobjective form. They seek also to expand the parameters of abstract concepts such as gravitational force and the power of horizontal and vertical orientation in the realm of geometric abstraction.

The generation of German expressionists influenced by Friedrich Nietzsche often saw gravity as an ultimate force to be overcome. Thus, acrobats and dancers were important subjects for those who heeded Nietzsche's invocation against gravity in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra*:

Lift up your hearts, my brothers, high, higher! And do not forget your legs either. Lift up your legs too, you good dancers; and better yet, stand on your heads!

Paul Klee responded by painting several works around the edges of the frame, for example, *Night Flowers* (1918), *Landscape with Yellow Birds* (1923–1932), and *Ad Marginium* (1930). Figures and forms are shown grounded on all four edges of the image so that some are sideways and those at the top "hang" upside down. In a sense, the composition becomes a mandala. Figures are upside down from a traditional point of view, but Klee plays with the idea of freeing the viewer from the power of gravity and making the viewer aware of the center of the composition as a pivot. Klee saw nature from a metaphysical point of view. These works might be interpreted as an expression of a "yearning to free ourselves from earthly bonds"

(Klee, p. 66). In *Accident* (1939/LM 18), Klee shows the “exchange of the dimensions that govern our natural sense of up and down” (Klee, p. 40).

No discussion of the upside down in modern art can omit the works of Marc Chagall. Chagall’s imaginative paintings, such as *The Poet* (1911), invite us into a world where levitation and heads put upside down on figures express a joyous immunity from rules. Chagall’s is a fantasy world of gravity conquered, and the artist’s freedom from traditional orientation is suggested by this statement:

If, in a picture, I have cut off a cow’s head and put it on upside down, or occasionally even painted the whole picture topsy-turvy, I have not done so in order to make literature. I want to introduce into my picture a psychic shock, which always operates through pictorial factors, in other words to introduce a fourth dimension. Therefore let people cease talking about fairy tales, of the fantastic, of Chagall the flying painter, when they speak of me. I am a painter who is unconsciously conscious. (*My Life*, in Sorrell, p. 143)

Although his paintings often depicted traditional subjects, Chagall expressed a modernist attitude when he said, “Recognizable or unrecognizable what does it matter? Let’s have an exhibition where all the pictures are upside down, and then we’ll see.”

After World War I, Dada, as a movement, represents an aesthetic inversion whereby the world was perceived as so irrational that the only way to respond was with an acceptance of the irrational. During this period of drastic social upheaval, chance, irony, black humor, satire, and questioning the meaning of words were all responses to a world turned upside down. From this period, the film *Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, with a plot of dreams and psychological reversals, gave birth to “Caligarisme,” meaning the world turned upside down. Artist Max Beckmann inverted figures in numerous works, such as *Gallerie Umberto* (1925) and *Meeting in the Night* (1928).

Modern art may seem a world overturned to many, and some artists have played the role of jugglers of the visual realm. M. C. Escher raised the art of visual order as confusion to a high art in his works. Many are visual inversions of a type, and in works such as *Autre Monde* (1947), the viewer seems to somersault in an attempt to become oriented to the view. One seems to look both up and down at a scene simultaneously. The image itself is not upside down, but our visual orientation to the spatial illusion is inverted as the eye scans the image.

One of the most talented of the neoexpressionist artists is the German Georg Baselitz, who after 1969 painted and presented paintings with the imagery “upside down.” In viewing a Baselitz painting, one’s initial response, on recognizing the subject, is that the work has been hung upside down. Critical comment and personal observation suggest that the fascination with his topsy-turvy world goes beyond the seemingly simple “trick” of representing people on their heads. Baselitz’s presentation of upside-down imagery reminds us that it is artists who often appreciate the disorder of things inverted. The “alienation effect” he said he wanted to achieve is there. Forms and figures hang suspended in brutal disregard of expectation. It is, after all, a painting. The viewer is forced to see the work in a new way. Baselitz reminds the viewer “that the sky at the top

and the earth at the bottom is only a convention, but we don’t have to believe it . . .” (George Baselitz, p. 29). Motifs take on a detached distance when they are upside down. The figure is acknowledged abstractly, as the self-consciousness of looking and the self-parody implied with an inversion makes the viewer acutely aware of the “text as text.”

Following Baselitz’s lead, other contemporary artists have explored the power of the upside down. Bruce Nauman’s *Perfect Balance* (1989) and Bill Viola’s *The Arc of Ascent* (1992, a video-sound installation) remind us that we walk with our feet on the ground. In Viola’s large-scale video projected in a darkened room, a clothed figure is seen as if in free-fall: The figure is “projected as an inverted image so that descent becomes ascent. The body seems to defy gravity moving upward, when the image on the screen passes up and out of the room” (*Documenta IX*, p. 577).

Inversions of orientation have been perceived as disorder or freedom, as negative or positive. Until gravity-defying space travel becomes common, the disorientation of the upside down will continue to have power.

See also Artists/Art; Damned Souls; Hanging; Margins/Outsiders

Selected Works of Art

Medieval

Honnecourt, Villard de, *Wheel of Fortune*, drawing, circa 1240, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

Renaissance

Limbouurg Brothers, *Fall of the Rebel Angels*, illuminated manuscript from *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berr*, circa 1415, Chantilly, France, Musée Condé (Ms. 65, fol. 65v)
 Masaccio, *The Martyrdom of St. Peter*, predella panel, 1426, Berlin, Germany, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
 Eyck, Jan van, *Last Judgment*, circa 1440, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
 Bouts, Dirck, the Elder, *Descent into Hell*, before 1475, Lille, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Raphael, *St. Michael Vanquishing the Demon*, oil on canvas, 1518, Paris, Louvre
 Perino del Vaga, *Fall of the Giants*, fresco, circa 1529, Genoa, Italy, Palazzo del Principe
 Michelangelo, *Crucifixion of St. Peter*, fresco, 1545–1550, Vatican, Pauline Chapel
 Tintoretto, *St. Mark Freeing a Christian Slave*, oil on canvas, 1548, Venice, Italy, Accademia

Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

Rubens, Peter Paul, *The Damned*, before 1640, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek
 Lairese, Gerard de, *Thetis Dipping the Infant Achilles into the River Styx*, before 1711, Potsdam, Germany, Sansouci, Bildegalerie
 Tiepolo, Giovanni Domenico, *Scene of Contemporary Life: The Acrobats*, drawing, circa 1791, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Nineteenth Century

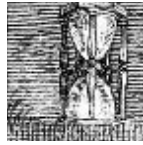
- Vernet, Horace, *Mazeppa*, oil on canvas, 1826, Avignon, France, Préfecture, on loan to Musée Calvet
- Lear, Edward, *The Complete Nonsense of Edward Lear*, collected and introduced by Holbrook Jackson, New York: Dover, 1951
- Lear, Edward, *Nonsense Botany*, 1871
- Lear, Edward, *Manypeeplia Upsidedownia*, from *Nonsense Songs . . .*, London, 1871

Twentieth Century

- Chagall, Marc, *Half Past Three (The Poet)*, oil on canvas, 1911, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Louise and Walter Arensberg Collection
- Klee, Paul, *Night Flowers*, 1918, Essen, Germany
- Klee, Paul, *Landscape with Yellow Birds*, watercolor and gouache on paper, 1923–1932, Switzerland, private collection
- Lachaise, Gaston, *Acrobat (Upside Down Figure)*, bronze sculpture, 1927, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum
- Beckmann, Max, *Meeting in the Night*, pastel on black paper, 1928, England, private collection
- Klee, Paul, *Ad Marginium*, watercolor and ink on card, 1930, Basel, Switzerland, Kunstmuseum
- Klee, Paul, *Accident*, tempera and crayon on white underpainting, 1939/LM 18
- Escher, M. C., *Autre Monde*, woodcut, 1947
- Jones, Allen, *Figure Falling*, oil on canvas, 1964, Cologne, Germany, Collection Ludwig
- Brown, Roger, *Silly Savages (We Will Sell No Painting Before It's Dry)*, oil on canvas, 1983, New York, Malcolm Holzman
- Baselitz, Georg, *Churches Right and Left—Jörg (Painters Cycle)*, 1987, Mary Boone and Michael Werner Gallery
- Baselitz, Georg, *Edvard*, 1987–1988, Mary Boone and Michael Werner Gallery
- Nauman, Bruce, *Perfect Balance*, Pink Andrew with plug hanging with T.V., 1989, Frankfurt, Germany, Museum für Moderne Kunst
- Viola, Bill, *The Arc of Ascent*, video-sound installation for a 3 x 7 meter projection screen, 1992

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VANITY/VANITAS

Liana De Girolami Cheney

The following motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Vanity/Vanitas:

ARS MORIENDI

SKULL OR SKELETON AS
VANITAS SYMBOL

BUBBLES AS VANITAS
SYMBOL

FLOWERS AS VANITAS
SYMBOLS

TOILET SCENES AS VANITAS
SYMBOLS

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS AS
VANITAS SYMBOLS

PORTRAITS WITH VANITAS
SYMBOLS

STILL-LIFE VANITAS

FAME ACHIEVED THROUGH
DEATH

EMBLEMS AND MEDALS
RELATING TO VANITAS



Hendrik Goltzius, *Young Man Holding a Skull and a Tulip*, drawing, 1614, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. (Courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library)

Over the centuries the ephemeral nature of human experience has been expressed in many different artistic forms through the use of specific iconographic symbols: dance, hair, mirrors, and skulls or skeletons. In visual art, literature, and music, artists have celebrated the momentariness of life and the consequent compelling need to enjoy its pleasures with images, words, and specific musical notations. At the same time, whether fearful or accepting of a hedonistic emphasis on a *joie de vivre*—a violation of Christian tradition—artists consistently added memento mori (a symbolism with a didactic, moralistic, or damnatory message) to their representations, thereby imbuing them with diaphanous meanings. Centuries later these ambiguous meanings still intrigue viewers, readers, and listeners and contribute to the continued fascination with their study.

Vanitas (emptiness), or vanity, is considered to be a moral vice, one that alludes to the biblical warning *omnia vanitas* (all is vanity; Ecclesiastes 1:2). Vanity was initially conveyed in art by richness and wealth and through objects such as jewels, gold coins, purses, books, butterflies, exotic animals, flowers, hourglasses, wine glasses or pitchers, candles, crowns or scepters, clocks, swords, terrestrial globes, shells, and figures of death in the form of skeletons or skulls. The educated viewer knows that the sure sign a *vanitas* theme underlies a still life is the presence of a skull, the memento mori reminding us that we must die.

In medieval and Renaissance art the personification of vanity took on a human form, usually that of a nude woman, seated or recumbent, at her toilet, combing her hair, looking at the mirror, and adorning her hair and body with jewels and flowers. Dutch and Flemish painters of the seventeenth century glorified this subject in their still-life paintings, conveying a specifically Christian meaning through the use of objects, mostly familiar and everyday, as a disguised symbolism.

Medieval allegories representing the hierarchical order of the universe and personifications of philosophical concepts, virtues, the arts, the planets, and the estates or humors of the individual were available to northern European artists through printed books (such as Petrarch's *Triumphs*, *Ovide moralise*), emblem books (by artists such as Andrea Alciati, Hadrianus Junius, Roemer Visscher, and Jacob Cats), prints of antiquities (such as those of classical monuments, sculptures, coins), and playing cards (tarot). This medieval encyclopedia of images and meanings was an aspect of the humanist atmosphere of Renaissance art: the literary and scholastic revivals of antiquity provoked a fusion of symbols with various interpretations.

This study will analyze the visual sources and emblematic meanings for the depiction of the skull in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Dutch portraits: group, allegorical, and individual. Among the earliest representations of the skull in art

(usually connected to a skeleton) are those known variously as the *totentanz* (or *danse macabre*), the *ars moriendi*, and the Dance of Death, usually seen as a response to the mass death scenes of the Black Death, or bubonic plagues, of the fourteenth century. These illustrations portrayed the medieval idea that all are equal before death. In the Dance of Death, individual skeletons are paired with their victims. The concept of pairing living figures with Death continued throughout the sixteenth century and into the seventeenth century.

There is a clear difference between the *ars moriendi* and *totentanz* (*danse macabre*). *Ars moriendi* (the art of dying) is related to a medieval collection of texts that were used by clergy attending the dying. The *totentanz* (*danse macabre*) differs from both *ars moriendi* and the Dance of Death described above. During the medieval period it was believed that the dead arose from their tombs at midnight and performed a dance in a graveyard before setting off to claim fresh victims from among the living.

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries these themes, *ars moriendi*, *totentanz* (*danse macabre*), and the Dance of Death, along with texts that described contests of angels and demons over the human soul, became fused through the tradition of woodcut illustration. Examples of this fusion include Master S. I.'s *Ars moriendi* (1464), from a Netherlandish Latin text now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and Michael Wolgenut's *Dance of Death* (1493) from the *Nuremberg Chronicle*. Hans Holbein the Younger recorded many painted walls of cloisters and graveyards of the later Middle Ages in his engravings with representations of the *totentanz* (*danse macabre*). The illustrations usually show a procession marching or dancing to a grave, a row of figures from all social ranks organized in a hierarchical ladder of importance: the pope, the emperor, the cardinals, lesser ecclesiastics, persons of various occupations and ages, and finally peasants, all accompanied by Death.

Additional examples of *ars moriendi* can be found in sixteenth-century sculpture and emblem books, such as the anonymous northern European ivory sculpture *Death* (1547) in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs of Paris, in which a seated skeleton rests on its tomb with an hourglass, time having just passed away. Concurrently, Andrea Alciati's emblem *Sepulchrum* (1550) represents Death with a skull—rather than a skeleton—placed on a sarcophagus (Alciati and Daly).

During the sixteenth century, with few exceptions, complex representations of *ars moriendi*, *totentanz* (*danse macabre*), and the Dance of Death merged and transformed into a single image, the skull. Beginning at this time, the skull began to make solo appearances as a memento mori or *vanitas* symbol, directing the viewer's thoughts to the end of life and away from its vanities. The skull is an attribute of hermetic or penitent saints such as St. Francis of Assisi, St. Romuald, St. Mary Magdalen,

and particularly St. Jerome, a reminder of the transitory nature of this life as opposed to the eternal life of the spirit.

Joos van Cleve produced two paintings of *St. Jerome* (1521), one which is located in a private collection and the other in the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts. St. Jerome, one of the four Latin fathers of the Church in the West, was known as Eusebius Hieronymus Sophronius in his early life. Born in about 347 at Stridon in Dalmatia, he was sent to Rome as a child and there studied Greek and Latin and became a reader of ancient literature. In 386 St. Jerome went to the Holy Land and settled in Bethlehem, where he learned Hebrew and translated the Bible into a Latin version known as the Vulgate. He also wrote many biblical commentaries, displaying a scholarship unsurpassed in the Roman Catholic Church, and kept an active correspondence with other Christians. Going to the Holy Land and the desert, he became a hermit. The skull, therefore, alludes to this intellectual and penitential life (Cross, 1984). Its position in the foreground of van Cleve's paintings testifies to St. Jerome's life of penitence, contemplation, and study as a preparation for death and eternal life. In this kind of religious imagery the skull is imbued with great meaning as a receptacle for life and thought. For this reason the skull often appears with books, representing the vehicle for transcendent ideas, from divine omniscience to human thought, and for transmutation of human life.

The pointing gesture of St. Jerome has a similar moralizing meaning. A finger pointing to the skull was viewed in connection with a soap bubble. An inscription on the arch above the niche, *homo bulla* (man is like a bubble), reinforces the meaning of the pointing gesture and reminds one of the transitoriness of life, as noted in the emblematic tradition. The symbolism of the floating bubbles derives from engravings and emblematic books from this period. Hadrianus Junius's emblem *Et Tutto Abbraccio, Et Nulla Stringo* (1565, I Embrace Everything, and Hold Nothing) shows many children trying to capture and hold floating bubbles. Hendrik Goltzius's engraving *Quis Evadet/Nemo* (1594, Who Escapes, No Man) also carries the message that humans are as fragile as a bubble.

A century later, in Gerrit Dou's *St. Jerome* (1660) in the Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden, Germany, the penitent saint contemplates a skull while an hourglass counts down his mortality. In this version the skull is also a symbol of self-denial and contemplation proper to a hermit.

The drama of penitence is also represented by Mary Magdalene as a reformed sinner holding a skull as she ponders death and her past life. Jan de Bray, in *The Penitent Magdalene* (1670) in a private collection, depicts such a scene in extreme contrasts of light and shadow. The attributes of mortification (the cross, the books) appear with the young and fresh saint as she holds a skull, symbol of age, death, and decay. A large, dark brown area with a few pieces of vine silhouetted against a small section of sky suggests the interior of a cave, where according to legend the Magdalene spent her later life as a hermit.

In the Netherlands, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the representation of a skull not only retained a religious association with saints but also expanded into secular depictions such as portraiture. Individual and group portraits appear with the skull as a memento mori image or *vanitas* sym-

bol; for example, Dirk Jacobsz's *Portrait of Pompeius Occo* (1531) in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, The Netherlands. In the portrait a wealthy banker holds a carnation, symbol of humility and hope for eternal life, and rests his other hand on a skull, a sign of meditation and a symbol of mortality.

An interesting variation on this theme occurs when the figure holds a book or a scroll, with or without inscriptions, as a memento mori, such as in the portrait *Kathryn Berake* (circa 1580) in the National Gallery of Wales. Adrien van Cronenburg's *Woman and Child* (1587) in the Prado in Madrid, Spain, is a group portrait that includes a depiction of a skull and flower along with an Italian inscription in the post of the sepulchral niche, *Nascendo/Morendo* (Live and Die), reminding us of the ephemeral nature of life and earthly pleasures. The inscription in the niche may also allude to the relationship between mother and daughter: the mother's life continued through the birth of her daughter, a loving bond established until death. The clasped hands of mother and daughter next to the skull allude to love's bonds, marriages, and wedding anniversaries. Dutch marriage medals traditionally contained incisions of a handshake encircled by a heart and skull with a motto alluding to love and faithfulness until death. A Frisian marriage medal from the seventeenth century clearly illustrates this Dutch marital convention. Unfortunately, little is known about this particular commission. Adrien van Cronenburg's painting is inventive, as the depiction of a woman displaying a skull is rare in Dutch paintings, with the exception of religious paintings of Mary Magdalene—probably its derivation. Conventionally, the skull rested most often in male hands. As an aside, in comparing *Kathryn Berake* and *Woman and Child* compositionally and stylistically, it could be argued that the portrait *Kathryn Berake* should be attributed to van Cronenburg.

The skull's memento mori appearance in portraits and still lifes created two special genres called the *vanitas* portrait and *vanitas* still life, which were especially popular in seventeenth-century Dutch art. Still life derives from the Dutch word *stilleven*, which the Dutch began to use in 1650. Before that time they referred to such paintings as *stilstaende dingen* (still standing objects) or merely labeled their subject as *ontbijt* (breakfast). This essay will only focus on the *vanitas* portraits.

While the skull was the most obvious reminder of mortality in *vanitas* portraits and still lifes, other symbols, such as mirrors, musical instruments, butterflies, flowers, insects, or a snuffed-out candle also testified to the omnipresence of death. Dutch painter and biographer Carel van Mander notes how, in the early seventeenth century, the *vanitas* portraits became popular with the Amsterdam collectors Jacques Rozet and Reynier Antonisses, patrons of memento mori portraits such as the engraving after Abraham Bloemaert's *Death's Dead* (1600), now in a private collection, and Jacob de Gheyn II's *Vanitas* (1603) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Such *vanitas* portrait include biblical symbols of mortality, derived from Ecclesiastes 1:2, *Vanitatum et omnia vanitas* (Vanity of vanities; all is vanity). In *The Golden Age* (1984), art historian Bob Haak demonstrated how this biblical source helps to decipher the *clavis interpretandi* (key to interpreting) of *vanitas* painting.

In the middle of the seventeenth century other *vanitas* symbols joined the skull: crucifixes, clocks, candles, purses, coins,

pipes, oil lamps, fruits, and hourglasses. Additional inscriptions expanded the moral messages reminding the viewer of the brevity of life: "Today me, tomorrow you." Along with the memento mori, pipes, skulls, and such emblems of vain folly as shells, timepieces, and the guttering of spent candles signified the transitoriness and emptiness of the material life. These paintings were often painted in somber colors to suggest an apocalyptic message and often incorporated bubbles (suggesting fraud, illusion) and smoking or a pipe (pipe dreams). The presence of insects, specifically flies, together with flowers, in these representations also reinforces the *vanitas* symbolism. Musical instruments and glassware were also used for emblematic purposes, indicating the brevity of life, as in Roemer Visscher's *Sinnepoppen* (1614) and Cats's *Sinne-en-Minnebeelden* (1627, Sense and Love Emblems). Cesare Ripa, in *Iconologia* (1593), refers to "human's hopes as fragile as glass."

This preoccupation with the meaning of life seen in *vanitas* portrait paintings was recognized by art historian and iconographer Eric de Jongh as a tendency to moralize, common to seventeenth-century mentality. In using realism, Dutch artists encouraged virtue and reminded the viewer of the transitoriness of life in contrast with death. The combination of the single portrait paired off with the *vanitas* still life became quite popular with Dutch artists. This theme of *vanitas* in portraiture parallels that of *vanitas* in still life painting. As a manifestation of the popularity of this theme, *vanitas* portraits were as costly as history paintings, about five guilders, whereas *vanitas* still life paintings varied in price from six to seven guilders (Segal, 1989).

From the early part of the seventeenth century, Dutch sensibilities veered toward an elaboration of the intricate details of objects and accessories. The *clavis interpretandi* of Dutch portraits in *vanitas* paintings depends in part on emblematic sources. Dutch seventeenth-century prose, poetry, drama, and emblematic literature were employed in allegorical fashion, where the moralizing meaning was implied, as Gerard Lairese has stated, "to promote virtue and shun evil." Visscher's first *sinnepoppen* (emblem) was "Nothing is empty or meaningless," emphasizing the symbolic meaning in simple objects or situations. The double entendre of many Dutch paintings can often be interpreted with the help of emblematic sources, particularly Cats's *Sinne-en-Minnebeelden*, a source of commentaries and moralistic explanations for the contemporary art historian. A Dutch artist could ensure that his audience understood these paintings by adding an explanatory text to the painting, as can be seen in *vanitas* paintings of the day. Common moralistic inscriptions included, but were not limited to, *Vanitas vanitatum* (Vanity, vanity, all is vanity), *Memento mori*, *Sic transit gloria mundi* (So passes away the glory of the world), and so on.

Another way for artists to clarify the moralistic intentions of their works was to incorporate, in the background of their paintings, the image of another painting with a message they intended. A third way for artists to reveal the *clavis interpretandi* in their paintings was to include certain objects that served as clues to the "disguised symbolism," as did the skull in Dutch *vanitas* portraits (Keyszlitz, 1957). Throughout the rise in popularity of Dutch portraiture, no matter what size or compositional mode one looks at, this "disguised symbolism" is

present and can be seen in numerous portraits painted in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, ranging from miniature to life-size, from individual to group portraits, and from indoor to outdoor settings. In sixteenth-century portraiture some symbols of mortality were traditionally added to the composition—a skull, a candle, a carnation, bubbles—as emblems to suggest hope for eternal life. The artist could express this hope by portraying the sitter with skull and objects or by portraying on the verso of the portrait another painting with a skull and other transitory emblems.

In *vanitas* portrait paintings, still-life objects make didactic points, because the objects were in daily use or were consumed by members of Dutch society. The Netherlands's growing empire, with its constant mercantile navigation to the East and the West Indies, accounts for the frequent presence of exotic seashells, fruits, and flowers in these paintings. Horticulture, particularly the cultivation of tulips, became a national mania. In *The Embarrassment of Riches* (1987), Simon Schama states that "the incorrigible habits of material self-indulgence that were ingrained into Dutch commercial life prompted all those warning judgments. This moral pulling and pushing might have made for the inconsistency" in the general *modus vivendi*. Apparently, the *vanitas* milieu imposed an opposite value system as a desideratum for Dutch society and gave the Dutch artist room to maneuver between the sacred and the profane.

The Haarlem and Leiden schools became very well known for portrait and *vanitas* paintings. The Haarlem school was renowned for its *vanitas* still life paintings, namely by William, Heda, and Pieter Claesz. The Leiden school was also known for its *vanitas* painters, namely David Bailly and Jacob de Gheyn II. In Haarlem, Jan Molenaer, who specialized in genre scenes, was one of the first painters of the new Commonwealth of the United Provinces. His group portrait painting *Family Making Music* (1660) in the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem depicts the Molenaer family, his wife Judy Leyster, also a painter, portrayed in front of a virginal. The entire picture is filled with hints of mortality, from the skull seen in the ancestral portrait in the background to the bubbles blown by the boy in the foreground. (The concern for ancestral recognition has been known since Roman times; for example, the sculpture *A Roman Patrician with Busts of his Ancestors*, late first century B.C., at the Capitoline Museum in Rome.) The boy blowing bubbles in the painting parallels the young boy's action in Adriaen Poirter's engraving *Vanitas* (1649). In this work the personification Justice, a simulated sculpture standing in the niche behind the boy, contrasts puzzlingly with the lighthearted musical party that he attends. Does Justice refer to the occupational role of the standing militant figure, alluding to the legal turmoils of the family, or does Justice with the scales allude to the harmony of music portrayed in the painting, reinforcing the ideal notion of the harmony of a happy family?

The Leiden school developed a strong tradition of *vanitas* painting probably because of the theological ideas current at the university. In the Leiden school *vanitas* paintings, the focus is often on the justice of death. For example, Jacob de Gheyn II's engraving *Mors spectra ligonibus aequat* shows skeletons surrounded by *vanitas* symbols. The power of the crown is weighed against the peasant, but, as in the Last Judgment scene,

death evens out any inadequacy of material existence; therefore, death is equal to all. Vincent van der Vinne's *Vanitas with Portrait of Charles I* (1600) in the Louvre in Paris comments on the vulnerability of power and royalty. The inscriptions generally imply "Things can change." Specifically, next to the skull an inscription states "Think about the end."

An interesting transformation takes place in the early seventeenth century, from portraits in which the sitter, holding a skull or surrounded by memento mori, dominates the composition to compositions that eliminate the sitter entirely and substitute only the skull with other *vanitas* symbols. In the middle and late seventeenth century, the portrait of the sitter returned, included as part of an allegory of *vanitas*.

Bailly's *Vanitas with a Portrait of a Young Painter* (1651) in the Municipal Museum de Lakenhal in Leiden, The Netherlands, typifies seventeenth-century Dutch *vanitas* portraits. This type of portrait (a self-portrait) combines elements derived from group portraiture (with the inclusion of ancestors) with allegorical portraiture and the fusion of *vanitas* still-life elements. The young artist pays homage to his ancestors by holding a portrait of his father and displays an inventory of *vanitas* emblems—books, a candle, coins, a mirror, a pipe, wilted flowers, glass objects, an hourglass, jewelry, sculpture, drawings, paintings, and musical instruments—within the composition. The skull at the feet of the statue of the flagellated Christ provides the *vanitas* motto and three floating bubbles allude to the brevity of life.

The symbolism of the floating bubbles derives from emblematic books and engravings of this period such as Goltzius's *Quis Evadet/Nemo* (1594, Who Escapes/No Man) and Crispin de Passe's *Vanitas* (early seventeenth century). Engravings after Maerten de Vos, such as de Passe's *Vanitas*, also echoed the message that man is as fragile as a bubble. Bailly's particular depiction of the bubbles is similar to a portrayal by Cornelis Ketel in *Portrait of a Man* (1574) in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. The tondo recto of this painting shows a portrait of the sitter holding a pocket watch; on the verso a putto blows bubbles and an inscription in Greek reads "Man is a soap bubble." Similarly, in Bailly's drawing *Vanitas* (1624) in the Royal Library in The Hague, The Netherlands, a skull is accompanied by an hourglass and a pipe. The skull alludes to the motto "Today me, tomorrow you," and the smoking pipe suggests the "ashes to ashes" of the biblical warning "For my days are consumed like smoke" (Psalm 102:3), as is noted in Visscher's *Sinnepoppen*.

Flowers are another *vanitas* symbol included in compositions to attest to the brevity of human existence as defined in Job 14:1–2. Art historian Susan Kuretsky notes that tulips became a favorite emblem of human mortality in *vanitas* still-life paintings, such as Jacob de Gheyn II's *Vanitas* (1603) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Vanitas* portrait paintings also assimilated the memento mori symbolism of tulips, as illustrated in Goltzius's *Young Man Holding a Skull and a Tulip* (1614). This reading is supported by the emblematic tradition of Cats's *Houwelijk* (1658) and Visscher's *Sinnepoppen*, in which an emblem of a tulip with the motto "A fool and his money are soon parted" uses a typical association of the tulip with worldly folly. Similarly, roses and petals with drops of dew are symbols of short-livedness, also attesting to human frailty, as described by Ripa in his *Iconologia* under *Vita Breve* (Brief

Life). Ripa's emblem book was a readily available source in the Netherlands in the early seventeenth century, one which proposed that objects represent the ephemeral pleasure of success; only faith, tradition, or ancestorship can provide eternity. Hendrick Hondius's engraving *The End Crowns the Work* (1626), suggests that even an artist can achieve fame and immortality only through death.

Molenaer's *Woman at Her Toilet*, or *Allegory of Vanity* (1633), in the Art Museum in Toledo, Ohio, is yet another example of an allegorical *vanitas* portrait. The painting shows a young woman gazing into her mirror while a young boy blows bubbles. Innocence, contrasted with the spectrum of worldly knowledge—flirtations, innuendo, ambiguity, and light moral guidance—is reflected in this *vanitas* painting. An engraving by Adrien Poirters (1649) parallels the young boy's action in Molenaer's painting and recalls Cats's moralizing poem: "Attend to the child that blows bubbles, / And see how much he is amazed, / That so much blown up froth and slobber, / Endures but so brief a phase." In *The Embarrassment of Riches* Schama associates the floating bubbles with the concept of *speculum fallax* (the bubble speculation), a philosophical reference to the world's deceit as "the empty reality of the ephemeral orb." In Molenaer's painting, the youth of the child is compared to the beauty of the young woman. Their ephemeral and careless natures are paralleled by the attributes they hold (the scallop-shell bubble catcher and the mirror), and by their actions (the child's levity and the woman's reflection in the mirror). They are surrounded by several objects that symbolize the sin of *superbia* (pride): the comb, the long hair, the mirror (used similarly in Hieronymus Bosch's *Superbia*, circa 1500). The reflection of the mirror and the gazing at the mirror by the beautiful woman are narcissistic aspects of youth. The action of combing hair alludes to Visscher's emblem *Purgo et Ornat* (It Cleans and It Beautifies) and suggests the incorrigible fickleness of youth, as the comb itself reinforces the symbolism of the mirror: vanity. Traditionally, a depiction of unbound hair suggests a woman of easy virtue, which recalls Mary Magdalen. Finally, the musical instruments displayed on the wall allude to the sweetness of music evocative of the sweetness of lovemaking. Cats's moralizing poem and emblem also clearly make this point: the easiness of lovemaking and music playing is as temporary as the nature of beauty and youth.

A more intimate variation on the theme of a woman at her toilet appears in Jan Steen's *Morning Toilet* (1663) in the Royal Collection in London, signed and dated on the columns it portrays. Mixing the comic with morality, Steen provides a combination of insightful allusions. The richness of the colors and the attractiveness of the young woman are contrasted with the memento mori strewn on the threshold, a disarrayed decor that conveys a message opposite that of Johan de Brune's emblem *The Marriage Bed Should Be Unstained* from *Emblemata of zinnewerk* (1614). The brevity of casual love is inherently paralleled by the brevity of youth and beauty. A musical instrument associated with love and musical songs hides a crowned skull. Urs Graf's engraving *Vanitas* (circa 1525) similarly combines riotous living with musical instruments. A skull placed at the bottom of the scene and surrounded by mottoes reminds the viewer of the transitoriness of life. Like Molenaer's *Woman at Her Toilet* (*Allegory of Vanity*), Steen's *Morning Toilet* is very much a *vanitas* portrait: a portrayal of a woman in an

interior setting, a boudoir, symbolically implying an environment of dubious propriety and providing a moral comment upon domestic life.

However, individual *vanitas* portraits may or may not be allegorical. Judith Leyster's or Frans Hals's *Young Man with a Skull* (1626–1628) in the National Gallery in London represents a youthful sitter displaying a skull. Is he a poet or an actor? The identification of the painted man and the attribution of this painting are still under evaluation. The Caravaggesque young man, dramatically gesturing and wearing a red hat with a huge plume, contrasts with the emblem of *vanitas*, the skull. Goltzius's drawing *Young Man Holding a Skull and a Tulip* similarly presents an elegantly dressed young man wearing a fanciful hat with plumes. Dutch art in the seventeenth century was saturated with such accessories, attributes or clues to a symbolism that contains profoundly moralistic connotations. Many artists included crowns, seals, documents, leaves, and plumes as ephemeral objects of natural life. Goltzius's figure holds a skull and a tulip to remind viewers of the transitoriness of human existence and the certainty of death. Behind him an hourglass keeps count of the passage of time. Another similar *vanitas* is Joos van Craesbeeck's *A Man Holding a Skull and a Pipe* (circa 1630), in a private collection, a painting that alludes to the biblical warning "For my days are consumed like smoke" (Psalm 102:3) and recalls Bailly's *vanitas* drawing and Visscher's emblem on the same subject.

Another type of portraiture developed in the middle of the seventeenth century: professional portraiture typically depicting a doctor or physician. Such portraits include Pieter Nason's *Portrait of a Doctor in Medicine* (1665) in the Dulwich Picture Gallery in London. These portraits—also usually including skulls—do not simply depict concepts of *vanitas* and transitory life but also allude to the profession of the sitter. These artists were likely influenced by several sources: the anatomical engravings of Andreas Vesalius, particularly his skull engravings; the annual anatomy lesson given by the chief surgeon of the Surgeons' Guild, as illustrated in Thomas de Keyser's *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Sebastiaen Egbertsz de Vrij* (1619), in the Historisch Museum in Amsterdam; and the anatomy lesson paintings from the school of Amsterdam. The emblematic moralistic implication of memento mori is in these portraits somewhat overshadowed and metamorphosed by the sitter's profession. Hals's *Portrait of a Man* (1611), a pendant portrait in The Barber Institute of Fine Arts at the University of Birmingham, England, with its unidentified coat of arms in the upper right flanked by the inscription *Ita mori/aetate suae 60*, may depict a physician. The attire of the sitter resembles a doctor's outfit from contemporaneous anatomy lesson paintings. Although double family portraits were common in Dutch society, it was rare to commission a pendant *vanitas* portrait with a wife and husband holding a skull. Does the skull held by Hals's sitter then allude to his medical profession, or is it to be interpreted in the traditional *vanitas* context?

In summary, the skeleton as a memento mori symbol appeared first in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance associated with figures in northern European representations of the *ars moriendi*, Dance of Death, or *totentanz* (*danse macabre*). In the sixteenth century the depiction of the skeleton as a symbol of death evolved and was reduced to a skull. Individual and group portraits alluding to the concept of memento mori

or *vanitas* were painted displaying the skull. In the seventeenth century the symbolism of the memento mori expanded to include many emblematic objects in addition to the skull. Sometimes a portrait of the deceased was actually replaced by a skull as a new kind of painting emerged: *vanitas* still life paintings. As this theme expanded, the figure (portrait) reentered *vanitas* painting, and entire scenes became allegories on the transitoriness of human existence. Simultaneously, however, the image of the skull assumed a dual role: a symbol of occupation defining the professional status of the sitter, and as a traditional *vanitas* icon with all its attendant symbolism. This twofold meaning of the skull continues to intrigue art historians.

In the nineteenth century, these same symbols of vanity were still used, although in a somewhat sentimentalized form. For example, Lily Martin Spencer's *We Both Must Fade* (1869) depicts a beautiful young woman in a ball gown, holding a flower, and gazing into a full-length mirror. The fading of the flower may be more suggestive of the fading of beauty than of death, but the underlying *vanitas* associations are still at work. Arnold Böcklin's *Self-Portrait with Death Playing the Fiddle* (1872) is a more direct appropriation of the *vanitas* symbolism: the artist goes about his daily work, but Death is playing the tune.

See also Death; Excess; Pointing/Indicating; Toilet Scenes

Selected Works of Art

Ars Moriendi

Master S. I., *Ars Moriendi*, woodcut, 1464, from
Netherlandish Latin text

Totentanz, woodcut, 1492, printed by J. Meydenback,
Heidelberg, Germany

Wolgenut, Michael, *Dance of Death*, woodcut, 1493, from
Nuremberg Chronicle
Death, ivory, 1547, Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs

Skull or Skeleton as Vanitas Symbol

Cleve, Joos van, *St. Jerome*, 1521, private collection

Cleve, Joos van, *St. Jerome*, 1521, Cambridge, Massachusetts,
Fogg Art Museum

Alciati, Andrea, *Sepulchrum*, 1550, Emblem CDVII,
engraving, from *Emblemata*

Gheyn, Jacob de, II, *Vanitas*, oil on panel, 1603, New York,
Metropolitan Museum of Art

Heem, Jan Davidsz. de, *Vanitas Still Life*, circa 1628,
Pommersfelden, Germany, Shönborn Gallery

Rosa, Salvator, *Humana Fragilitas*, oil on canvas, circa 1650,
Cambridge, Cambridge University, Fitzwilliam Museum

Dou, Gerrit, *St. Jerome*, 1660, Dresden, Germany,
Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen

Bray, Jan de, *The Penitent Magdalene*, 1670, private
collection

Bubbles as Vanitas Symbol

Junius, Hadrianus, *Et Tutto Abbraccio, Et Nulla Stringo*,
1565, Emblem XVI, engraving, from *Emblemata*

Goltzius, Hendrik, *Quis Evadet/Nemo*, engraving, 1594,
Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen
Passe, Crispijn de, *Vanitas*, engraving after Maerten de Vos,
early seventeenth century, private collection
Molenaer, Jan, *Woman at Her Toilet (Allegory of Vanity)*,
1633, Toledo, Ohio, Art Museum
Poirters, Adriaen, *Vanitas*, engraving, 1649

Flowers as Vanitas Symbols

Goltzius, Hendrik, *Young Man Holding a Skull and a Tulip*,
drawing, 1614, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
Spencer, Lily Martin, *We Both Must Fade*, 1869, Washington,
D.C., National Collection of Fine Arts

Toilet Scenes as Vanitas Symbols

Steen, Jan, *Morning Toilet*, 1663, London, Royal Collection

Musical Instruments as Vanitas Symbols

Graf, Urs, *Vanitas*, engraving, circa 1525

Portraits with Vanitas Symbols

Jacobsz., Dirk, *Portrait of Pompeius Occo*, 1531, Amsterdam,
The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
Ketel, Cornelis, *Portrait of a Man*, tondo, 1574, Amsterdam,
The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum
Cronenburg, Adrien van (?), *Kathryn Berake*, circa 1580,
Cardiff, National Gallery of Wales
Cronenburg, Adrien van, *Woman and Child*, 1587, Madrid,
Spain, Prado
Hals, Frans, *Portrait of a Man*, 1611, Birmingham,
England, University of Birmingham, Barber Institute
of Fine Arts
Keyser, Thomas de, *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Sebastiaen
Egbertsz de Vrij*, 1619, Amsterdam, The Netherlands,
Historisch Museum
Leyster, Judith, or Frans Hals, *Young Man with a Skull*,
1626–1628, London, National Gallery
Craesbeeck, Joos van, *A Man Holding a Skull and a Pipe*,
circa 1630, private collection
Bailly, David, *Vanitas with a Portrait of a Young Painter*,
1651, Leiden, The Netherlands, Municipal Museum de
Lakenhal
Molenaer, Jan, *Family Making Music*, 1660, Haarlem, The
Netherlands, Frans Hals Museum
Nason, Pieter, *Portrait of a Doctor in Medicine*, 1665,
London, Dulwich Picture Gallery
Böcklin, Arnold, *Self-Portrait with Death Playing the Fiddle*,
oil on canvas, 1872, Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Still-Life Vanitas

Bailly, David, *Vanitas*, drawing, 1624, The Hague, The
Netherlands, Royal Library
Nieuland, Adriaen van, *Vanitas Still Life*, oil on panel,
1636, Haarlem, The Netherlands, Frans Hals Museum
Steenwyck, Harmen, *Vanitas Still Life*, oil on panel, before
circa 1656, Leiden, The Netherlands, Municipal Museum
de Lakenhal
Steenwyck, Harmen, *An Allegory of the Vanities of Human
Life*, oil on panel, before circa 1656, London, National
Gallery

Rosa, Salvator, *Vanitas*, oil on panel, before 1673,
Aberdeenshire, Scotland, Haddo House, Collection
Major David Gordon

Fame Achieved Through Death

Goltzius, Hendrik, *Fama and Historia*, engraving, 1586
Hondius, Hendrick, *The End Crowns the Work*, engraving,
1626

Emblems and Medals Relating to Vanitas

Marriage Medal, Frisian, seventeenth century, private
collection
Visscher, Roemer, *Nothing Is Empty or Meaningless*, 1614,
first emblem from *Sinnepoppen*
Visscher, Roemer, *Man Smoking*, 1614, emblem from
Sinnepoppen
Visscher, Roemer, *Tulip*, 1614, emblem from *Sinnepoppen*
Visscher, Roemer, *Purgo et Ornat*, 1614, emblem from
Sinnepoppen
Brune, Johan de, *The Marriage Bed Should Be Unstained*,
1614, emblem from *Emblemata of zinnewerk*, 1614
Cats, Jacob, *Widow*, 1658, emblem from *Houwelijk*
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VICES/DEADLY SINS

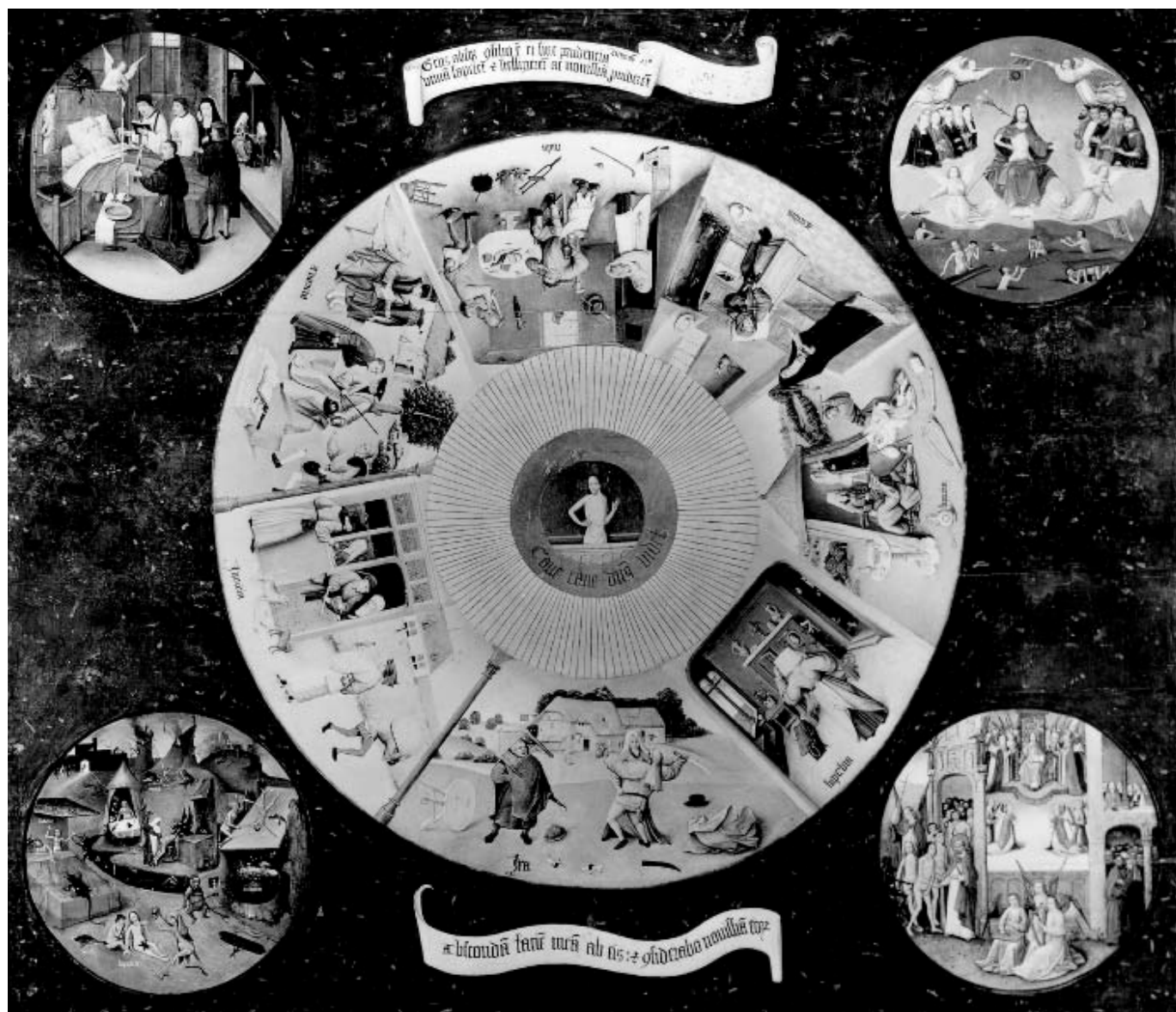
Liana De Girolami Cheney

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Vices/Deadly Sins:

MEDIEVAL

RENAISSANCE

MODERN



Hieronymus Bosch, *The Seven Capital Sins*, tabletop, 1475–1485, Madrid, Spain, Prado.
(Courtesy of Giraudon/Art Resource, New York)

Although the concepts of vice and sin have gained their principal elaboration in the theology of Christianity, the roots of the concepts lay in the ancient world. The Mithraic religion of the Romans, looking back to Persian Zoroastrianism, which had embraced the mystical significance of the number seven, imagined the soul rising through seven planetary spheres, each of which was associated with a vice. The sun was associated with pride, the moon with envy, Mars with anger, Mercury with greed, Jupiter with ambition, Venus with lust, and Saturn with sloth. The soul was purified of the accompanying vice as it passed through each sphere (Turner, p. 36).

The medieval world took the idea of seven vices and paired them with an equal number of virtues. The conflict between good and evil, also a heritage from Mithraism, was a popular theme in the medieval period, especially when portrayed as an actual combat between particular virtues and vices. The New Testament's repeated warning and promise that the Christian life is a perpetual conflict waged to gain "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding" (Philippians 4:7), the constant death unto sin, inspired many of the dominant themes in medieval literature and art (O'Reilly).

This conflict between actual characters representing the virtues and vices first appeared in *Psychomachia* (Battle for the Soul), by the fourth-century Spanish poet Prudentius, and it pervaded Christian imagery during the Middle Ages. In a picturesque form, Prudentius describes a series of combats between personifications of virtues and vices: Faith against Idolatry, Chastity against Lust, Humility against Pride, Patience against Wrath, Charity against Avarice, Hope against Despair, and Harmony against Discord. The work was popular in the Middle Ages; about 20 illuminated copies are extant, dating from the ninth through thirteenth centuries (Woodruff). Illustrations of the vices also appeared in many other manuscript illuminations, such as *Somme le Roi* (1279, MS 192, Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, England) and Jean Pucelle's *The Belleville Breviary* (circa 1325, MS Lat. 10483, Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris). The vices and virtues were depicted on the portals of French Romanesque cathedrals, such as avarice represented by the hanging of Judas on the portal of Ste. Foy in Conques. A didactic program of 12 vices and virtues was initiated on the west facade of Notre Dame in Paris at the beginning of the thirteenth century and copied at Chartres and Amiens.

During the Romanesque period, artists had illustrated the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius with the opposing virtues and vices in combat. However, in the thirteenth century, the combatants no longer occupy the same space. The vices and virtues are designated in an entirely new style, with virtue depicted in

its essence and vice by its effects (Mâle). The virtues, sculpted in bas-relief, are motionless, majestic seated women, and the vices are represented by dramatic scenes of action in roundels beneath each virtue. For example, a husband beating his wife represents discord, and a figure praying before an idol represents unbelief. Although the representations of the vices and virtues had an important place in French Romanesque and Gothic sculpture, these images are rare in Italy before the fourteenth century (Tuve).

Cardinal, or deadly, sins are usually personified in the visual arts by ugly persons; the number, assortment, and attributes of the figures vary, as can be seen in the illustrations of vices and seven deadly sins depicted as demons in Hans Baldung Grien's *Pomegranate Book* (1511). The most important are the following: Pride, a crowned woman with a bat's wing; Envy, a woman riding a dog with a bone in its mouth; Gluttony, a woman riding a fox with a goose in its mouth; Covetousness (or Avarice or Greed), a man sitting on a money chest, often with a badger; Sloth, a man sleeping on a donkey; Anger, a man tearing his garments or two men dueling with swords; Lust, a woman riding a pig or goat or a Siren holding both of her fishtails in her hands; Unbelief (or Idolatry), a person before an idol; Despair, a man hanging himself, as Judas; Folly, a man biting stones; and Cowardice, a man fleeing a hare. In the Baroque period, Envy (*Invidia*) was also portrayed as a bare-bosomed woman strangling herself, Blame (or Slander) as the Greek god Momus with a club, and Deceit (*Fraus*) as a snake with a human head and scorpion tails.

The cardinal and theological virtues as a septimal group came to be set in opposition to the seven vices or deadly sins: impurity or lust, gluttony, avarice, sloth, wrath, envy, and pride (the names sometimes vary). The two traditions of virtues and vices developed independently, however, so their pairing is confusing (O'Reilly; Holtausen).

A new type of Western mythology grew out of the traditional dualism of good and evil, or God and the devil, in Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The *Simia Dei*, or the devil, depicted in Hieronymus Bosch's paintings expresses this new mythology. The Roman Catholic Church, under the influence of the Dominican friars, aimed at persecuting and controlling heresy and witchcraft. The Dominican friars saw themselves as worshipers of God and their enemies as worshipers of the devil. Thus, the devil became for the Roman Catholic Church the *Simia Dei*, that is, the ape or the imitator of God (Michelet). The Roman Catholic Church's mission became to root out sin and the worshipers of the devil.

In December 1484, Pope Innocent VIII issued a bull condemning witchcraft in Europe, especially in Germany, and established a committee to destroy this spread of maleficence.

The committee was governed by the two sons of the pope: the Dominican friar and inquisitor Heinrich Institor (Kramer) and Jakob Sprenger. Two years after the papal bull, the inquisitors printed an encyclopedia of demonology, *Malleus Maleficarum* (The Hammer of Witches):

We may say that the devil can possess a man . . . we may say that since a man is by any mortal sin brought into devil's service . . . the devil provides suggestion of sin either to the senses or to the imagination, to that event the devil is said to inhabit in man. . . . (*Malleus Maleficarum*)

These two events—the papal bull of 1484 and the publishing of the results of the investigations in 1486—were the sources for a new Western mythology. That is, a systematic demonology was established on the basis of the fusion of social fears, popular superstitious, intellectual cosmology, and tales from folklore (Guazzo).

It is interesting to note that the means employed by the Roman Catholic Church to eliminate heresy and witchcraft contributed to the expansion of witchcraft in Europe. Witchcraft (or “witchcraze”) was used by individuals for personal gain and employed as a political tool to destroy enemies. The witchcraze movement achieved momentum in Spain, the Netherlands, and Germany during Bosch's lifetime in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Owing to a lack of information about Bosch's personal, artistic, and intellectual life, the interpretation of his paintings is both fascinating and problematic for the art historian (Charles de Tolnay, 1966; Walter Gibson, 1973; James Snyder, 1973; Laurinda Dixon, 1980; Wilhelm Fraenger, 1983). In explaining his works, many theorists have suggested such influences as alchemy and astrology, biblical texts, Netherlandish and German folktales and proverbs, secret religious practices (*devotio moderna*), and of course witchcraft (C. A. Burland, 1968; H. A. Kelly, 1968). The seven deadly sins (anger, avarice, envy, gluttony, lust, pride, and sloth) and the devil, or *Simia dei*, are clearly illustrated in the right wings of Bosch's triptychs representing hell in the paintings *Hay Wain* and *Garden of Earthly Delights* (both 1485–1505) in the Prado in Madrid, Spain; *Last Judgment* (1490–1510) in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria; and the tondo of hell from his *Seven Capital Sins* tabletop (1475–1485) in the Prado.

Bosch's early representations of hell are closely related to his depiction of vices, namely, the seven deadly sins; the later versions of hell become Bosch's visions of a phantasmagoric inferno. Here, devils or demons control, castigate, torture, and ultimately destroy those who have sinned through superstition and the practice of magic and witchcraft.

Bosch successfully associates hell with human beings' combat with vice and eroticism and with the practices of alchemy and witchcraze. In the paintings, one sees diabolical instruments, devices, musical instruments, tortures, the activities of demons, and the transformation of people into hybrid forms. From these observations, one may assume that Bosch is paralleling in painting the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church to destroy witchcraft. However, Bosch and the Roman Catholic Church, through their respective means—pictorial

image and literary manifestos such as *Visio Tundali* and *Malleus Maleficarum*—inadvertently encouraged and glorified the fantastic qualities of the witchcraze movement of this period.

These paintings of infernal scenes were commissioned by such wealthy and erudite patrons as Philip the Good, Philip the Handsome of Burgundy, Philip II of Spain, and the Spanish Brotherhood of Our Lady. Therefore, the iconography of these works—that is, the program depicted in these paintings—was probably stated by the patrons and their spiritual advisors. Although the interpretation of these works may puzzle viewers today, surely their meaning was clearly understood by their original audience.

In 1475, Bosch painted a round tabletop. In the corners are four tondos representing the final experience of the soul: death, Last Judgment, paradise, and/or hell. In the center of the tabletop is God's eye with the inscription “Be Aware, For God Sees All.” Seven allegorical scenes surround the eye of God, representing the seven deadly sins: vanity, lust, sloth, anger, gluttony, envy, and covetousness. Above and below these allegories are scrolls containing inscriptions commenting on the predicament of the individual if he or she proceeds in any of these types of sinful life. The inscriptions are taken from the Bible. The scroll at the top reads, “For they are a nation void of counsel, neither is there any understanding in them. O that they are wise, that they understood this, that they would consider their latter end!” (Deuteronomy 32:28–29). The bottom scroll states, “I will hide my face from them, I will see what their end shall be” (Deuteronomy 32:20). A moral and didactic message is issued, warning people of the calamities to come if they persist in committing sins.

In the tondo of hell, the inferno is painted as a fantastic landscape with red tonalities. The brown tones of the dry land contrast with a few hills transformed into burning ovens or mouths that spit fumes and flames. The red is especially dramatic in the background. In this infernal land, seven deadly sins receive their punishment: Anger is the man pierced with a sword on the torturer's bench, Avarice is the miser being stewed in a cauldron, and Pride is a devil holding a mirror up to a proud woman. A toad is seated on the lap of the woman (the toad is a symbol of a maleficent spirit). Lust is lovers being held down on a bed while a monster crawls around them, and a giant amphibian sits at the edge of the bed that harbors the adulterers (Frantz). Eventually, the lovers will be dragged into an icy river. The sea, rivers, and water are associated with works of magic. Sloth is an indolent man being hammered on an anvil, Gluttony is a person being served a meal of toads and lizards, and Envy is a man being eaten and torn to pieces by dogs.

Stylistically, the representations of hell in Bosch's paintings follow the traditions of a Netherlandish book of illuminations, contemporary German engravings, and Flemish paintings. In 1484, engravings for the book *The Art of Dying* (*Ars Moriendi* of Verard) were published; these prints were linked to the popular *Danses Macabres* (Dances of Death). *The Art of Dying* dealt with the relatively new fourteenth-century obsession with dying and the paraphernalia associated with death and dissolution (Boase). As this mania for death persisted, the modern art

of healing began to develop, and popular books were written on this topic. These books included information from medical texts and treatises concerning herbal remedies for sickness as well as astrology manuals providing guidance for better living (Arano).

Iconographically, contemporary literary works such as *Grand Calendrier des Bergers* (1493, Paris) describe a number of punishments for the seven deadly sins, especially lust, sloth, pride, and covetousness. Bosch's infernal paintings were also influenced by the tarot cards (Hamilton), which had become very popular at this time, along with poetry books (*Sterfboek*), alchemy manuals, medieval bestiaries (*Physiologus*), folk songs, theatrical settings and the theater, and last but not least *Visio Tundali*, which during the Middle Ages became an important treatise that explained the forces of the devil and offered a vision of hell. In this text, Satan, who had been depicted as an angel, becomes a type of demon, the Prince of Darkness (i.e., the devil, or *Simia Dei*), and devours greedy sinners, unchaste clergymen, and unbelievers (Ferguson). Furthermore, this text expounds an organization of hell consisting of three worlds: vegetable, mineral, and animal. Hybrid forms are spirits between the three worlds. The book also explains the coloration of hell and puts forward the idea that it is a forge where individuals end up when they commit one of the seven deadly sins.

Visio Tundali elaborates on the description of the seven deadly sins that lead man to damnation. Three of the deadly sins are emphasized (lust, avarice, and gluttony), and these vices are presented as the main branches of the tree of sin. These sins were especially condemned because they are monastic vices. *Visio Tundali* was a popular eschatological work of the Middle Ages and was used by the Roman Catholic Church in combating the witchcraze of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Roman Catholic Church hoped to expose the evil of magic and to debunk superstitions, divine spirits, idolatry, demonic doctrine, and false knowledge so that the followers of witches would be intimidated and return to the true faith: Christianity. Bosch was undoubtedly familiar with *Visio Tundali* because the Dutch version was published in Antwerp, Belgium, in 1484 and two years later was reprinted in 's Hertogenbosh, The Netherlands, Bosch's hometown. Clearly, Bosch's paintings of hell demonstrate his knowledge of this source.

Bosch's tondo of hell is the prototype for the right-wing triptychs of his middle- and later-period paintings that depict scenes of hell, such as *Hay Wain*, *Garden of Earthly Delights*, and *Last Judgment*. As stated earlier, Bosch's works are didactic and moralistic, although they expose the sins of men in an erotic, torturous, seductive, and fantastic manner. Like the *Malleus Maleficarum*, the antisatanist book on sexual offenses, his works tend to emphasize the individual's tendency to weakness of flesh and mind. The satanic imagery is influenced by Bosch's knowledge of alchemy and concerns about heresy. Like the judges of the Inquisition, Bosch also judges, using torturous devices to castigate his creations. In Bosch's view, one fears death because of the Last Judgment, as illustrated in the various triptychs. This concept appears in the *Hay Wain* triptych, where judgment and punishment are imposed for the sin of avarice; in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* triptych, where lust

is condemned; and in the *Last Judgment* triptych and the tondo of hell, where figures allegorically representing all seven deadly sins are castigated.

Bosch's paintings are an amalgam of two kinds of meaning: iconographic and stylistic. His symbols are visual metaphors that he invented to convey his understanding of the artistic and literary tradition of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Bosch's paintings of hell guide us to the study of iconography, that is, to the study of the attitudes of his society. Bosch establishes in his paintings of hell a dictionary of demonology based, first, on the symbolism of the seven deadly sins; second, on the way in which these sins are committed by individuals through the senses, eroticism, alchemy, and witchcraft; and, finally, on the Roman Catholic Church's punishment for sacrilegious attitudes. Pictorially, Bosch supports the Roman Catholic Church's position and compliments the erudition of his patrons by drawing from contemporary literary sources. Bosch's depictions also continue the ancient tradition of attributing animal characteristics to both gods and demons. The Assyrians and the Babylonians depicted the devil with the head of a lion and the feet of an eagle. Sometimes the Egyptians represented the devil as a baboon. Medieval Christian representations of the devil portray him as a dragon, goat, wolf, cat, owl, or half-human form. Bosch's representations are based on these literary and visual assimilations as well as on images from the Bible expressed in St. Augustine's *City of God*, Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologia*, *Visio Tundali*, and *Malleus Maleficarum*. Just as the Inquisition enlarged fifteenth-century concerns with the devil, representations of demons were used to promote religious and political issues. For example, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the devil appeared in literary works and in pictures in human disguise as a monk, a learned professor in robes, or a man with claws, horns, or bat's wings. The devil is a force of evil in the world and rules the underworld. The devil consumes the body or the soul of a person. It demands one's life or virtue, as seen in Bosch's paintings of hell.

According to Matthew and the Book of Enoch, evil is associated with hell and fire deriving from the transformation of fallen angels into devils. The rebel angel Lucifer, whose sin of pride caused his fall from the heavens into the abyss (hell), caused the creation of hell and the underworld. The linking of hell to fire comes from the legend of Vulcan, the god of fire in pagan mythology. The worship of Vulcan and the secret cults of evil powers later become associated with Lucifer and the underworld. Like a pagan god, the devil in hell is ruler of the underworld. The devil is god of hell, the instigator of sin, and then juror and punisher for the sinner's deeds. In Bosch's paintings, the images of hell are associated with fire and water—this association relates to alchemist practices of the time. The musical instruments symbolize eroticism and the sin of lust, whereas torture devices and hybrid forms are used to imply punishment and castigation.

The exterior of the *Hay Wain* triptych depicts a vagabond or a pilgrim of life and clearly illustrates the infernal punishment for committing one of the deadly sins: avarice. Bosch's vagabond was tempted and has fallen in sin, and he is depicted as a depraved alcoholic. His fall is noted in his attire, glance,

and gaze; objects he carries, such as the spoon, allude to the sin of lust, and his torn clothes symbolize unchastity. In the exterior of the triptych, Bosch portrays the vagabond crossing a bridge and walking toward the right of the painting. When the triptych is opened, the viewer sees Bosch's intention regarding the direction the vagabond walks: As he crosses the bridge (exterior panel), he approaches another bridge leading to the gates of hell (interior right panel). Bosch paints the vagabond moving away from paradise, the left panel in the triptych. At the top of the paradise panel, the viewer sees fallen angels; at the bottom of the panels, Adam and Eve occupy the Garden of Eden. In the center of the triptych, the sin of avarice is allegorically depicted. This scene reminds the viewer of the Bible and the Netherlandish proverb "The world is a haystack from which one plucks as much as he can." Therefore, the hay cart is an allegory for perishableness on Earth. Other sins such as greed, sloth, lust, and covetousness are also illustrated in the center of the triptych. Elaboration of the pictorial description of hell, on the right wing, suggests the proper punishment for these and the vagabond's sins. For example, a woman has a toad on her lap (the sin of pride), and dogs (the sin of envy) attack a man. A man being devoured by a monster depicts gluttony. A warrior enters the mouth of hell on an ox, symbol of a sacrilege committed. On the bridge, souls are pushed by the devil into infernal towers or alchemists' ovens. At the top, the devils build more infernal towers.

On the exterior, the triptych *Garden of Earthly Delights* depicts a world in the state of formation—the separation of the waters and earth is taking place. In the interior, again, a scene from paradise is seen on the left panel. In the center, the sin of lust is allegorically depicted. According to Netherlandish folklore and literature, especially the book of poetry *Styevooort*, "the world is for plucking of flowers and fruits." This proverb is a euphemism for sexual desires in humans. Incubus and succubus demons descend on humans in the night to perform perverted sexual acts. These demons were identified by Aquinas in *Summa Theologia* and by St. Augustine in *City of God*, and condemnation of them is found in *Malleus Maleficarum*. The incubus devils have male forms and attack females, whereas the succubus demons are female and attack males. In the right wing of the triptych is the depiction of hell. In the book of Revelation of St. John, hell is described as an eschatological world where Satan (*Belphegor*) is seated on a stool presiding over the underworld (Moeller). In this version of hell, a large number of musical instruments are punishing the individual. The musical instruments symbolize sexual appetites and represent the genitals of men and women. The musical tools are also symbols of the sin of lust. This representation of hell is more fantastic, but never as phantasmagoric, as the depiction of hell from the *Last Judgment* triptych. It is a continuation of the northern Renaissance tradition in art. The deadly sins and eschatological themes of death, hell, and judgment are clearly combined in the *Garden of Earthly Delights* triptych. It is a world of folly narrated in biblical texts, parables, and Netherlandish songs and proverbs in which moral implications are allegorically stated. Bosch's imagery in these infernal paintings inculcates a moral system and castigates sin.

The *Last Judgment* triptych combines the medieval themes with the fantastic elements of the apocalypse, all seen in a chaotic jungle of fires. The Earth, in the central panel, is given over to the infernal monsters. The background is full of horrors, pits, flaming houses, and towers. Hell rushes out angrily, people are burned alive or hanged, millstones of agonies occur, devils fly, and water tortures are seen in the depths of the rivers Erebus and Avernus. Evil is loosed on the world, and the picture of retribution found in the hell in the tondo of *Seven Deadly Sins*, in the hell of the *Hay Wain* triptych, or in the hell in *Garden of Earthly Delights* is tame compared to the *Last Judgment* triptych. Here, Earth is infested with the power of evil. The seven deadly sins are again depicted, and their punishment is described. Further castigation of individuals for their sins spreads not only on their final day—the day of the Last Judgment—but also continuously through their daily lives, as life on earth is infernal. In these paintings of hell, Bosch, faithful to *Visio Tundali* and *Malleus Maleficarum*, has described the powers of Satan and their manifestations: Satan is the architect, creator, and ruler of the underworld just as God is the designer of the world. Satan is the *Simia Dei*.

As divine wisdom permits certain evil to be done by bad, Angels or men, for the sake of the good that God draws, therefrom, so also the good Angels do not altogether, prevent wicked men or devils from doing evil. (*Malleus Maleficarum*)

In 1560, Pieter Bruegel the Elder engraved a series depicting both the vices and the virtues. Within the medieval and Renaissance traditions, the vices are represented by jewels (pride, vanity), pronk goblets (pride, avarice), mirrors (pride, vanity), bottles with perfumed water (vanity), money and money boxes (avarice), roasted game (gluttony), mussels (lust), and snails (sloth). These attributes were supplemented by later examples from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1603).

During the thirteenth century in Italy, Giotto painted a virtue and vice cycle in fresco in the Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy. Giotto, following the medieval iconographic tradition, focused on the pairing of cardinal and theological virtues with vices. Charity, for example, was paired with envy. Neither Bruegel nor Giotto, in these representations of vice, was led by the impact of witchcraft that is illustrated in Bosch's vices depicted in the Prado tabletop.

The Italian Renaissance, reluctant to give up a medieval pattern of ideas, took up the virtues and vices, although they now assumed the shapes of pagan gods and goddesses, and their message tended to reflect courtly rather than clerical values. The humanists who devised these pictorial programs were following the medieval tradition. Parida da Ceresara, one of the principal humanists and advisers in the court of Isabella d'Este, designed the program for her private rooms in the Ducal Palace at Mantua, Italy. Perugino's *Battle of Love and Chastity* (1504), now in the Louvre in Paris, and Andrea Mantegna's *Wisdom Overcoming Vice* (1502), also currently in the Louvre, were painted to illustrate Ceresara's program. Late Baroque sculptural groups often portray the Stations of the Cross as individual scenes in which Jesus Christ atones for specific vices or sins of humanity.

Contemporary artists have largely forgotten the theme of the vices or seven deadly sins. However, there is at least one horrific exception: the *Seven Deadly Sins* by Paul Cadmus (1945–1949). Seven separate panels—*Lust, Pride, Sloth, Anger, Envy, Avarice*, and *Gluttony*—provide bisexual personifications of the venal sins in harsh colors and ugly forms. In fact, they are so genuinely disgusting and repulsive that they are rarely exhibited.

See also *Avarice*; *Damned Souls*; *Envy*; *Excess*; *Sin/Sinning*; *Virtue/Virtues*; *Witchcraft/Sorcery*

Selected Works of Art

Medieval

Prudentius, *Psychomachia* (*Battle for the Soul*), manuscript, fourth century; French, ninth century, Leiden, The Netherlands, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit (Cod. Vossianus Lat. Oct. 15); South German or Swiss, first half of tenth century, Bern, Switzerland, Stadtbibliothek (Ms. 264); French, tenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. Lat. 8318)

The Vice of Idolatry, relief on central portal, west front, after 1220, Amiens, France, Cathedral

Faith and Idolatry, relief, left inner pier on west side, south transept porch, circa 1220–1230, Chartres, France, Cathedral

Renaissance

Giotto, *Virtues and Vices*, fresco, after 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Bosch, Hieronymus, *The Seven Capital Sins*, tabletop, 1475–1485, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Hay Wain*, 1485–1505, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Garden of Earthly Delights*, 1485–1505, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Bosch, Hieronymus, *Last Judgment*, 1490–1510, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Mantegna, Andrea, *Wisdom Overcoming Vice*, 1502, Paris, Louvre

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Modern

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VIRGIN/VIRGINITY

Diane Apostolos-Cappadona

The following iconographic narratives are covered in the discussion of the theme Virgin/Virginity:

APHRODITE/VENUS

ATHENA

VIRGIN GODDESSES

VIRGIN MARY

IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

VIRGIN SAINTS AND MARTYRS

VIRGIN BIRTH: ATHENA

VIRGIN BIRTH: NATIVITY

ELIZABETH I



Ludovisi Throne (Throne of Venus), Parian marble relief, 480–450 B.C., Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme. (Courtesy of Max Hirmer)

Etymologically, neither the word *virgin* nor the concept of virginity originally referred to a physical state. Although the Latin word *virgo* and the Greek word *parthenos* are commonly translated as “maiden” or “virgin,” the root meaning of the words *virgo* and *parthenos* is the condition of being unmarried. *Virgo* can be interpreted as meaning “a woman without a man” and *parthenos* as “belonging-to-no-man.” Since the changes in sexual conventions during the nineteenth century, *virgin* and *virginity* have denoted a state of physical ignorance of the opposite sex. (Throughout this essay, a cautionary division between sex and gender is maintained. Sex is a physical reality and is identified by specific bodily, predominately genital, parts. Gender, on the other hand, is a socially conditioned form of behavior that may or may not be related to sexual identification or preference.)

Virginity was neither sex-specific nor a permanent state of being in the classical, pre-Christian Western world. A transitional or temporary stage in a person's life, virginity could be a temporary state of sexual renunciation, a spiritual cleansing in an effort to incur ritual purity, or simply the stage of life that ended with marriage. In this classical definition of virginity, the virgin was understood to be neither male nor female, but a mediator between the human sexes and between heaven and Earth. Virginity was a state of primordial innocence that implied inviolable purity and thereby a closer and more direct contact with nature. Unspoiled by sexual tension, the virgin belonged to her or himself and was true to nature and to natural instinct. In this state between childhood and adulthood, masculinity and femininity, the virgin existed in ambiguity. Belonging to both the male and the female worlds, the virgin was an intermediary figure capable of mediating between the human and the sacred. Therefore, in preparation for participation in a religious rite, an otherwise sexually mature man or woman would enter into a period of sexual abstinence in order to obtain the ritual purity of the virgin.

In the classical, pre-Christian Western world, then, the concept of virginity and of the virgin indicated both the physical condition of sexual innocence and the social condition of being an unmarried person. Being mature meant that sexuality had been defined through physical experience, ostensibly with a marriage partner, and therefore an individual was identified as being a man or a woman. By implication, one who elected to live in a state of perpetual virginity was considered to be in the same social order as a child. Thus, the original concept of virginity conveyed an identifiable status in the social order, not a state of sexual activity. Even throughout Christian history there is a remnant of this original understanding, especially in the identification of certain saintly or holy women who were widowed or had renounced a previous life of sexual promiscuity as “virgins.” In such cases, such as the woman whom the Western Christian tradition came to identify as Mary Magdalen, the

term *virgin* was applied as an honor that indicated a state of sanctity or ritual purity.

The sacred virgins of the classical world fell into two categories: virgin goddesses or the priestesses (and devotees) of virgin goddesses. Virgin goddesses were women associated with awesome creative power and nature. From earliest human history, virgin goddesses were defined as either maiden or mother. Maidens signified powerful forces of renewal and regeneration, and in this mirrored the cyclical character of nature. Mothers, on the other hand, provided the sustaining and nutrient powers of life, and in this paralleled the enduring power of the Earth. On a secular level, this divine dichotomy of maiden and mother was translated into that of virgin and wife. This translation became a major social distinction with the advent of a patriarchal and patrilineal society in classical culture.

The advent of a patriarchal society most probably paralleled the development of the religious concept of central divinity—from mother goddess to that of father god—as well as the economic movement from country to city. For a patriarchal society to operate, it is necessary to control and protect female sexuality. In the ancient world, women and young girls were restricted in their activities and companions. Sexual activity had to be both monogamous and confined to marriage, and premarital sex was forbidden. Communal as well as familial honor was subject to critique, if not failure, should a bride prove not to be a virgin. Elaborate wedding night rituals were established to ensure the virginity of the bride, such as the bride's mother's public parade of the bridal bed sheet (appropriately stained with blood) on the morning following the wedding night. Such actions certified the paternity of a husband's children, especially his eldest son.

Virgin goddesses, their priestesses, and their female servants, were not subject to such indignities. They were never fully subordinated to either a god or a human. Virgin goddesses were not always innocent of sexuality or sexual experiences. They were virgins simply by virtue of being unmarried, and thereby “one-in-herself.” For these goddesses, and by extension for their priestesses, being virginal signified both limitations and independence within the patriarchal social order. They were granted access to the wilderness—place of animals, nature, and freedom from the restrictions of the city—and by extension granted the right to experience their individual natural and bestial instincts, such as uncontrolled sexual passion. Such activities—from contact with the wildness of nature to experiences of personal passions—were inappropriate in a wife.

In the classical Greek pantheon, there were five goddesses who were defined and respected as virgin goddesses: Hestia, Aphrodite, Athena, Artemis, and Hera. As the goddess of the domestic and communal hearth, Hestia exemplified the virtues of trustworthiness, domesticity, and continuity. Her virginity was deliberately chosen, as she shunned all opportunities for

sexual adventures or entanglements. Her cult renewed the ancient matrilineal bonds among women. She symbolized maternal love for all children, especially for orphans. Imagined and revered as an older, previously married woman who had returned to a state of “belonging-to-no-man,” Hestia was distinguished from her Roman counterpart Vesta, who remained a virgin from childhood.

There were three elements (or natures) inherent to the indigenous mother goddess in classical Greek culture: mothering and domestic matriarchy was exhibited by Hera as the mother of Olympus; wisdom was personified by Athena; and eternal virginity was personified by Aphrodite as Kore. Although Aphrodite enjoyed the male privilege of sexual freedom (in this respect, she was the most male [read: free] of all the goddesses) and reveled in her sex adventures, her sexuality was specifically one of transformative power, as opposed to the human experience of sexuality as a matter of possession. As Kore, Aphrodite was revered for her virginity as both a physicality and a mode-of-being. Her regular participation in ritual baths, mimicking her birth from the sea, renewed her virginity, as can be seen in the *Ludovisi Throne* (or *Throne of Venus*) marble relief (480–450 B.C.) in Rome. The iconography of the Venus Pudica, or Venus of Modesty, in which the nude goddess attempted to cover her breasts with her right arm and her genitals with her left arm, was an appropriate visual example of both her restored virginity and her sexuality. The pose and gestures of the Venus Pudica call attention to her beautiful body and sexual nature as well as her virginal modesty and shyness, as exemplified by the marble *Medici Venus* (third century B.C.). Even as Kore, Aphrodite was a virgin only in the sense of being independent of the control of a patriarchal marriage, not as a nonsexual woman.

As the symbol of wisdom and reasoned behavior, Athena was characterized by her descriptives: *pallas*, meaning “maiden,” and *parthenos*, meaning “belonging-to-no-man.” She was the goddess of the masculine art of war and the feminine arts of pottery, weaving, and healing. Thus, she stood on the margin between man and woman, masculinity and femininity, destruction and creation. Her virginity, or maidenhood, permitted her the privilege of consorting with men, especially warriors, as an equal, and the privilege of engaging in the masculine pursuit of battle and military victory. At the same time, she was empowered by the feminine ability to heal and to create. For example, as the patroness of weaving, Athena was simultaneously capable of the multiple meanings of weaving: creation of cloth (garments, covers, wall tapestries), gestation of a child, and gestation of an idea. She was singular among goddesses in her association with the city, and thereby a transformer of the feminine alliance with nature (including instinct and intuition), which was signified by her epithet “tamer of horses.” In her symbolic and physical virginity, Athena stood as a mediator between men and women, nature and city, war and civilization, physicality and intellect. Her “virgin” birth as a fully grown woman dressed in peplos, armor, and helmet and holding a spear and shield, from the forehead of her father, Zeus, king of the gods, denoted from her beginning her special status between the sacred and secular worlds. The priestesses of Athena were required to maintain chaste, nonsexual existences. Artistic representations of Athena, such as Phidias’s sculpture *Athena Parthenos* (fifth century B.C.), emphasized an androgyn-

nous body, posture, gesture, and clothing. For example, the long flowing feminine peplos contrasted with the armor that protected her torso, and the thickening of her body signified not a postmenopausal female form, but the more muscular solidity of a male warrior.

Artemis (the Roman Diana), as goddess of the moon, wild places, childbirth, and women, governed the sacredness of the “margins” from hunting to child-rearing, from confinement to battle. As *kourotrophos* (rearer of the young), she guided humanity from the embryo to puberty to physical maturity in childbirth and child-rearing. As patroness of these human rites of passage and initiation, Artemis embodied the waxing and waning properties of the moon. In classical art, she was depicted as a masculinized, androgynous huntress clad in a short tunic with a bow and quiver slung over her shoulder and a crescent moon resting in her hair. She was accompanied by her faithful canine companions as she hunted wild animals. Like Athena, this so-called “mistress of the wild beasts” embodied both masculine and feminine traits.

As a mother goddess, Hera was a fully sexual woman who had married, experienced female sexual identity, and borne children. She was the symbol of universal fecundity and the fullness of female experience. Hera served as an example that at all ages a woman belonged primarily to herself—both her virginity and her sexuality were hers, not something she gave to another to control. Her marital (read: sacramental) union with Zeus signified the *hieros gamos* that brought fertility to the Earth. On a regular basis, Hera took a ritual bath in the spring Canthus (Canathos) in Nauplion to regain her physical virginity as a preparation for her mating with Zeus. This ritual virginity denoted that sexuality was a transformative power, not a matter of physical, emotional, or intellectual possession. Hera signified that the sexually and intellectually mature woman was a virgin in the sense of being independent from patriarchal marriage. As the mother goddess of Olympus, Hera was imagined as a physically mature matron whose body acknowledged her transitions through the full female experience, as well as signified the androgyny of the virgin marginalized between male and female roles.

On the general societal level, virginity was signified either by the dress and hairstyles of individual young women as a mode of public identification that they were unmarried, or by the priestesses (female religious functionaries) of virgin goddesses. Best known among this latter category were the vestal virgins who served the Roman goddess Vesta (the Greek Hestia). These women were consecrated from puberty to a 30-year term of service to the goddess. This term consisted of 10 years of training to become a vestal, 10 years of actual service as a vestal, and 10 years to train new vestals. During this entire 30-year period, however, these women were required to remain sexually inactive and chaste. There were strict and severe civil penalties for those men who “tainted” a vestal. The chief obligations of the vestals were to protect the fire in the Temple of Vesta (thereby protecting the domestic hearths of Rome), to bring water from the sacred spring, and to prepare salt from that sacred water for ritual use. The vestals lived in the in-between world of everyday life: they dressed and had the legal rights of married women but were treated like unmarried brides; they had male characteristics as an aspect of their public androgyny (sexual inactivity) and were thereby ambiguous in their social

status (being neither male or female, adult or child). Like brides, they were on the brink between the states of being married and unmarried.

The common visual characteristics associated with virginity in the classical world were long, loose flowing hair; loose flowing white garments; an androgynous body; and any of the following icons: a crescent moon, white flowers, a clear glass jar/bottle, or a companion animal, most frequently a little dog. These elements, found in depictions of both virgin goddesses and virgins of the human order (from vestal virgins to ordinary unmarried young women), influenced both the concept and the iconography of virginity in Christian art and culture.

For the early Roman Catholic Church fathers, the virginal life reduced a woman's special penalties from the Fall and thereby made her holy. The virgin's physical body—a mirror of her spiritual body—was understood to be an image of wholeness (implying both physical wholeness and spiritual holiness): saved from the ravages of sexual lust, sexual intercourse, marriage, pregnancy, and childbirth. Before the fourth century, the majority of virgin martyrs suffered and died for their faith in the Roman arena as a way of protecting the chastity of their physical bodies; the secondary cause of their condemnation to death was their refusal to burn offerings of incense to the Roman emperor. Among these earliest Christian virgin martyrs were Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Apollonia, Catherine of Alexandria, and Euphemia. These Christian virgins were identified as holy women who sought an early form of *imitatio Christi* as a means of reversing the division of humanity into sexually active men and women after the Fall. They wanted to be “like men,” at least in the physical and spiritual image of their bodies—not like the classical virgin goddesses who sought sexual identity without the restrictions of marriage—and followed the early Christian theology of Jesus Christ as the vehicle (and thereby his male body as the vessel) of salvation. To be saved meant to be male, and there is a corresponding emphasis in early Christian and Byzantine art in the representation of male body forms (genitalia excluded) for these virgin martyrs.

These “Holy Women” taught catechisms, assisted presbyters as deaconesses, and covered their heads (I Corinthians 11). In seeking to overcome sexual differences and to live in a chaste, paradisiacal state, they established the model for the later development of female monasticism. Like the vestal virgins, these holy women officiated at rituals, were models of faith, lived in a chaste community, and existed ambiguously as neither male nor female, married nor unmarried. The classical iconography of virginity—androgynous body shapes, long flowing hair, long flowing white garments, white flowers, a clear glass jar/bottle, and other attributes such as a little animal—were assimilated into the Christian iconography of these virgin martyrs, all of whom became saints. The one consistent additional attribute was the palm of martyrdom.

The fourth century—one of the most pivotal periods in the history of Christianity—saw critical developments in the concepts of virginity and martyrdom, as well as in the role of art in the Church and the iconography of Christian virgins. The Council of Nicaea (A.D. 325), which issued the famed Nicene Creed that standardized the definition of who was a Christian and the nature of Jesus as the Christ, also declared, “If therefore a girl wants to be called a virgin, she should resemble

Mary.” Thus it was the Nicene Creed that established the spiritual, devotional, and iconographic importance of Mary's virginity as both an ideal and a model for Christian women.

The Roman emperor Constantine's edicts tolerating Christianity, as well as his later declaration of Christianity as the official religion of the Roman empire, helped shift Christian interpretations of virginity far away from the classical ideal of a woman “belonging-to-no-man” to one of a life of self-denial and ascetic renunciation of the flesh aimed at overcoming woman's decadent and depraved nature (as inherited from Eve). Constantine's abolition of the persecution of Christians, especially his ban on crucifixion, resulted in a new definition for Christian martyrdom. As the “red” martyrdom of human blood faded away within a generation, the “white” martyrdom of female virginity and male celibacy became pivotal to the cultural meaning of virginity: now to be virginal was to be ascetic, self-denying, dedicated to God, and a martyr. The Christian virgin subjugated her physical body to the pain and ordeals of ascetic discipline (including starvation and self-flagellation) as a mode of attaining spiritual sanctity. Leading Church fathers of the fourth and early fifth century, wrote lengthy and oftentimes vivid descriptions of the behavior appropriate for a Christian martyrdom. From St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan's *Instructions of a Virgin* to St. Jerome's famed *Letter to Eustochium*, young Christian women were advised on modes of dress and hairstyles, proper texts to read, and methods of spiritual meditation as a form of sexual renunciation. These varied documents fused with the devotional and pious legends of the early Christian virgin martyrs. A cultural ethos was created in which the iconography of virginity denoted a state of physical perfection through sexual innocence and chastity. Along with strict ascetic discipline and physical suffering, this became the proper path to salvation for Christian women and girls. A virgin's body would then be categorized as pristine, whole, natural, and integral; probably it would take the form of an androgynous, nonsexual being.

With the additional decree of the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), which declared the Virgin Mary as *Theotokos* (God-bearer) and outlined the appropriate modes of veneration and iconography for this honor, visual depictions of Christian virgins began to follow an idealized model of Mary's “disembodied” bodiliness. Christian virgins were depicted resembling either St. Thecla (or Tecla) or the Virgin Mary. Depicted like St. Thecla, they would appear nude to reveal an androgynous, if not male, body; or dressed as a man with short cropped hair, like a man's; and show physical signs of suffering. Depicted like the Virgin Mary, they would appear in a loosely flowing garment that revealed less a sense of body than of ephemerality, and with an idealized and sentimentalized face and long flowing hair. As Mariology (including Marian devotions and iconography) increased over the next 10 centuries of Christian history, the scriptural and legendary epithets associated with Mary's perpetual virginity, from Ezekiel's shut gate to Solomon's sealed fountain to the legendary rose without thorns, entered into the iconography of the Virgin Mary and of Christian virgins such as Barbara, Ursula, and Dorothea. Whatever was visually appropriate for the model became necessary for the devotees and practitioners.

Additional iconic motifs reemphasizing Mary's perpetual virginity were established in the medieval and Baroque periods.

Most significant among these were the icons introduced as multiple elements of a single scene, such as the window through which the dove of the Holy Spirit enters Mary's bedroom without shattering the glass in representations of the Annunciation. The introduction of the motif of Mary kneeling before her newborn son in northern medieval depictions of the Nativity eventually resulted in the development of the iconography of the Adoration of the Child. This motif of Mary kneeling was derived from the *Revelations of St. Bridget of Sweden* (fourteenth century), in which the saint recounted her vision of the Nativity as an affirmation of Mary's perpetual virginity and the Immaculate Conception, for the birth mother suffered no pain as prescribed for the descendants of Eve in the Old Testament. Rather, according to St. Bridget, Mary merely knelt to meditate upon God's mysteries in the stable in Bethlehem, and when she finished her prayers she opened her eyes to find herself fully delivered of a healthy son. According to James's apocryphal *Protoevangelium*, the midwife Salome doubted the virginity of the birth and tried to examine the Virgin, whereupon she experienced a searing pain in her hand, which shriveled upon her touch. Only when she recanted her doubts and placed her hand on the Child was she cured. According to the modern critic Marina Warner, Robert Campin's *The Nativity* (before 1444) in Dijon, France, depicts this scene, while others, such as Piero della Francesca's *The Nativity* (before 1492) in the National Gallery in London, were influenced by St. Bridget's visions. The narrative and imagery was banned by the Council of Trent (1545–1565) and do not appear after that date.

Other medieval legends and devotions of the Virgin Mary led to the initiation of iconographies of the Assumption (declared dogma by Rome in 1950) and the Immaculate Conception (declared dogma by Rome in 1854). These two motifs were further developed by Baroque artists who sought to defend Mary's uniqueness against the attacks of the Protestant reformers. The iconography of the Dormition of Mary (later misidentified in Western Christian art as the Death of the Virgin) developed from the Byzantine iconography of the *Koimesis* (Falling Asleep), and reached a zenith in Baroque art as a further visual defense of Mary's singularity and perpetual virginity. Just as she was exempt from "the curse of Eve" in childbirth by grace of the Immaculate Conception (which also freed her from the limitation of human lust), so too was Mary freed from "the sting of death." Medieval devotions and devotional images of the Dormition, for example, emphasized both her perpetual virginity and freedom from physical death by including the leitmotif of the dropping of her girdle upon the head of the Apostle Thomas (also known as Thomas the Doubter). Works of art depicting the various stages of the Virgin Mary's life are treated elsewhere in this encyclopedia (see the *Index of Judeo-Christian Personages, Place and Concepts* under Mary/Virgin/Madonna).

By the Renaissance, the traditional iconographic elements of virginity—long flowing hair, long white dress, veil, white flowers, and child attendants (the medieval Christian alternative to little animal companions)—became the symbols of the bride. Such a secularization of the previously sacred iconography and understanding of virginity reflected its complete transformation in Western culture from the initial classical model of a woman "belonging-to-no-man," to the patriarchal cultural requirement for the paternity of children, to Christian martyrdom, to

the modes of the Virgin Mary and Christian female monastics, and finally to its socialization as the attributes of the secular bride.

Two variants on the theme of virginity influenced the artistic traditions of Western culture. The first of these variants was the iconography of virginity renewed or reborn, as established in the iconography and mythology of Hera and Aphrodite, both of whom had their virginity renewed through ritual bathing. This classical ritual bathing was paralleled both narratively and iconographically in Western Christian art in representations of newly baptized Christian women such as Mary of Egypt, who previously had led a life of sexual activity (whether as wives, courtesans, or prostitutes) and were now "restored" to physical perfection by a new life in Christ, as well as in representations of Mary Magdalen and the iconographic motif of her tears, which signified her repentance and sorrow and thereby restored her. By the fourth century Mary Magdalen was a conflation of at least five women from the New Testament and was identified by the honorific term *virgin* in ecclesiastical prayers, hymns, and other texts.

The other variant on the theme of virginity was that of virgin birth. In this case the classical model was the legend and iconography of the birth of Erichthonius, the first king of Athens, Greece. Hephaestus, son of Zeus and Hera and the God of fire, in a thwarted effort to possess the virgin goddess, Athena, watched as his ejaculated sperm fell from her leg and onto the ground (Mother Earth). Mother Earth soon gave birth to Erichthonius, assisted in the delivery by Athena. Visual parallels can easily be drawn between Hellenistic renderings of the spray of Hephaestus's sperm falling from Athena's thigh to the ground and renderings of the rays of light that surround the descent of the dove (the Holy Spirit) onto the Virgin Mary's womb (or ear, head, or heart, depending upon the artistic and theological intent).

The signs and symbols of virginity from both the classical and the Christian world were borrowed self-consciously in the iconography of the sixteenth-century portraits of Elizabeth I, Queen of England. In order to emphasize her independence from foreign entanglements, particularly the courts of France and Spain who sought her hand in marriage, Elizabeth blatantly portrayed her status, in both text and image, as a virgin, a woman "belonging-to-no-man." *Queen Elizabeth I* (circa 1580) by an unknown, probably Italian school painter, now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale in Siena, Italy, depicts her holding a sieve, said to be her favorite device (Gaunt, p. 40). It refers to Pliny's (the Elder or the Younger?) story of Tuccia, the Roman vestal virgin who proved her chastity by carrying water in a sieve from the Tiber back to the Temple of Vesta (*Natural History*, 28:12). In the same portrait she also wears a conspicuous brooch with a pendant pearl. The pendant pearl, like the rose—also used by Elizabeth—was a symbol associated with the Virgin, but one that had the advantage of avoiding the implication of Mariolatry in Protestant England, as it had other associations as well. In *Queen Elizabeth I* (*The "Ermine" Portrait*) (late sixteenth century) attributed to Nicholas Hilliard, an ermine (a kind of weasel), an animal whose white winter coat was associated with the spotlessness of virginity, adorns her arm. According to legend, an ermine would die if its whiteness were soiled. An attribute of chastity, the ermine also graced the cloaks of virgin saints, particularly St. Ursula, as

well as the robes of royalty. By using these and other classical and Christian symbols of virginity, Elizabeth I advertised her all-encompassing chastity and purity among women, as well as her uniqueness as an impenetrable monarch of the English nation.

See also Annunciation; Bath/Bathing; Birth/Childbirth; Hermaphrodite/Androgyne; Margins/Outsiders; Marriage/Betrothal; Whiteness

Selected Works of Art

Aphrodite/Venus

Aphrodite on a Goose, terra-cotta statuette, fifth century B.C., Paris, Louvre

Aphrodite, terra-cotta vessel, 480–470 B.C., London, British Museum

Ludovisi Throne (Throne of Venus), Parian marble relief, 480–450 B.C., Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme

Medici Venus, marble, third century B.C., Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery

Athena

Phidias, *Athena Parthenos*, fifth century B.C., Athens, Greece, Parthenon Museum

Mourning Athena, fifth century B.C., Athens, Greece, Acropolis

Athena, terra-cotta vessel, 480–470 B.C., Munich, Germany, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst

Athena, gilt bronze relief plaque, circa 500 B.C., Athens, Greece, National Archaeological Museum

Athena, Roman copy after Phidias, fourth century B.C., Naples, Italy, Museo Nazionale

Virgin Goddesses

Pandora Rising from the Earth, terra-cotta vessel, 500–475 B.C., Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

Young Goddess (Demeter Kore or Hecate), relief, fourth century B.C., Athens, Greece, National Art Museum

Kore, terra-cotta vessel, Berlin, Staatliche Museum

Goddess Rising from the Earth, terra-cotta vessel, circa fourth century B.C., Brussels, Belgium, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire

Vestal Virgin, bronze statue, circa second century A.D., Paris, Louvre

Neroccio di Bartolomeo de' Landi, and Master of the Griselda Legend, *Claudia Quinta*, oil on wood, circa 1494, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Virgin Mary

Giotto, *Madonna and Child*, oil on wood, circa 1320–1330, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Paolo di Giovanni Fei, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, oil on wood, circa 1385, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Eyck, Jan van, *The Annunciation*, oil on canvas transferred from wood, circa 1434–1436, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Lippi, Filippo, *The Annunciation*, oil on wood, after 1440, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
Campin, Robert, follower of, *Madonna and Child with Saints in the Enclosed Garden*, oil on wood, circa 1440–1460, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Giovanni di Paolo, *The Annunciation*, oil on wood, circa 1445, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Tura, Cosimo, *Allegory of Spring*, oil on panel, 1460–1463, London, National Gallery

Master of the St. Lucy Legend, *Mary, Queen of Heaven*, oil on wood, circa 1485–1500, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Sittow, Michel, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, oil on wood, circa 1500, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Juan de Flandes, *The Annunciation*, oil on wood, circa 1510, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Girolamo da Carpi, *The Apparition of the Virgin*, oil on wood, circa 1530–1540, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Rubens, Peter Paul, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, oil on wood, circa 1626, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, 1628–1629, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Poussin, Nicholas, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, oil on canvas, circa 1626, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Van Dyck, Anthony, *The Assumption of the Virgin*, oil on canvas, 1628–1632, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Immaculate Conception

Giotto, *Meeting at the Golden Gate*, fresco, 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel

Tibaldi, Pellegrino, *Embrace at the Golden Gate*, fresco, before 1596, El Escorial, Spain

Velázquez, Diego, *The Immaculate Conception*, circa 1618, London, National Gallery

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, 1628–1629, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Zurbarán, Francisco de, *The Blessed Virgin Immaculately Conceived, with Saint Anne and Saint Joachim*, circa 1630–1640, Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland

Reni, Guido, *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception*, before 1642, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Murillo, Bartolomé, *Virgin of the Immaculate Conception with Six Figures*, 1662–1665, Paris, Louvre

Virgin Saints and Martyrs

Roundel of Saint Thecla in the Lion's Den, fifth century, Kansas City, Missouri, Nelson-Atkins Museum

Procession of Virgin Martyrs, mosaic, sixth century, Ravenna, Italy, San Apollinare Nuovo

Saint Barbara, wood statue, tenth century, Ravello, Italy, Cathedral

Reliquary of Saint Foy, tenth century, Conques, Treasury, Cathedral of St. Foy
 Sassetta (attributed to), *Saint Apollonia*, oil on wood, circa 1435, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Piero della Francesca (workshop of), *Saint Apollonia*, oil on wood, before 1470, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 El Greco, *Madonna and Child with Saint Martina and Saint Agnes*, oil on canvas, 1579–1599, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Flandrin, Hippolyte-Jean, *Procession of Virgins*, fresco, before 1864, Nîmes, France, St. Paul

Virgin Birth: Athena

Birth of Erichthonius, red-figured stamnos, circa 465–460 B.C., Munich, Germany, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst
Birth of Erichthonius, red-figured hydria, circa 460–450 B.C., London, British Museum
 Raphael, *The Birth of Erichthonius*, fresco, 1516, Vatican, Stufetta del Cardinal Bibbiena
 Rubens, Peter Paul, *The Daughters of Cecrops Discovering Erichthonius*, circa 1615, Vaduz, Liechtenstein, Liechtenstein Collection
 Jordaens, Jacob, *The Daughters of Cecrops Finding the Child Erichthonius*, 1635–1640, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Virgin Birth: Nativity

Duccio di Buoninsegna, *Nativity with the Prophets Isaiah and Ezekiel*, oil on wood, circa 1308–1311, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Martino di Bartolomeo, *Five Scenes from the Life of St. Bridget*, panels, before 1434, Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Gemäldegalerie
 Campin, Robert, *The Nativity*, before 1444, Dijon, France, Musée
 Christus, Petrus, *The Nativity*, oil on wood, circa 1450, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art
 Piero della Francesca, *The Nativity*, oil on panel, before 1492, London, National Gallery

Elizabeth I

Queen Elizabeth I, probably Italian school, circa 1580, Siena, Italy, Pinacoteca Nazionale
 Hilliard, Nicolas (attributed to), *Queen Elizabeth I (The "Ermine" Portrait)*, late sixteenth century, Hatfield House, Marquis of Salisbury Collection

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VIRTUE/VIRTUES

Liana De Girolami Cheney

The following motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Virtue/Virtues:

VIRTUES IN SERIES

TEMPERANCE

PRUDENCE (INCLUDING
WISDOM)

COURAGE/FORTITUDE

JUSTICE

CHARITY

FAITH (INCLUDING
RELIGION)

HOPE

FELICITY

NEOCLASSIC AND GENRE
PAINTING



Giorgio Vasari, *Prudence*, 1545, fresco painting from the Refectory of Sant' Anna dei Lombardi, Naples, Italy. (Courtesy of Foto F. Rigamonti)

The concept of virtue (Latin *virtus*, meaning “manliness”) parallels the concept of excellence (Greek *arete*), an ethical signification with implications of strength, courage, and achievement. An honorable individual is a virtuous person who lives in accord with certain moral standards and acts with power, efficacy, and success. Aristotle made the distinction between intellectual and moral virtues, relating the former to the theoretical life and the latter to the practical life. For Aristotle, moral virtue requires the development of habits leading to the choice of the mean between extremes in human conduct.

In the Middle Ages, Christian moralists spoke of the seven virtues, adding the theological virtues (hope, faith, and charity) to St. Ambrose's cardinal virtues (justice, prudence, fortitude, and temperance). Their action was based on Plato's classification in the writings of Cicero and on Thomas Aquinas's writings. Since antiquity, the development of the concept of virtue was associated with its opposite: vice. Theological and philosophical analysis of good and evil, right and wrong, and value and disvalue continued in the Middle Ages, culminating with Prudentius's *Psychomachia* (O'Reilly, 1983).

In *Psychomachia*, Prudentius classifies the four classical, or cardinal, virtues as justice, prudence, temperance, and fortitude (St. Ambrose, in *Lucan* V, 62, and *De paradiso* III). Each of the cardinal virtues had a life in art independent of the other three. In antiquity, justice and wisdom (prudence) were most often represented in coinage. In the Middle Ages and Renaissance, certain aspects of temperance, such as *pudicitia* (chastity) and *sobrietas* (moderation), were emphasized in iconographic cycles, as seen in the representations of Petrarch's *trionfi* (triumphs) in Italian hope chests (*cassoni*). The personification of these virtues in art is the subject of this essay.

Although there were individual examples of the cardinal virtues in late antiquity, their proper iconography is not established until the Carolingian period. A poem by Theodulf of Orleans describing the images on a plaque in the Palace at Aachen sets the stage for the iconography of the moral virtues. The plaque depicts a tree rooted in a globe with branches carrying the personifications of the cardinal virtues as well as the liberal arts. The virtues are portrayed with a set of attributes: Prudence with a book; Fortitude with a dagger, shield, and helmet; Justice with a sword, a palm-branch, a set of balances, and a crown; and Temperance with a bridle and a scourge (O'Reilly).

In the ninth century, the cardinal virtues, with less elaborate attributes, are usually depicted in title pages of Gospel books or other liturgical texts. They decorate the four corners of the page, usually enclosed in medallion form, while the center of the page represents a Frankish king or biblical ruler, often King David. The association of the cardinal virtues with the ruler implies that good government or a good ruler must be gifted with these moral virtues or must aspire to achieve them to reign well. For example, the *Vivian Bible* (843–851) depicts all four virtues as half-figures (two male and two female) holding palm

branches and extending their hands toward the central figure, King David. During the ninth century, the portrayal of the cardinal virtues is static, contrasting with the fifth-century representations based on Prudentius's *Psychomachia*, which are portrayed in combat with vices. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, changes occurred that led to the cardinal virtues being illustrated in devotional and theological treatises, deluxe Gospel books, sacramentaries, and lectionaries as well as on small objects of devotion, such as portable altars, shrines, reliquaries, fonts, and candlesticks (Katzenellenbogen, 1964). During the Gothic period, the cardinal virtues are accompanied not only by their traditional attributes but also by specific animals associated with their personifications. For example, Prudence is accompanied by a serpent or dove, Fortitude tears apart the jaws of a lion, Justice carries a plumb line or a set square while holding a sword, and Temperance holds flowers or a sheathed sword and most often two vessels in which she mixes water and wine, a symbol of moderation. In the proto-Renaissance period, Giotto revived and popularized the moral virtues and vices in the fresco cycle of the Scrovegni or Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy (1305).

The literary tradition from antiquity to the Middle Ages greatly influenced the interest, development, and emblematic interpretation of the moral virtues in the Renaissance and Baroque periods. To the Platonic virtues (justice, prudence, fortitude, and temperance) and the Pauline virtues (faith, hope, and charity), Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum morale* and Aquinas's *Summa Theologia* added Augustinian gift virtues of the Holy Spirit in the twelfth century.

The most influential book during the thirteenth century was *Somme le Roi*, commissioned by King Philip of France in 1295. This profusely illustrated manuscript depicted Temperance as a woman at a table refusing an offered goblet of wine. The visual tradition in French manuscripts is to represent Temperance as a woman with a pitcher from which she pours water into a bowl. With the impact of Prudentius's *Psychomachia* in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, numerous reliefs appeared on the portals of French Gothic cathedrals, such as those in Amiens, Chartres, Paris, and Reims (Katzenellenbogen, 1964). Mosaic decorations in Italy also reflected this influence. The mosaic pavements in Pavia and Cremona; the choir mosaics of San Savino in Piacenza (1107), where Temperance is represented in a scene of festivity; and the mosaics in the Cupola of the Ascension in St. Mark's (1200) in Venice are examples from the Italian Romanesque period. The implication of the symbolism of Temperance varies according to the placement in the iconographic cycle. Sometimes the personification of chastity substitutes for Temperance according to the Ciceronian tradition (Tuve, 1963). At other times, as in the proto-Renaissance period, Giotto represents the virtue of Temperance as Moderation, with an unusual attribute of the sheathed sword. Temperance is contrasted with the vice of Wrath tearing her garments in the

Scrovegni or Arena Chapel in Padua (1305) as well as in the north porch of Notre Dame Cathedral at Chartres. The impact of Giotto's art gave the cardinal virtues a new expression in Italian art of the fourteenth century. Examples may be seen in the iconographic decoration of Andrea da Firenze in the fresco of the Triumph of St. Thomas in the Spanish Chapel in Santa Maria Novella in Florence as well as in Andrea Pisano's pulpits in Pisa, Pistoria, and Siena; the baptisteries of Florence, Bergamo, and Pisa; Giotto's bell tower in Florence with Pisano's representations of the virtues, along with the liberal arts, mechanical arts, and sacraments; the tabernacles of Or San Michele in Florence; and the tombs of St. Peter Martyr in Milan and St. Augustine in Pavia.

During the Italian Renaissance, the symbolism of the cardinal virtues as secular and civic examples of humanism was revived from the classical concept of *aretai politikai* (Norton, 1973). This classical revival occurred in Florence, as this Medicean city-state aimed to emulate the prosperous city-state of Athens, Greece, during the fifth century B.C. In Florence, for example, the decoration in the Loggia dei Lanzi, the seven panels painted by Antonio Pollaiuolo and Botticelli for the Mercanzia (now in the Uffizi Gallery), and Giotto's frescoes of the personification of the Commune in the Palace of the Podestà reflected this revival. In Venice, the columns of the Doges' Palace and the Porta della Carta, with the flanked statues of Fortitude, Temperance, Justice, and Charity, and in Perugia, the Collegio del Cambio, represented the cardinal virtues in a secular environment. In Siena, in the Palazzo Pubblico, the Lorenzetti brothers represented Good and Bad Government with these Virtues; it is important to note that in the Good Government fresco, Temperance holds an hourglass (a pun on *tempus*), as in the earliest tradition.

In the northern Renaissance, the cardinal virtues had maintained the traditional iconography of the Middle Ages, although fewer examples were seen in France and England. In the Low Countries, the emphasis was on the depictions of Fortitude, Prudence, and Temperance with changeable attributes while Justice maintained the traditional motif. For example, the column of Samson as a symbol of strength is associated with Fortitude; Prudence holds a mirror with a coiled serpent and Janus head to denote past and future or three heads to imply the wisdom of experience—past, present, and future; and Temperance is portrayed with a bridle, a sheathed sword, or an hourglass. The personification of Temperance experiences the greatest mutability. At times, she alludes to chastity, and therefore the ancient Venus Pudica is represented, as in the Giovanni Pisano pulpit (1301) in the Duomo of Pisa, or at other times to Diana, as in the tomb of Pope Pius II (1473) in San Andrea della Valle in Rome.

In the sixteenth century, French artists, under the influence of Italian painters and sculptors, began to incorporate the cardinal virtues in their funerary art, as seen in Michel Colombe's tombs of the Duke of Brittany in Nantes (1507) and the cardinals d'Amboise in Rouen (1515). However, some variations occur in their attributes of the personifications, such as the addition of a compass and mirror to Prudence, a tower and dragon to Fortitude, scales and swords to Justice, and a clock and bridle to Temperance (Tuve, 1963).

In antiquity, mythical and historical figures were linked to a particular virtue, and this tradition continued into the Middle Ages as well as the Renaissance. For example, Samson was iden-

tified as Fortitude and Judith, Susanna, or Joseph as Chastity or Temperance; Epicurus is defeated by Temperance; and Prudence may triumph over Sardanapalus, Justice over Nero, and Fortitude over Holofernes. The Christian paganism of these cardinal virtues in the Renaissance was due to the fusion of historical ascription with the civic humanistic implication producing their secularization. Further examples are clearly represented in Francesco Pesellino's panels (1460), now in Birmingham, Alabama, showing Solon, Solomon, Samson, and Scipio Africanus sitting at the feet of the personifications of Prudence, Justice, Fortitude, and Temperance, respectively (Norton, 1973). In the Collegio del Cambio in Perugia, Italy, Perugino depicted a complex iconography correlating Greek and Roman rulers with the moral virtues: Justice is associated with Camillus, Pittacus, and Trajan; Prudence with Quintus Fabius Maximus, Socrates, and Numa Pompilius; Fortitude with Lucius, Scipinnus, Leonidas, and Horatius Cocles; and Temperance with Scipio Africanus, Pericles, and Cincinnatus.

Inspired by the ancient tradition (Aristotle, the Neoplatonists, Plutarch, Pliny the Elder) medieval and Renaissance artists and writers included and associated animals with the personifications of virtues and vices in treatises such as the *Bestiary*, *Physiologus*, and *Somme le Roi*. A dove, for example, accompanied Chastity, Peace, or Temperance; a serpent, Prudence; and a lion, Fortitude.

The heraldic and emblematic tradition of the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries augmented and further elaborated on the iconography of the cardinal virtues. A collection of books and compendia of emblems that gave impetus to a new and complex visual iconology in art appeared in the press in Venice during the early sixteenth century. The earliest and most translated emblem book of the sixteenth century was Andrea Alciati's *Emblematum libellus cum commentariis* (1531), influenced by the epigrams of the *Greek Anthology*, Francesco Colonna's *Hypnertomachia Poliphili* (The Dream of Poliphilo or The Soul of Love), printed in Venice in 1499, and Horapollo's *Hieroglyphica*, first published in Venice in 1505. Alciati was followed by Piero Valeriano's *Hieroglyphica sive De sacris Aegyptorum*, first published in 1556, and Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini delli dei degl' Antichi*, printed in Venice in 1557. Attesting to the impact of this emblematic tradition are the following: the decorative cycles executed between 1518 and 1519 by Correggio in the Camera di San Paolo in Parma, Italy (Panofsky, 1951), and by Giorgio Vasari for his houses in Arezzo, Italy (1542–1548), and Florence (1562–1564); for the Sala dei Cento Giorni in the Palazzo della Cancelleria (1546) in Rome; and, as the culmination, the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio (1565–1572) in Florence. This encyclopedic emblematic approach culminated in the publication of Cesare Ripa's *Iconologia* (1593). This work first appeared without illustrations and later was published in Rome (1603) with over 400 woodcuts by Giuseppe Cesari, also known as Cavalier d'Arpino, illustrating the text (Mandowsky, 1934). Under the proliferation of meanings, the cardinal virtues also expand their repertoire of attributes: An ostrich is associated with Justice because of its even feathers, a deer is paired with Prudence because it ponders like a sage, a diamond is paired with Fortitude for its hardness, and a pair of red-hot tongs and bowl of water are paired with Temperance for moderation. In the visual arts, Ripa's *Iconologia* has assisted artists in the creation of personifications since its conception.

Neoclassical artists of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and genre painters of the nineteenth century were greatly concerned with issues of virtue and morality. However, instead of using personifications of the virtues (as described in this essay), these artists tended to depict exemplary virtuous actions. These were taken from antiquity and history in the case of neoclassical paintings and from instances of everyday life in the case of genre painting (Rosenblum, chap. 2; Wood).

In the canon of the cardinal virtues, Temperance (Greek *Sophrosyne*, Latin *temperantia*) alluded to moderation, self-knowledge, and self-restraint. According to Cicero, the word *sophrosyne* derives from the Homeric adjective *sophron*, meaning of sound mind and describing a person or deity who acts appropriately and according to the laws of nature. The Delphic code—"Know thyself," "Nothing in excess," and "Think moral thoughts"—expresses the implications of temperance.

Temperance is the classical virtue of moderation, self-restraint, and control of one's appetites. Most representations depict a figure pouring liquid from one container into another, suggesting proportion. The flowing liquid is the water of life, pouring into the container of each separate physical body. Sometimes Temperance is the Angel of Time because the balancing of one liquid with another alludes to the flowing or passing of time from past to future. Time, like Temperance, is an equalizer of life and death.

Pieter Bruegel the Elder's print *Temperance* (1560) depicts a central figure holding a rein in his mouth, meaning to restrain. Behind him, people are using measuring instruments; to the right, a bookkeeper is busy counting. An inscription states, "We must see to it that we do not give ourselves over to a life of lust, extravagance and waste, and that we not, because of miserly greed, behave despicable or meanly." The inscription alludes to the group of actors and musicians who stand behind Temperance.

In 1614 Torrentius, also known as Johannes van der Beeck, painted *Temperance*, now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, The Netherlands. It alludes to Erasmus's motto "Not too much," which was later appropriated in Roemer Visscher's and Jacob Cats's proverbs "Too much is unhealthy," "Not how much but how noble," and "Whoever exceeds the measure is lost." All these proverbs obviously allude to moderation in the areas of drinking, eating, talking, and lovemaking. In the seventeenth century, the virtue of temperance was contrasted with *vanitas* (vanity), the vice of pride (Segal, p. 36).

The moral virtue Prudence symbolized wise conduct. In Christian art, this personification is usually depicted as a woman with a double or triple head and holding a mirror, serpent, or sieve with Solomon at her feet. Sometimes Prudence is portrayed carrying a compass as a sign of her measured judgment or a book alluding to the Scriptures. She is occasionally accompanied by a stag to suggest the elusion of evil pursuers; sometimes a dragon is substituted for the serpent. Her Janus head suggests her ability to see at once past and present and alludes to her perspicacity. Proto-Renaissance examples of Prudence can be found in the Scrovegni or Arena Chapel in Padua, where Giotto portrays Prudence with two heads (1305), and in the pulpit of the Baptistery in Pisa by Nicola Pisano (1310).

Of all the virtues, prudence was the dearest to the Renaissance humanists, so much so that Alciati included 10 emblems on this virtue in his book *Emblematum liber* (Lyons,

France, 1549). Emblem 18, *Prudentes*, describes the *pictura* (image) in the epigram as follows:

Janus, you who have been provided with two faces, you know the past and the future; and since you see what is offered to you, you can mock what has happened. Why have you been depicted with so many faces? Is it perhaps because a strong and wise man should be such that at the same time can see the present and the future?

Titian's painting *Prudence*, with its three human and three animal heads facing in different directions, clearly illustrates Alciati's emblem. Alciati's Emblem 19, *Prudens magis quam loquax* (The prudent man without eloquence), describes the *pictura* in the epigram as follows:

For its arms Athens has an owl depicted, which loved by Athena (Pallas) as the most prudent of birds signifies the man who is wise but not eloquent. It happened that it supplanted the insolent and garrulous crow. And it shows that knowledge of men does not consist of fine speeches.

Alciati's Emblem 20, *Maturandum* (The wise decisions should be implemented at the right time), is explained in the epigram as follows:

That in all our undertakings we should be quick to work and slow to talk. The fish wrapped around the arrow indicates that it can stop a ship in very strong winds. May these increase our prudence, oh you who are keen on examining closely. The one is slow, the other is swift. Thus things that are deliberated with such maturity will be well dealt with.

The Renaissance popularity of this emblem—an anchor and a dolphin coupled with the motto *Festina lente* (Make haste slowly)—was linked to the writings and descriptions of hieroglyphics by Colonna in *Hypnerotomachi Poliphili* (1499), a book published by the Venetian printer Aldus Manutius, who in turn used this motto as a seal for his press. In antiquity, this motto had also been praised and used by the Roman emperor Octavian, and the emblem had appeared on coins in the reign of Titus. Alciati's Emblem 22, *Custodiendas virgines* (Virgins must be protected well), is explained in the epigram as follows:

What you see here is the image of unwed Athena (Pallas); and this depicted dragon is hers; and because to it is given the guard and protection of things, it makes its dwelling the woods and temples. Here it shows us that because bold Eros (Amor) sets his snares to catch virgins, one must place great protection over them. The shield with the head of the Medusa and the dragon allude to defense and protection.

According to Macrobius's *Saturnalia* (I, Chap. XX, Lyon 1556) and Pausanias's *Graeciae descriptio* (I, 24, 7), Phidias carved a dragon as a symbol of vigilance and protection at the feet of Pallas Athena. Another aspect of prudent behavior is recorded in Alciati's Emblem 23, *Vino prudentiam augeri* (Prudence augments with wine), and the epigram reads as follows:

Athena (Pallas) and Bacchus, learned offspring of Jupiter, share this sacred altar. He came into the world from the thigh and she was born from the head. Athena found the

olive, Bacchus wine. Therefore, they are joined here together to show that he who abstains completely from wine will never find favor with the goddess. The emblem depicts both gods in a temple because both gods are personifications of divine gifts, Pallas Athena as the goddess of arts and sciences represents the prudent intellect, as the inventor of the olive tree, provides the light for the intellect, whereas Bacchus as the creator of wine restores and stimulates the intellect.

Under the influence of the emblematic tradition, sixteenth-century painters incorporated in their paintings new images and meanings that provided enigmas for the learned viewer. Vasari's image of Prudence is a stylistic fusion of the two images of Prudence and Providence in the Refectory of Monteoliveto in Naples, Italy, and the figure of Providence in the Sala dei Cento Giorni in Rome. Vasari described the *invenzione* of Prudence as "to hold serpents and the keys of Janus." In his Aretine Prudence, missing are the serpent, relating to Matthew 10:16, "Be prudentes (wise) as serpents," and the mirror, an Italian Renaissance conception, whereas they are present in the Neapolitan image. Instead, the Aretine allegorical figure has a Janus head and holds the key to the Janus temple. The Janus head implies that Prudence must look to the past as well as the future before making a decision *Prevedere e Provvedere*, and her key is a symbol of peace (Alciati, *Emblemata* XVIII, *Prudentes Problema*, 1577). Stephenus (1976) described Janus as the most ancient king of Italy, supposedly the wisest of all the monarchs of his age, knowing the past and foreseeing the future, which is why he is shown with two faces. When he died, he was put among the gods and had a temple at Rome that was opened in times of war and closed in times of peace.

Iconographically, Vasari's Aretine Prudence combines attributes from the *Prudentia* and *Providenza*. As stated, the Aretine figure can be identified as Prudence because she has not only the attribute of the key but also the head of Janus. Also, she can be identified as Providence and good Fortune because she holds a cornucopia and rests her foot on a globe. Comparing the Aretine image of Prudence with Providence in the Sala dei Cento Giorni reveals a globe at her feet. The Aretine image of the globe is unclear because of heavy restoration. The cornucopia is a symbol of plenitude, the globe that of ubiquity.

When the attribute of the key is seen to be associated with Providence, it expresses a relation to the attribute of Cybele, the Earth goddess. Then the key symbolizes the guidance needed to open the door to success and thereby rise above the difficulties of life. Vasari represented this image, with its dual nature, to emphasize the difficulties encountered by a person in this Earth's trials. Human beings must be prudent to achieve success in life.

The Monteolivetan Prudence, surrounded with all her attributes of practical and speculative wisdom—mirror, serpent, key, and Janus head—attends to her toilet. Her engaging attitude denotes her existence in the present. A superb drawing by Vasari on the allegory of Prudence can be found in the Collection F. Lugt of the Institut Neerlandais in Paris (inv. 7777); another drawing of Prudence (13650F) is at the Uffizi Gallery in Florence. Vasari's *disegno* differs from his painted image. The drawing illustrates an elaborate holder for the mirror and includes objects (e.g., vanity table, comb, and brush) not seen in the painting; it also includes the serpent as a caution

and a dispenser of wisdom. Alciati, in *Emblematum libellus* (1542), also incorporates these two attributes—Emblem 18 on the Janus head and Emblem 22 on the serpent: "The serpent protects the virgins." The word *serpent* derives from the Latin *serpens* "because the animal creeps by secret approaches and not by open steps."

The personification of Fortitude alludes to two aspects of courage: physical and mental. In Christian art, this personification refers to the pagan goddess Athena (Minerva) and is usually depicted as a woman warrior, wearing a helmet and armor and holding a shield, spear, or sword. In Gothic sculpture, her opposing vice is Cowardice (*Ignavia*), a knight who flees in terror from a hare; in the Renaissance, she is more often opposed by Inconstancy, who loses her balance on a wheel. Some attributes of Fortitude in the Renaissance and later are derived from the heroes of the Bible and myth. From Samson she has a pillar, perhaps broken, whereas in Baroque painting she may be carried by putti. A club and a lion's skin are taken from Hercules. The lion, itself a symbol of courage, is a common attribute. Fortitude may fight a lion, forcing its jaws apart, which is the archetypal image of the god or hero performing a feat of strength and courage, as seen in Renaissance tarot cards.

Although the image in Vasari's Aretine house is unclear, comparison with a similar painting from the Refectory reveals its proper attributes and identification as Fortitude (Courage). The Aretine Fortitude is depicted as an armed woman with a Herculean body who wears a helmet and carries a sword and a shield. Later, Ripa's *Iconologia* described this type of figure as an armed woman with a helmet, a sword, and a shield and with a lion's head. However, Vasari's shield shows the head of the Medusa with lionlike qualities. The attributes of Fortitude symbolize bodily strength and the generosity of the soul. She represents a Christian, cardinal virtue. In the treatment of this figure, Vasari was probably concerned to illustrate Valeriano's saying *Fortezza d'animo, e di corpo* (Fortitude of soul and body).

Perhaps Fortitude also personifies Sagacity or Reason. The implication of the symbolism of Fortitude varies according to its placement in the iconographic cycle. Sometimes the personification of Courage substitutes Sagacity according to the Ciceronian tradition (Tuve, 1963). Vasari described Sagacity (*Sagacita*) as a "Pallas with a shield with a Medusa and a lance." Vasari may also be referring to Alciati's Emblem 22, *Custodiendas vergines*. The depiction of the book at the feet of Fortitude in the Aretine imagery and in the Monteoliveto counterpart is a symbol of the mental effort necessary for the acquisition of knowledge. The horn seen in the Monteoliveto figure is no longer recognizable in the Aretine image. Perhaps Fortitude symbolized for Vasari the moral, mental, and physical efforts required of a person to live a good life.

Plato and Aristotle best explain the meaning and implication of the word *justice*, from the Latin *jus* (right or law). Plato held justice to be of two kinds: natural and conventional. In an ideal city, justice regulates the actions of the citizens with the other cardinal virtues (*Republic* 4:427 ff). Aristotle also held justice to be of two kinds: distributive and retributive. During the Middle Ages, Aquinas integrated the ancient analyses on justice by considering two aspects of justice: natural and rational, both discernible through the exercise of reason. In the medieval and Renaissance periods, Justice, the leader of the cardinal virtues, is represented in public buildings wherever the law is administered

(Palazzo Pubblico in Siena, Italy). Macrobius's *Commentary* on Cicero's *Somnium scipionis* and Petrarch's *Africa*, texts concerned with the concept of justice, assumed that justice was a primary virtue that ought to accompany the life of a hero. The emblems associated with justice are the sword (symbol of power) and the scales. The scales of justice represent balance, equality, and harmony. The symbol of the scale is of ancient origin. The Greek Themis used it as a symbol of law, order, and truth, and the Romans employed it as a symbol of impartiality (Cooper, p. 145). In Renaissance art, Justice is often depicted blindfolded, alluding to her fairness and honesty. In representations of the Last Judgment, Justice may have an angel in each scale pan, one crowning the virtuous and the other executing a malefactor (Hall, p. 183). The scale, as an attribute of impartiality, is also the emblem of the Archangel Michael. In the seventeenth century, artists replaced the scales with fasces, the Roman symbol of authority. Other attributes associated with Justice are the globe, a symbol of power, and set squares, compasses, and other measuring instruments, symbols of impartiality. The zodiacal sign of Libra holds the scales as a symbol of Justice. During the Silver Age, in the Ages of the World, Justice ruled.

In his *Vita*, Vasari describes his *invenzione* of Justice for cardinal Alessandro Farnese:

(In 1543) It was shown by (Paolo) Giovio and Bindo (Altovito) to cardinal Farnese. For this prelate I did a painting eight braccia by four, of Justice embracing an ostrich laden with the twelve tables, holding a scepter with a swan at the end and wearing a helmet of iron and gold with three feathers of divers colors, the device of the just judge. She was naked from the middle upwards. At her girdle were the seven Vices in golden chains, Corruption, Ignorance, Cruelty, Fear; Treason, Falsehood, and Slander. They carry on their bare backs a naked Truth, offered to Time by Justice, with two doves, representing Innocence. Justice is putting an oaken crown, representing Fortitude, on the head of Truth. I put all my powers into this work. (Frey, I, pp. 121–122)

Obviously, the discrepancies between Vasari's description of the *invenzione* and the finished painting suggest that the description refers to an early conception or a preparatory drawing for the painting. At this point, one may ask the following questions: What are the sources for Vasari's complex iconography? How did he assimilate them? and What are the connections between the text (word) and the image for the creation of the conceit of Justice?

Vasari emphasizes in his writings, especially in the prefaces of *Vite*, that an allegory (emblem) must assimilate, visually and verbally, its ancient sources. Such emblematic sources provided Vasari with an extensive repertoire of images that he collected and used in the iconography of his early paintings, such as *Justice* (1543) in the Neapolitan Museum of Capodimonte. He repeated many of these images while expanding his visual repertoire in such later commissions as the paintings of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence (Vasari and Milanesi, VIII, pp. 102–124; Draper).

Inspired by ancient myths recounted in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1.150), Hesiod's *Theogony* (901), and Hyginus's *Poetic Astronomy* (2.25), Vasari's *Justice* can be seen as a portrayal of Astraea, *The Starry Maiden*—the Roman god-

dess of justice. Under her protection thrives all that is noble, beautiful, and good. According to Eratosthenes, Aratus, and Hyginus, she was one of the nebulous heavenly beings who coexisted on Earth with mortals and was the last god/goddess to leave the Earth. She was supposed to have lived on Earth during the Golden Age, retired to the mountains in the Silver Age, and finally, during the corruption, wickedness, and impiety of humankind during the Bronze and Iron Ages and the end of innocence, was driven to heaven, where she was placed among the constellations of the zodiac under the name Virgo, or *Starry Maiden*. Astraea's Roman myth parallels and in part is assimilated by the Greek myth of Dike (Dice), the goddess of justice, which she protected and wisely administered. She was an attendant and counselor of her father, Zeus, and one of the three Horae (Hours/Seasons), the other two being Eirene (Irene), goddess of peace, and Eunomia, goddess of wise legislation and order. Dike's assistant was Poena, the personification of retaliation, and her daughter Hesychia personified tranquillity. As goddesses of the seasons, they produced order in both nature and society. They were the daughters of Zeus and Themis (Apollonius, *Iliad* 5; Pausanias 5.18.2; Pindar, *Pythian Odes*, 8.1) or of Astraeus and Eos (Eratosthenes, *Star Placements*, 9).

The depiction of Justice is associated by some with Liberality to emphasize the generous aspect of imparting order, law, and good behavior. Cesari painted *The Allegory of Justice* and *The Allegory of Liberality* (both 1595–1600) using oils on copper. From a comparative analysis of their composition, these two paintings appear to be companion pieces. Both compositions represent three allegorical figures with attributes in a pyramidal space. Also, the central figure in both is portrayed as an enthroned woman with the same physiognomy. The difference is in the type of background: *The Allegory of Liberality* is placed in an exterior setting and *The Allegory of Justice* in an interior setting. This complementary space structure supports their complementary purpose. Iconographically, the central figure represents a virtue or an allegory of positive behavior, and the two figures framing her in the foreground symbolize vices or allegories of negative behavior. When compared with each other, these vices manifest corresponding attitudes of the same negative human dimensions.

Using Ripa's *figurazioni* (emblems) from *Iconologia* to identify these allegorical figures, with their respective attributes, will aid in understanding the meaning of the painting and elucidate the visual collaboration of both artists in the images of the *Iconologia*. When analyzing *The Allegory of Justice*, one observes that the central figure is an enthroned female holding a pair of balanced scales, branches of palms, and gathered flowers. A crown adorns her hair, and a medallion with a painted eye decorates the neckline of her robe. Under a royal canopy, the enthroned figure sits erect and looks at the viewer kindly with wide-open eyes. The visual imagery of Cesari's figure parallels Ripa's description of the *figurazione* of Justice (or Impartiality or Equality). In the description of Justice, Ripa comments on Plato's views on this virtue: "Justice sees everything." For this reason, the ancient priests called her Seer of All Things.

At the feet of Justice, the figure of Injustice (or Partiality) sits on the ground with her eyes partially closed and her attributes of the unbalanced scales, a resting sword, a closed book, and a sheep or lamb at her feet. Injustice's general disposition of carelessness and passivity contrasts strongly with the violent

expression of the arduous and ferocious standing male figure next to her who represents Impetus (or Terror). His attributes are an avenging sword and a violent animal, such as a boar or wolf. When comparing these foreground allegorical figures in terms of action and attributes, especially the associated animal and handling of the sword, it is obvious that an opposite image of human dimension is represented. Sluggish Injustice sits with the lamb or sheep beside her and the sword resting on her lap. Impetus energetically draws his sword while the accompanying animal parallels his master's aggressive behavior. Ripa comments on the depiction of Mars as Terror in *Ovid moralise* (Bruges, Belgium, 1480), where the figure of an angered Mars is traditionally accompanied by a wolf, a symbol of terrible force. The visage of Impetus suggests the reaction of an angry lion.

According to Ripa, Impetus and Injustice are *figurazioni* of vices, or negative aspects of the human dimension. They are manifestations of weak characters and negative responses in human behavior; they cannot govern or rule because they lack vitality, impartiality, equality, and balance. Justice is the opposite of these vices, and it represents a type of virtue in a human dimension. She also symbolizes an ultimate good to be emulated by all human beings. Thus, *The Allegory of Justice* combines an example of a good human dimension (Justice) with negative human dimensions (Injustice and Impetus), with a quality of judgment, a natural phenomenon that rules the universe. In *The Allegory of Justice*, Cesari has visually quoted Ripa's verbal descriptions for these figures and assimilated his didactic and ethical spirit.

Throughout the Middle Ages, Christian moralists such as Aquinas spoke of the seven virtues: the cardinal virtues of temperance, prudence, fortitude, and justice (previously discussed) and the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity, and love. Paul the Apostle had proclaimed these latter virtues as central to the Christian life.

The Latin word *caritas* (Greek *agape*) means love, according to Aquinas in *Summa Theologia* (IIa., IIae, Q XXIIIa.5). For the Greeks there were two types of love: *eros* and *agape*. According to Plato, *eros* meant the love or desire of the individual for the divine, whereas *agape* referred to contemplation for the attainment of the Good (Plato, *Symposium* 210A-E). In the New Testament, the two Platonic aspects of love were fused into one *agape*, which means God's love, His generous love (I John 4:8). Charity is the greatest of the three theological virtues—faith, hope, and charity—but their connection is still problematic for many scholars. For St. Paul, charity represented the highest virtue one could attain, a Christian attitude toward one's neighbor, and (rarely) the love of God (Romans 8:28; 1 Corinthians 2:9, 8:3, and 13: "And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three: but the greatest of these is charity"). However, from the time of St. Augustine, charity has signified God's love of human beings as well as their love of God. Ultimately, the church taught that charity was both love of God, *amor dei*, and love of one's neighbor, *amor proximi*, and that the second was of no real worth without the first. Charity is directed primarily toward God but is also owed to us and our neighbors as the objects of God's love. Its antithesis is hatred (envy, cruelty, or avarice), which may also take the negative form of indifference. Because brotherly love could be expressed through the relief of distress, charity acquired the meaning of "almsgiving" or "clothing the naked," one of the works of

mercy (see, e.g., the Baroque painter Caravaggio's *Works of Mercy*, 1605, for the church of Pio Monte della Misericordia in Naples).

The term *caritas* is applied also to the common religious meal that was used in the early church in conjunction with the Eucharist (I Corinthians 11:17–34). In Christian art, Charity is depicted as a woman either surrounded by children or, more commonly, nursing a child or suckling it. Sometimes Charity is standing, holding, or nursing one child while the others surround her, as seen in the paintings of Andrea del Sarto, Francesco Salviati, and Vasari. In other instances, Charity is seated and nursing her children, as in the paintings of Abraham Bloemaert, Guercino (in Dayton, Ohio), and Guido Reni. In Roman times, Valerius Maximus, in *De pietate in parentes* (4:4), tells us of Pera, a young mother who had nursed her aged father, Cimon, at her breast while he was in prison awaiting execution, thus saving him from dying of thirst. Her act was referred to as *Caritas humana* or *Caritas romana* (Biedermann). In antiquity, this type of charity alluded to *filial piety* (James Hall, p. 64). This subject was popularized by Italian and Netherlandish painters in the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, as seen in Caravaggio's *Works of Mercy*. Other symbols of Charity's love are the flaming heart that she holds in one hand or a bowl with fruit. She may carry an open purse and clothes to distribute alms to the poor. Further attributes associated with Charity include such animals as the dove, lamb, or pelican feeding its young from its own blood.

During the Middle Ages, love of one's neighbor, or *amor proximi*, was often depicted as a person receiving or nursing children or represented by Christ's seamless robe. In Gothic art especially, it is represented by the figure of a woman performing the six works of mercy (Matthew 25:35–37): tending the hungry, the thirsty, the stranger, the naked, the sick, and the imprisoned. These became abbreviated into the representation of one act only: clothing the naked (e.g., a beggar putting a shirt over his head beside the figure of Charity, who perhaps holds a bundle of clothes). In the thirteenth century, St. Bonaventura developed the concept of the love of God into that of light or fire, a rhetorical metaphor readily depicted in visual terms.

Henceforward in Italian art, the figure of Charity came to be represented either with a flame, customarily emerging from some type of vase that she holds in her hand, or with a candle. From the fourteenth century, she may hold a flaming heart as if she were offering it to God. This sometimes came to be combined with attributes suggesting earthly charity, such as the cornucopia or bowl of fruit. In Giotto's fresco cycle at Padua (1305), the cardinal and theological virtues face their contraries on the opposite wall of the Scrovegni or Arena Chapel. There, Giotto's representation of Charity is a young, garlanded woman demonstrating the twofold nature of her love—that is, the love of God and the love of her neighbors—by offering up her heart and holding a basket or bowl of fruit and flowers, a sack of corn, and coins at her feet, ready for distribution to the needy. The vice opposed to Charity in the Middle Ages was Avarice, depicted with money bags, a purse, or a filled coffer. A Renaissance tradition derived from Giotto substituted Envy (*Invidia*) for Avarice. This vice was shown gnawing a heart and perhaps embraced by a snake. In Italy in the first half of the fourteenth century, there appears a new type of Charity, possibly derived from the earlier image of the *Virgo lactans*, a

woman suckling two infants (see Tino da Camaino's marble statue *Charity*, 1320, in the Museo Bardini in Florence). At first combined with the older motifs of the flaming heart (suggesting the utmost religious fervor) and the candle, it gradually predominated until, by the sixteenth century, it became the standard type of representation in European art. The opposing vice for this type of Charity, sometimes represented in fourteenth-century Italian painting, is Cruelty (*Crudelitas*), shown attacking a child. In later versions, three or four infants cluster around the mother figure. One of these infants is customarily at the breast, thus paralleling the motif of the pelican feeding its young with its own blood. These various aspects of Charity are frequently portrayed in art.

In the sixteenth century, Vasari's *Charity* became the paradigm for the visual depiction and meaning of Charity. According to Liana Cheney, in the Chamber of Fortune (his study) of his house in Arezzo, Italy, Vasari painted a bare-breasted, standing, and statuesque Charity who holds a nursing child in one arm while two other children stand next to her. The three children symbolize the three aspects of charity, that is, the theological virtues of faith, hope, and love (charity).

The female figure represents union of these three virtues in Ripa's *Iconologia* (1603). The figure of Charity personifies religion because she symbolizes the three theological virtues given to human beings by the love of God (*amor dei*). Her qualities of generosity and love for humankind, which are emulated by good Christians (*amor proximi*), are also important to her role as the personification of religion. Stylistically, the Aretine Charity represents a visual derivation from Vasari's early depiction of Charity in the Refectory of Monteoliveto. Vasari made a fine preparatory drawing for this image, now located in the Pinacoteca of Bologna, Italy. Thematically, Vasari used a similar image in the Sala dei Cento Giorni. In *Iconologia*, Ripa assimilates Vasari's image into an emblem of Charity as *Virgo lactans* and has transformed the strands of her hair into a flaming fire symbolizing Christ's love. Furthermore, Ripa employs the image of flaming fire for his representation of religion's emblem, which shows a veiled woman holding flames of fire, symbolic of ardent and continuous love, in her left hand.

Although the Counter-Reformation continued to uphold the dual aspect of *amor*, this strictly human image of Charity remained the accepted form. For example, the Baroque Bolognese painter Guido Reni, in his *Charity* (1630), depicts a beautiful, statuesque woman with three infants surrounding her for nourishment, personifying *Virgo lactans*. Reni employs gradations of pink to represent the degree of nourishment consumed by the three children of love, who represent the incorporated virtues of faith, hope, and love. In addition to the aforementioned works of art, various depictions of Charity can be seen in the paintings of Andrea Del Sarto (*Charity*, 1518, at the Louvre in Paris) and Cosimo Tura (*Charity*, 1490, in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli in Milan) and the sculptures of Giambologna (*Charity*, 1585, in the Grimaldi Chapel in Genoa, Italy) and Pietro Bernini (*Charity*, 1600, in the church of Monte di Pietà in Naples).

Faith (Greek *pistis*, Latin *fides*, meaning "to trust") is one of the three theological virtues (the others hope and charity) and is distinct from the natural, or cardinal, virtues of prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice. Faith is usually represented as a woman with her respective attributes of chalice, cross, candle, and font. Sometimes she wears a helmet and has the

Decalogue at her feet. The open book of the Decalogue represents the Old and New Testaments, the source of learning and maintaining faith. The helmet that Faith wears protects her head, indicating that her mind is protected against the injuries and dangers of false doctrines. The lighted candle alludes to the illumination of the mind brought about by Faith. According to St. Paul (I Corinthians 13:13), who extolled the theological virtues, the two main elements of Christian faith are the belief in Christ crucified and the miracle of the sacraments, which are symbolized by the attributes of the cross and the chalice with or without the host.

Faith, Hope, and Charity are also saints. During the second century, these three Roman martyrs were the daughters of Sophia (Greek for *wisdom*). Their Greek names were *Pistis* (Faith), *Elpis* (Hope), and *Agape* (Charity). All four women were put to death during the reign of Emperor Hadrian (117–138) and buried on the Aurelian Way. Similarly, four martyrs with similar Latin names—*Sapientia* (Wisdom), *Spes* (Hope), *Fides* (Faith), and *Caritas* (Charity)—were buried on the Appian Way in the catacomb of St. Callistus.

In the biblical writings of the Old and New Testaments, the concept of faith was interrelated with hope and charity and focused on the Platonic concept of love (*Symposium* 210A–E). Recognizing this fusion, St. Paul explained the concept of faith in terms of the individual response to God (Romans 8:28; I Corinthians 2:9, 8:3; Ephesians 6:24). In the writings of the church fathers and in the Middle Ages (St. Ambrose in *Abraham*, cap II, Vol. II; St. Augustine in *Enchiridion*, Chap. cxvii, 3; and Aquinas in *Summa Theologia*, II-II, q. 2, a. 1), faith is a will to believe in God. *Credo ut intelligam* (I believe in order to understand) is a principle stated by St. Augustine and then accepted by St. Anselm. Faith is a virtue of the intellect given as a gift of grace by God to an individual who responds to God. This attitude of belief goes beyond the available evidence and is essential for eternal salvation. During the Middle Ages, Faith is represented in a place of honor next to Christ.

Following the medieval theories, Alciati also places great emphasis on the virtue of faith; however, he moves away from the medieval discussion of the theological and cardinal virtues to focus on the classical interpretation of *arete* or *virtus*. In *Emblematum liber* (Paris, 1536), Alciati interprets faith in the spirit of Renaissance humanism. For Alciati, faith is the first virtue and a symbol of fidelity, as seen in Emblem 1X, *Fidei symbolum*. The epigram explains the *pictura* (image) as follows:

Let Honor, dressed in purple cloak, hold hands with naked Truth (Veritas). In the middle stands Eros (Amor), holy and sincere, his locks enwreathed in a garland of roses. This is Faith (Fidelity) who sustains Honor and gives birth to Truth, and nurtures Love.

For Alciati, honor is that quality acquired freely and voluntarily; an individual received this merit by his virtue. Alciati's presentation of Truth (Veritas) as *nuda veritas* derives from his readings of Horace (*Odes* I, 24, 7) on the subject as a symbol of simplicity, sincerity, and essence of life.

By contrast with Alciati, Ripa focuses on the symbolism of faith as a divine gift rather than a human attainment. He differentiated several types of faith in *Iconologia*: Christian faith, Catholic faith, friendship faith, and marital faith. The first two types of faith are religious and represented with similar attributes: a young woman dressed in white, wearing a helmet and

carrying a heart or a candle and a book or Decalogue. Ripa refers to Protagoras's and Virgil's commentary: Blindness is the unfaithfulness and illumination of faith. Other types of faith are secular and associated with fidelity. For example, friendship faith is represented by a veiled, older woman with extended arms. Old age symbolizes wisdom and experience. In marital faith, the emblem is represented by a young woman dressed in white and holding a ring, symbol of matrimony. G. Ronchetti, in *Dictionary of Symbols* (1922), explains that the ring was used by men in antiquity as a sign of freedom. Moreover, to convalidate a legal document, the seal of a ring was required to witness the contract as an act of faith.

Faith is a personification that is frequently used by Vasari. Her attributes combine the personification of religion as well as faith: cross, chalice, and the Host. Redemption and salvation can be achieved through acts of faith. Vasari had employed this idea in his earlier decorative cycles, especially the ceiling of the Cornaro Palace (Venice, 1540–1542), the Chambers of Abraham and Fortune in his house (Arezzo, 1542–1548), the Refectory of Monteoliveto (Naples, 1545), the Sala dei Cento Giorni in the Palazzo della Cancelleria (Rome, 1546), and the rooms of the Palazzo Vecchio (Florence, 1565–1572). In some of these cycles, Vasari depicts the emblem or the image of faith with all the pertinent attributes, as in the Cornaro Palace and Refectory of Monteoliveto. At other times, Vasari represents the expression of having faith, as in the Chamber of Abraham. In this room, Vasari painted many personal conceits assembled by assimilating numerous literary and stylistic sources. The theme of this ceiling draws on the story of Abraham and Isaac; in contrast with traditional quattrocento and cinquecento depictions of the sacrifice of Isaac, Vasari, in the tondo, portrays God the Father blessing the seed of Abraham. This blessing occurs after God has tested Abraham's willingness to sacrifice Isaac. (God is described in Genesis 22:17 as saying, "I will bless you abundantly and greatly multiply your descendants until they are numerous as the stars in the sky and the grains of sand on the seashore.") This theme is a Vasarian invention. Vasari's depiction of Isaac is most unusual. He is shown as an infant, and his innocence is exposed by a look of candidness. As he is blessed by God, Isaac demonstrates his astonishment and his acceptance of God's will by pointing to himself.

Among the works of Vasari's predecessors, Giulio Romano's ceiling of the Vatican Loggia and Baldassare Peruzzi's ceiling in the *Stanza di Eliodoro* most resemble the ceiling of the Chamber of Abraham. In the Albertina of Vienna, Austria, there is a drawing attributed to Raphael and Perino del Vaga for the fresco painting by Romano in the Vatican Loggia, *God Appearing to Isaac* or *God Blessing Isaac*. Marcantonio Raimondi also engraved a print after the drawing. However, Giulio's scene depicts God blessing only Isaac, who is portrayed not as an infant but as a young boy. Rather than pointing to himself, Isaac indicates his father, who sits apart from him. Peruzzi's representation emphasizes Abraham's closeness to Isaac by having them embrace as a floating figure of God, who extends His arms, appears before Sarah and the group. Instead of portraying the complete sacrificial scene, Vasari suggests it by portraying bucrania, garlands, and mask motifs around the tondo scene. These motifs and other stylistic qualities found in the tondo scene are quotations from Michelangelo's and Titian's works. In the Old Testament, Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac is one of the great examples of faith as enumerated in the

Epistle to the Hebrews (11:17) and elaborated by St. James (2:21–3). Prudentius, in *Psychomachia*, describes the image of Abraham as the faithful patriarch who first showed the way of believing and whose faith was justified and made perfect by his works.

Another example of the application of Christian faith is Vasari's drawing *Abraham and the Three Angels*, in which the background includes a rustic, wooden home, and the supper is taking place outdoors. The figures, dressed in simple garments, gesticulate in a profound manner. The faithful Abraham immediately responds to the miraculous intervention by kneeling and receiving the divine messengers with open arms; Sarah, however, seated against the door, skeptically observes the visitors while Hagar, carrying Ishmael in her arms, curiously rushes with the other servants out of the house to see the divine apparition. The presence of divine intervention is experienced in the Old Testament scene with the apparition of the angels to Abraham and Abraham's forthright response. The scene alludes to the acceptance of the covenant made with God at Mamre and the theological virtue of faith. Abraham's faith implies a hope to achieve a covenant with God, and it is by virtue of Abraham's charitable offering of a meal to the three angels that God grants the covenant to Abraham and his people.

The depiction of religion in art is strongly interrelated with the theological virtue of faith. During the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the attributes of faith are similar to religion, usually represented as a woman with her respective attributes of chalice, cross, candle, and font. Sometimes she also wears a helmet and has the Decalogue at her feet.

In 1545, Vasari painted the personification of Religion on the ceiling near the altar of the Refectory of Monteoliveto in Naples. She floats on a bundle of wheat with her attributes: the keys of St. Peter, the four gospels, and the veil. She dramatically turns her head to receive divine inspiration from the Holy Spirit. A rose bush with thorns behind her recalls the sacrificial redemption. Religion represents the Christianization of the classical tradition (Ripa, 1611).

According to Aquinas (*Summa Theologia*, II, part II, quest LXXII, art. VII and quest. LXXXIV, art. II), religion is that moral virtue through which Christians dedicate all their honor to God with all their heart, soul, and body. Aristotle differentiates humans from beasts in nature for their ability to reason, which enables them to reach and comprehend the divine. Ripa's *figurazione* (image of Religion) is veiled, reflecting St. Paul's statement *per speculum in aenigmate* (for a dark mirror), which alludes to the mysteriousness of rites, ceremonies, and religious events. Other attributes accompanying religion are a book, a fire, and a cross. The book alludes to the Holy Scriptures, revelations, and religious conventions. The fire that she holds on her hand suggests pure and sincere devotion to God. The cross symbolizes Christ and his Christian doctrine. Sometimes an elephant guards her, alluding to Pliny's explanation about the good nature of this animal (*Natural History*, Book VII, chap. I). Pliny tells us that this animal is prudent, charitable, and a lover of equanimity. In *Hieroglyphica*, Valeriano recounts how the elephant is depicted in the hieroglyphics, and for this reason Pliny explains that the elephant worships the sun and the stars and kneels in front of the moon for reverence. On a full moon, he seeks water to bathe his body in preparation for worshipping the moon, expressing his qualities of prudence, justice, and humility.

Other illustrations of Religion in Ripa's *Iconologia* focus on her clothing, with white linen alluding to her purity and chastity. According to Plutarch's book on the Egyptian gods Isis and Osiris, the religious customs of the Egyptians were such that no wool object could be found inside the temples or tombs; this is why the deceased was mummified in linen garments. In Ripa's emblem on the institutionalization of religion, the personification portrays Religion as a woman covered by a veil and accompanied by a dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit. The woman sits on a square stone bench, symbol of a sacrificial altar as well as the foundation of the church by Christ in Peter (stone). Next to the personification of Religion stands a young boy with Moses' tablets, alluding to the Old Testament law. The keys held by Religion symbolize the New Testament, as does the depiction of the four evangelists. The whole composition emphasizes divine intervention through the Holy Spirit or religion with charity, faith, and hope.

Hope (Latin *spes*) forms part of the theological virtue three-some (Daly, pp. 209–212). Hope's attributes imply safety, security, steadfastness, and good luck. Her most conventional attributes of the hourglass and anchor represent safety and security. The hourglass, usually an attribute of Temperance, symbolizes the passage of life as well as the recurrence of life and death, the heavens, and the Earth (Ferguson, pp. 45, 50). The depiction of the anchor recalls St. Paul's comments in Hebrews (6:18–19): "Hope is like an anchor for our lives . . . it enters in through the veil" (Hall, p. 156; Cheney, pp. 92–98). The symbolism of the anchor, together with the dolphin—the anchor is slowness, and the dolphin alludes to speed—refers to the motto of the happy medium, "Hasten slowly," or "festina lente." In Christianity, it is a true symbol of salvation and faith. In early Christian art, the anchor was used as a disguised form of the cross as hope—a symbol of Christ on the Cross (the dolphin and the anchor). The anchor is also the emblem of SS. Clement and Nicholas of Myra. In Gothic imagery, Hope is depicted gazing up into the heavens and reaching out for a crown, the hope of future glory. This allusion suggests that hope is considered a spiritual as well as a secular virtue. Examples of Hope with the representations of the theological virtues can be found in fourteenth-century paintings such as Ambrogio Lorenzetti's *Maestà* (circa 1330), in which Hope holds lilies and a church tower and gazes up to the crown. Bartolomeo di Bartoli's manuscript in Chantilly, France, *La canzone delle virtù e delle scienze*, shows Hope (Spes) sitting enthroned over *Judas desperatus* with his hangrope. Giotto's fresco cycle for the Arena Chapel in Padua (1305) dramatically represents the contrast between the hanging figure of Despair and the winged, ascending figure of Hope.

Other virtues cherished during the Middle Ages and expanded in the Renaissance were those associated with the Holy Spirit. During the Middle Ages, they even surpassed the popularity of the seven virtues. These virtues are grouped in two categories: the gifts of the Holy Spirit (wisdom, understanding, counsel, strength, knowledge, piety, and fear of the Lord) and the fruits of the Holy Spirit (charity, joy, peace, patience, benignity, goodness, longanimity, mildness, faith, modesty, continence, and chastity). The gifts of the Holy Spirit were ascribed to Isaiah's prophecy (11:1–2), and in medieval iconography they are associated with the Incarnation and the Passion (O'Reilly and Tuve). In the Middle Ages, they were

considered the antidotes to the Deadly Sins. In art of this period, the formal wheel diagrams showed the seven beatitudes, gift virtues, and gifts and petitions of the Pater Noster opposed to the seven deadly sins. The seven gift virtues were associated also with medicinal powers; the seven beatitudes were medicinal preparations, whereas the seven gift virtues restored health. These seven virtues also were associated with the seven works of corporal and spiritual mercy, the seven joys and sorrows of the Virgin, the seven last words, and the seven penitential psalms as discussed in the *Somme le Roi* and *Psychomachia* (O'Reilly and Tuve). In his commentary of Peter Lombard's *Sententiae*, St. Bonaventure associated the gift virtues with the cardinal and theological virtues because in Isaiah's text the Tree of Jesse contained the gifts of the Holy Spirit, as illustrated in the late medieval *Biblia Pauperum*.

The fruits of the Holy Spirit were discussed in a very influential twelfth-century manuscript, *De fructibus*, by pseudo-Hugo (O'Reilly), in which the Tree of Jesse is replaced by the Tree of Virtues. They were also depicted in another popular manuscript from the end of the Middle Ages, *Tree and Twelve Frutes of the Holy Goost* (Fitzwilliam ms. McClean 132). Vasari represented this subject in 1545 in the Refectory of Monteoliveto in the Church of Santa Anna dei Lambert in Naples (Cheney).

Knowledge, counsel, and understanding are all aspects of wisdom, the meaning of which derives from the Greek term *sophia*, which originally referred to the practical arts and then to knowledge and reason. Plato understood wisdom to be one of the four chief virtues. Wisdom was the faculty required for both scientific knowledge and practical experience. Aristotle distinguished between speculative and practical wisdom, that is, between *sophia* (wisdom) and *phronesis* (prudence). Whereas practical wisdom relates to the conduct of life, behavior, and moral conduct, speculative wisdom requires elements of intuitive reason and rigorous knowledge, as needed in theology, philosophy, and metaphysics. Aquinas followed Aristotle's distinction between speculative and practical wisdom while finding speculative wisdom not in metaphysics but in sacred doctrine or revealed theology. Nicholas de Cusa defined wisdom as "learned ignorance." Later discussions on wisdom during the Renaissance and Baroque periods, such as those by the philosopher Baruch Spinoza, distinguish between *ratio*, or reason, interpreted as knowledge of scientific law, and *scientia intuitiva*, or intuitive knowledge, by which one sees the universal in all the particulars of existence. The virtue Wisdom, then, is identified with the latter and interpreted as living under the aspect of eternity or divine laws.

In antiquity, the image of Athena or Minerva, with her attribute of the olive branch or tree, alluded to the personification of wisdom. The legend of her birth from the head of Zeus or Jupiter referred to her ability to understand and advise the gods and humans on the mysteries of life. Usually dressed in a helmet and cuirass, Athena or Minerva alludes to her sagacity and intellectual strength. The shield with the head of the Medusa symbolizes the ability to distinguish between bad and good habits, actions, and behaviors that wisdom provides to individuals. Wisdom teaches people to distinguish between ignorance and knowledge and to learn through experience. According to Virgil, the olive branch is a symbol of interior and exterior peace that can be acquired or learned only through knowledge or wisdom. This plant was carried by the Trojan

leader Aeneas when he visited the Elysian camps, alluding to his search for peace through wisdom.

The Renaissance, assimilating the ideas of antiquity, represented the fusion of the personification of wisdom with the medieval personification of prudence in art. A case in point is the well-known painting by Botticelli, *Minerva and the Centaur* (1480), at the Uffizi Gallery in Florence, representing the personification of wisdom in a mythological setting. According to some scholars, the subject matter of the painting has political, poetic, and moral-philosophical meanings. Although an element of symbolism is encountered in the painting, it is overshadowed by the painting's connotations. Most interpretations focus on Lorenzo de' Medici's triumph over the Neapolitan court intrigues or over the conspiracy of the Piazze and other domestic enemies. The figures in the painting may symbolize the way Lorenzo achieved a balance of power in the Florentine government and used his diplomatic skills in fostering peace after the Piazze rebellion. In addition, as an illustration of one of Angelo Poliziano's poems, it emphasizes Lorenzo's wisdom and his desire for good government (Cheney, 1993; Wittkower, 1977).

Other interpretations emphasize the philosophical significance of the painting. That is, *Minerva and the Centaur* represents two moral allegories. First, it symbolizes Marsilio Ficino's Neoplatonic concept of reason (Minerva) through wisdom (*Mens intellectus*) controlling ignorance (centaur). Therefore, Lorenzo (Minerva), through his intellect, resolves the struggles of political diplomacy by subjugating foolishness (centaur). The painting can also be viewed in the light of quattrocento Neoplatonism, representing a person's physical and metaphysical realms. Because a person's human soul is made up of instinct and reason (natural world/centaur) and wisdom is part of the intellect (supernatural world/Minerva/*Mens*), the painting suggests that Lorenzo is trying to subjugate his basic instincts (centaur) through reason to obtain wisdom. The reconciliation of wisdom and instinct is achieved within Lorenzo's human soul. That is, in politics, Lorenzo must control his own ambitions for the benefit of his beloved Firenze and good government.

In the Renaissance, the fusion between the personifications of prudence and wisdom is common. However, in the Chamber of Fortune of his house in Arezzo (1548), Vasari portrays the personifications of wisdom and prudence separately. Under the spell of the emblematic tradition of Alciati and Valeriano, for Vasari Wisdom (*Sapienza*) is an iconographic fusion of *Cognizione* and *Intelligenza*. The Aretine wisdom anticipates iconographically Ripa's *Cognizione* and *Intelligenza*, who is winged, as a symbol of solicitude, and holds a burning torch, a sphere, and a book. The book suggests her quest for knowledge. The flame of the torch signifies the mind's ability to see the light of reason and to understand intellectual matters. The sphere alludes to Wisdom's attempt to comprehend in human terms the abstract laws of the universe. This is also why one of her feet is suspended in midair, a suggestion of detachment in her intellectual pursuits from earthly goods. Wisdom rests comfortably and stably in her niche. Wisdom appears to be sitting on a cube, whereas Felicity or Fortune rests on a circular form, the wheel in Cartari's depiction of *Bonus Eventus* (felicity) and Ripa's depiction of *Cognizione*.

Here, perhaps, Vasari has suggested that the acquisition of knowledge and the desire to comprehend the laws of nature (wisdom), contrasting with the given laws of nature usually

depicted by Artemis of Ephesus as a personification of nature, are both significant aspects in a person's life. Knowledge, similar to patience, justice, and fortitude, requires perseverance, strength, and stability, whereas felicity, prudence (providence), and liberality vacillate according to the wheel of fortune.

In the Renaissance, the tendency to Christianize pagan iconography creates two levels of meaning in the interpretation of the personifications. The personification of virtue is complex because it may combine both religious and secular ideas. If it is religious, the allusion to virtue is associated with chastity (Latin *castitas*, meaning "purity of spirit"), with attributes such as a veil (symbol of modesty), a palm (martyrdom), or a shield with a phoenix (spiritual search). If the allusion is secular, the virtue of chastity focuses on the abstention from sexual relations as one of the Christian virtues (the others poverty and obedience) that are associated with monastic vows of religious orders. This association is seen in Franciscan art, such as Giotto's fresco cycle in the Lower Church of Assisi, Italy. In this instance, the virtue of chastity is symbolized by a woman praying in a tower. The symbolism of the tower also alludes to the legends of St. Barbara and Danaë (Hall). Another aspect of the secular allusion to chastity as purity of the flesh is the relation to love. Mythological references to the goddess Diana or the nymph Daphne and their transformations involve the yearning for chastity in the face of desire. Other myths associated with chastity and physical love are the blindness of Cupid, the combat of Love, the Lady of the Unicorn, and the Three Graces (*Castitas*, *Pulchritudo*, *Amor* or Aglaia, Euphrosyne, and Thalia, respectively, as described in Seneca's *De Beneficiis* 1.3:2).

In the Chamber of Abraham at his house in Arezzo, Vasari portrayed Virtue with her companions Peace, Modesty, and Concord (1548). It appears that, following in the Renaissance Neoplatonic tradition, he fused pagan symbols with Christian motifs in his religious symbolism. For example, Virtue is portrayed with objects (rose, lily, myrtle, and vase) with different associations in the classical and Christian cultures.

The dual reference in the allegorical rendering of Virtue, evidenced by the diversity of attributes she holds, seems to denote the Renaissance Neoplatonic conception of the Venus/Virgo or Love/Chastity. This dual conception is based on Virgil's *Aeneid* and was applied by the Renaissance Neoplatonists to the Christian doctrine of chastity and love. Virgil relates that Venus disguised herself as Diana, a virgin goddess, to appear as a "devotee of chastity." The medal of Giovanna degli Albizzi, with the Latin inscription from Virgil, for example, alludes to the Venus/Virgo concept: *Virginis os habitumque gerens et virginis arma* (Virgil I, 315). According to Jean Seznec, the sixteenth century also adopted the Ciceronian parallel between Diana and the Virgin Mary. In Vasari's Chastity, one sees, on the breastplate of her dress, a female figure standing (perhaps) on a shell and holding a bow and arrow. She may be Diana, a personification of chastity, or Diana disguised as Venus standing on a shell, a personification of love. The lack of detail in the painting makes a more precise identification impossible. Vasari's Chastity also displays other Christian and pagan motifs associated with the Venus/Virgo or Love/Chastity. She holds a classical vase with its base designed in the shape of a scallop shell, which is commonly associated with the birth of Venus, as seen in Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* (1485) at the Uffizi Gallery (Cheney, 1993; Lightbown); it was also used in

Christian art as a symbol of the resurrection and of pilgrimage, as in the depictions of SS. James and Roch.

In both the quattrocento and the cinquecento, several writers, including Alciati in *Emblematum libellus cum commentariis* (1531), Vincenzo Cartari in *Imagini delli dei degl' Antichi* (1557), Piero Valeriano in *Hieroglyphica sive De sacris Aegyptiorum* (1556), and Ripa in *Iconologia* (1603), associated Venus with chastity or virginity. Vasari's allegorical figure of Chastity likewise has attributes associated with chastity and virginity, as she holds in one hand wilted white roses. In ancient Rome, the rose was a traditional symbol of victory, pride, and love. It was the flower of Venus, goddess of love. In Christian symbolism, the white rose is a symbol of purity. According to St. Ambrose's legend, the Virgin Mary is called the "rose without thorns" because she was exempt from original sin (d'Ancona and Réau). The lily is also a symbol of purity, and in scenes of the Annunciation it is a Christian attribute of the virginity of Mary (Réau, 1955–1959, I; Panofsky, 1961). According to the Bible, flowers are a signal of spring, and because of their fragrance and beauty they are a sign of the Messianic kingdom (Isaiah 35:1). The death of flowers is symbolic of the transitoriness of life (Jacob 14:1; James 1:10) (Haig; Koch). In Roman mythology, myrtle was considered sacred to Venus and a symbol of grace, sanity, victory (Valeriano, 1602), and love (Cicero, *Somnium Scipionis*), whereas in Christian iconography myrtle alludes to the Gentiles who were converted by Christ (Zachariah 1:8). In Christian iconography, the vase or vessel is associated with one of the seven virtues: temperance. Stylistically, Vasari's vase refers to the cinquecento interpretation of antique vases, as it is decorated with garlands, a mask, and a skull motif. Furthermore, this vase contains myrtle leaves. In the Renaissance, a vase containing plants or flowers was emblematic of virtue or grace (Wind, 1968). Therefore, all these attributes may attest to the goddess of love, Venus, or to a Christian virtue, perhaps chastity (purity or virginity), as ascribed to the Virgin Mary.

Benignity and joy are components of felicity. The word *felicity* alludes to the Greek term *eudaimonia*, meaning good luck or to be prosperous, well off, or happy. Aristotle's view of happiness is associated with the evaluation of fulfillment of the individual's life, the sum of pleasures needed to be. Aquinas elaborates on this theory by defining happiness in terms of pleasure with prudence, thus adding a theological dimension. In the Renaissance, the personification of felicity fuses the ancient and medieval views of happiness and joy as one of the Holy Spirit's gifts of virtues (O'Reilly, 1983).

The ancient Greeks and Romans believed that people were accompanied from birth by *daemones* or *genii* (invisible counselors) who assisted them through all the stages of life with advice and comfort. To these spirits they offered wine, incense, and garlands on their birthdays. In antiquity Nemesis, Tyche, and Agathodaemon were considered as one invisible counselor. These three deities were incorporated in the goddess of equality, who watched over the equilibrium of moral universality and saw that happiness and misfortune were allotted to humans according to their merits. The Romans differentiated among them. Nemesis was a kindly and gentle goddess, who dispensed what is just. In Roman art, she usually is portrayed as a young woman of grave and thoughtful aspect, holding in her hand the instruments of measurement, such as the cubit, bridle, and rudder. As the stern judge of

human crimes, she appears with wings in a chariot drawn by griffins and with a sword or whip in her hand (Bianchi). According to common accounts, the Roman Tyche, the goddess of good fortune, was the daughter of Oceanus and Tethys. Tyche, as the author of evil as well as good fortune, was regarded as the source of all that is unexpected in human life. Servius Tullius was said to have introduced into Rome the worship of Fortuna. He erected a temple to her under the name of *Fors Fortuna* and made June 24 the common festival of the goddess. Later, her worship became still more extensive. Under various surnames, some of which referred to the state of *Fortuna populi Romani* and others to every description of private affairs, she had a great number of temples (chapels) erected in her honor in Antium and Praeneste. Ancient artists endowed this goddess with various attributes, the most important of which was the rudder, which she held in her hand as a symbol of her power to control the fortunes of human beings. She also carried a scepter for the same purpose and a horn of plenty as the giver of good fortune. The later conception of an impartial goddess of fate is apparent in those monuments that depict her standing on a globe, ball, or circle. In the Vatican, the statue *Tyche*, by Eutychides of Sicyon (formerly exhibited in Antioch, Turkey) (Bianchi, 1877), shows the goddess wearing a laurel crown on her head as the tutelary deity of towns and holding a sheaf of corn in her right hand. Besides Tyche or Fortuna, the Romans honored a deity called Felicitas (Felicity) as the goddess of positive good fortune. Lucullus is said to have erected a temple to her in Rome that was adorned with the works brought by Mummius from the spoils of Corinth, Greece (Bianchi, 1877).

The emblematic tradition of the Renaissance and Baroque periods focused on the Roman conception of Tyche. Ripa's *Iconologia* describes three types of felicity: eternal (or divine), ephemeral (or human), and public. Eternal felicity is personified by a nude young woman with golden tresses and a laurel crown. She is seated in the heavenly stars, and her beauty radiates as she holds a palm and flaming torch. The personification of eternal felicity holds attributes similar to those of eternal happiness, health, and well-being. She is depicted nude because there is no need to hide her earthly goods or her spiritual gifts. Her golden tresses allude to the period that the ancient poets called the Golden Age, meaning a period of peace and joy when laws were not corrupted or contaminated by human actions. The heavenly sky with stars suggests that only in the heavens can happiness or felicity be achieved because there are no human and astral interferences. The crown of laurel with the palm refers to St. Paul's statement that individual coronation can occur only after valiant and sufficient struggles. The flaming torch symbolizes the love for God. Only through this love can eternal and complete joy, happiness, or felicity be achieved (Ripa, 1611).

Ripa's *Human Felicity* or *Brief or Ephemeral Felicity* alludes to Alciati's Emblem 124, *In momentaneum felicitatem* (brief felicity), in his *Emblematum libellus cum commentariis* (1551). The epigram explains the *pictura* (image) in which a gourd grew to such a height that it surpassed the tip of a pine tree. As it entwined its branches this way and that, proudly above all valuation, the pine tree laughed at the gourd and spoke:

Your glory is brief, because as soon the winter comes, accompanied by snow and ice all your vigor will be com-

pletely extinguished. This comment also applies to those arrogant, vain, and superficial individuals who focus their happiness on the vanities of life.

Ripa's *Public Felicity* alludes to Cartari's *Bonus Eventus* in *Imagini delli dei degl' Antichi* (1557), thus including all aspects of felicity, happiness, and joy, as illustrated in Julia Mamea's medal with the inscription *Foelicitas Publica*. A young woman is seated on a throne, holding a caduceus as a symbol of peace and wisdom and a cornucopia with fruits and flowers, alluding to the fruitful achievements after hard work and labor. The flowers in particular imply happiness; the caduceus symbolizes virtue and the cornucopia richness. These elements allude to temporal and spiritual wealth and abundance, which can be achieved only through physical and mental labor.

Felicity (*Felicitas Publica*), or *Bonus Eventus*, sits on a wheel holding a caduceus and a cornucopia in Vasari's house in Arezzo (1548). In this depiction, Vasari illustrated Vincenzo Cartari's *Imagini delli dei degl' Antichi* description of the image of Felicity, or *Bonus Eventus* (de Tervarent, 1944 and Ripa, 1611). Vasari described this image as "Felicitas, a clothed woman with a horn of plenty held with the left hand and the caduceus of Mercury on the right." The caduceus and the cornucopia are attributes symbolizing the elements needed for happiness, as the caduceus is a symbol of peace and industry, and the cornucopia contains the products of hard work. Felicity sits precariously on the wheel of fortune, a symbol of authority and good fortune (Ripa, 1611). For the Romans as well as for Vasari, Felicity was a personification of happiness, as she "symbolized a fortunate event and the happy issue of an enterprise" (de Tervarent). Another interpretation of Felicity is as an early Christian martyr who died in A.D. 165. She is one of seven martyrs named in the *Depositio Martyrum* of the Liberian Catalogue on July 10. Her legend derives from the story of seven Jewish brothers (II Maccabees 7) that describes her as a wealthy Roman matron with seven Christian children. She witnessed the execution of her children because of their faith and herself was beheaded or thrown into boiling oil (Hall, p. 121). In Italian Renaissance painting, she is depicted with her seven sons holding palms for their martyrdom. A second St. Felicity was an African martyr who died in A.D. 203. This saint is usually accompanied by St. Perpetua, with whom she was martyred. Her feast day is March 7.

See also Abundance; Honor/Honoring; Vices/Deadly Sins

Selected Works of Art

Virtues in Series

Thee and Twelve Fautes of the Holy Goost (Fitzwilliam Ms. McCleary, 132)

Virtue and Vices, stone reliefs, circa 1210, Paris, Notre Dame, west facade

Seven Trees of Virtue with the Seven Streams of the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, manuscript, *Somme le Roi*, fifteenth century, Oxford, Bodleian Library (Ms. 283, f. 99v.)

Nicolò da Bologna, *The Virtues and the Arts*, from Giovanni Andrea's *Novella super libros Decretalium*, illuminated manuscript, fourteenth century, Milan, Italy: Ambrosiana (MS B. 42 inf., fol. 1)

Martino di Bartolommeo, *Virtues*, ceiling fresco, circa 1330, Siena, Italy, Palazzo Pubblico, Sala di Balia

Pisano, Andrea, *Cardinal Virtues*, reliefs, 1336, Florence, Italy, Baptistry, South Door

Lorenzetti, Ambrogio, *Good Government*, fresco, 1338–1339, Siena, Italy, Palazzo Pubblico

Perugino, Pietro, *Uomini famosi and Virtues*, fresco, 1470–1475, Perugia, Italy, Collegio del Cambio

Lucas van Leyden, and Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostsanen, *Sibyls (with Virtues and Vices)*, woodcuts in series, 1528–1530, Veste Coburg, Germany, Kunstsammlungender

Vasari, Giorgio, *The Fruits of the Holy Spirit (Virtues)*, fresco painting, 1545, Naples, Italy, Sant' Anna dei Lombardi, Refectory of Monteoliveto

Temperance

Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *Temperance*, print, 1560, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Museum Boymans

Visscher, Roemer, *Nothing Is Empty or Meaningless*, first emblem from *Sinnepoppen*, 1614

Torrentius, Jan Symoonisz (Johannes Symoonisz. van der Beeck), *Temperance*, painting, 1614, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Prudence (Including Wisdom)

Pisano, Giovanni, *Prudence*, sculpture from the *Pisa Pulpit*, 1300s, Pisa, Italy, Duomo

Vasari, Giorgio, *Prudence*, fresco painting, 1545, Naples, Italy, Sant' Anna dei Lombardi, Refectory of Monteoliveto

Vasari, Giorgio, *Prudence*, drawing, 1545, Paris, Institut Neerlandais, Collection F. Lugt (Inv. 7777)

Vasari, Giorgio, *Wisdom*, fresco painting, 1545, Naples, Italy, Sant' Anna dei Lombardi, Refectory of Monteoliveto

Perino del Vaga, *Prudence*, drawing, 1546, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Vasari, Giorgio, *Wisdom*, oil painting, 1548, Arezzo, Italy, Casa Vasari

Vasari, Giorgio, *Prudence*, oil painting, 1548, Arezzo, Italy, Casa Vasari

Titian, *Allegory of Wisdom*, 1559, Venice, Italy, Biblioteca Sansovino

Titian, *An Allegory of Prudence*, oil on canvas, before 1576, London, National Gallery

Sacchi, Andrea, *Divina Sapienza* (Allegory of Divine Wisdom), fresco, 1629–1631, Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Antica

Van Dyck, Anthony, *Lady Digby as Prudence*, 1633, London, National Portrait Gallery

Courage/Fortitude

Pucelle, Jean, *Fortitude*, 1325, illuminated manuscript page from *The Belleville Breviary*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. Lat. 10483)

Vasari, Giorgio, *Fortitude*, fresco painting, 1545, Naples, Italy, Sant' Anna dei Lombardi, Refectory of Monteoliveto

Vasari, Giorgio, *Fortitude*, fresco painting, 1548, Arezzo, Italy, Casa Vasari

Vellani, Francesco, *Fortitude*, painting, before 1768, Modena, Italy, Palazzo Galliani

Justice

- Giotto, *Justice*, fresco, 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
 Raphael, *Justice*, ceiling fresco, 1510, Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura
 Beccafumi, Domenico, *Justice*, panel, circa 1540, Lille, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Beccafumi, Domenico, *Justice*, fresco, circa 1540, Siena, Italy, Palazzo Pubblico, Sala del Consistoro
 Vasari, Giorgio, *Justice*, fresco painting, 1545, Naples, Italy, Sant' Anna dei Lombardi, Refectory of Monteoliveto
 Salviati, Francesco, *Justice*, fresco, 1545–1550, Florence, Italy, Museo Nazionale
 Vasari, Giorgio, *Justice*, fresco painting, 1546, Rome, Palazzo della Cancelleria, Sala dei Cento Giorni
 Vasari, Giorgio, *Justice*, oil painting, 1548, Arezzo, Italy, Casa Vasari
 Zuccari, Federico, *Allegory of Justice*, drawing, circa 1585, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe
 Cesare, Giuseppe (Cavalier d'Arpino), *Allegory of Justice*, panel, 1595–1600, Brescia, Italy, Brescia Museum, Collection of Tosio-Martinengo
 Cesare, Giuseppe (Cavalier d'Arpino), *Allegory of Liberty*, panel, 1595–1600, Brescia, Italy, Brescia Museum, Collection of Tosio-Martinengo

Charity

- Giotto, *Charity*, Fresco, 1305, Padua, Italy, Arena Chapel
 Tino da Camaino, *Charity*, sculpture, 1320, Florence, Italy, Museo Bardini
 Tura, Cosimo, *Charity*, painting, 1490, Milan, Italy, Museo Poldi Pezzoli
 Andrea del Sarto, *Charity*, fresco painting, 1515, Florence, Italy, Chiostro dello Scalzo
 Andrea del Sarto, *Charity*, painting, 1518, Paris, Musée du Louvre
 Vasari, Giorgio, *Charity*, fresco painting, 1545, Naples, Italy, Sant' Anna Dei Lombardi, Refectory of Monteoliveto
 Vasari, Giorgio, *Charity*, fresco painting, 1546, Rome, Palazzo della Cancelleria, Sala dei Cento Giorni
 Vasari, Giorgio, *Charity*, fresco painting, 1548, Arezzo, Italy, Casa Vasari
 Morandi, Francesco (Il Poppi), *Charity*, panel, 1584, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery
 Giambologna, *Charity*, sculpture, 1585, Genoa, Italy, Grimaldi Chapel
 Bernini, Pietro, *Charity*, sculpture, 1600, Naples, Italy, Church of Monte di Pietà
 Caravaggio, *Works of Mercy*, 1605, Naples, Italy, Pio Monte della Misericordia
 Guercino, *Charity*, oil painting, 1625, Dayton, Ohio, Dayton Art Museum
 Reni, Guido, *Charity*, oil painting, 1630, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Faith (Including Religion)

- Faith*, from an illustrated *Psychomachia*, early eleventh century, Leiden, The Netherlands, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit (Ms. Voss. Lat. Oct 15, ff. 37–43)
 Vasari, Giorgio, *Faith*, fresco painting, 1548, Arezzo, Italy, Casa Vasari

- Vasari, Giorgio, *Religion*, fresco painting, 1545, Naples, Italy, Sant' Anna dei Lombardi, Refectory of Monteoliveto
 Ripa, Cesare, *Religion*, woodcut emblem from *Iconologia*, 1603

Hope

- Hope*, from an illustrated *Psychomachia*, early eleventh century, Leiden, The Netherlands, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit
 Watts, George Frederic, *Hope*, oil on canvas, 1886, London, Tate Gallery

Felicity

- Cartari, Vincenzo, *Bonus Eventus*, engraving, from *Imagini delli dei degl' Antichi*, Vienna, Austria, 1556
 Vasari, Giorgio, *Bonus Eventus (Felicity)*, oil painting, 1548, Arezzo, Italy, Casa Vasari
 Ripa, Cesare, *Felicity*, woodcut emblem from *Iconologia*, Rome, 1603

Neoclassic and Genre Painting

- Vien, Joseph Marie, *Marcus Aurelius Distributing Food and Medicine*, before 1765, Amiens, France, Musée de Picardie
 Hallé, Noël, *Justice of Trajan*, before 1765, Marseilles, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Banks, Thomas, *Death of Germanicus*, bas-relief, 1774, Norfolk, England, Holkham Hall
 Durameau, Louis, *Continence of Bayard*, 1777, Grenoble, France, Musée de Peinture et de Sculpture
 Brenet, Nicolas Guy, *Death of Du Gueselin*, painting, 1778, Dunkirk, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Wheatley, Francis, *Mr. Howard Offering Relief to Prisoners*, 1788, Collection of the Earl of Harrowby
 Gauffier, Louis, *Generosity of Roman Women*, before 1791, Poitiers, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts
 Millais, John Everett, *The Widow's Mite*, painting, 1870, Birmingham, England, City Art Gallery
 Fildes, Luke, *Applicants for Admission to a Casual Ward*, 1874, Egham, England, Royal Holloway College
 Herkomer, Hubert von, *Eventide (Workhouse)*, 1878, Liverpool, England, Walker Art Gallery
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VISITING/VISITATION

Alicia Craig Faxon

The following iconographic narratives are covered in the discussion of the theme Visiting/Visitation:

VISITATION OF THREE
ANGELS TO ABRAHAM

VISIT OF THE QUEEN OF
SHEBA TO SOLOMON

MARY AND ELIZABETH

GENRE PAINTINGS



Albrecht Dürer, *Visitation*, from *The Life of the Virgin*, circa 1511, woodcut (B84), Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, Harvey D. Parker Collection. (Courtesy of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

Because the subject of visiting and visitation is so broad, it will be covered here mainly in its most common iconographic context, that of biblical images, and in regards to scenes typically given the title *Visit* or *Visitation*.

The first major Old Testament visitation scene is that of Abraham visited by three angels (Genesis 18:1–16). During the visit, the angels tell Abraham and his wife Sarah that though they are old, they will have a son and fulfill God's earlier promise that Abraham's descendants will multiply and become as many as the stars in the sky. This was a scene particularly popular in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, because the country, newly freed from the rule of Spain, saw itself as a new Israel, and the Dutch believed that the stories of the Old Testament applied to them as the fulfillment of God's promises. Pieter Lastman, Rembrandt van Rijn's teacher, painted *Visitation of Three Angels to Abraham* on this subject, now in a private collection, as did Rembrandt's pupils Ferdinand Bol, whose *Abraham Entertaining Three Angels* (circa 1640s) is now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and Aert de Gelder, whose work is in the Boymans Museum in Rotterdam, the Netherlands. Rembrandt himself may also have painted this subject in a work now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, the Netherlands. The subject was also portrayed by Raphael and his assistants in *The Visitation to Abraham* fresco (circa 1518) in the Loggia of the Vatican, and by Peter Paul Rubens in *Abraham's Visitation* (circa 1628–1629) in the Seville Cathedral in Spain. The visitation of the three angels to Abraham and Sarah is sometimes seen as a prefiguration of the Annunciation in the New Testament, when the angel Gabriel comes to ask Mary if she will be the Mother of Christ.

Another famous Old Testament visit is that of the Queen of Sheba to King Solomon (I Kings 10:1–13; II Chronicles 9:1–9). The queen had heard of Solomon's wealth and wisdom, but when she came to see him and ask difficult questions, she found that he was both wiser and richer than she had been told. She returned home rejoicing, leaving as many gifts as she had brought. The biblical description of this visit and the queen's exotic retinue, complete with camels, spices, and precious stones, fascinated artists. The scene appears in many paintings, including Livinia Fontana's *The Visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon* (late sixteenth century) in the National Gallery in Dublin, Ireland; Benozzo Gozzoli's fresco *The Queen of Sheba's Visit to Solomon* (fifteenth century) in the Campo Santo in Pisa, Italy; a painting by Peter Paul Rubens in the Courtauld Institute in London; a painting by Raphael in the Loggia of the Vatican; a painting by Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna, Austria; a painting by Giovanni Battista Pittoni in the Walker Art Gallery in Liverpool, England; and Claude Lorrain's *The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba* (1640s) in the National Gallery in London.

The visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon was secularized into the medieval *Legend of the True Cross* by Piero della Francesca in his *The Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba* (circa 1452–1457), part of a fresco cycle in the Church of San Francesco in Arezzo, Italy. Here the stately queen and her female retinue enter a pillared room from the right, and she bends forward in profile toward the left, clasping Solomon's hand. His courtiers, all male, stand on the left in elegant Renaissance dress. Everything in Francesca's painting is symmetrical and stately, framed by fluted columns and rectangular panels, while the participants seem to move to solemn music.

A very different picture is presented in Fontana's *Visit of the Queen of Sheba*. In this painting, Solomon's father King David, crowned and in an ermine-trimmed robe, sits on a raised throne on the far left, while a very knowing and beautifully dressed Queen of Sheba kneels gracefully on the steps before the throne. She gestures toward an attendant on the far right who is entering with a tray of gold vessels and ornaments. Behind her on the right is a retinue of richly clad ladies with ruffs, while in the right foreground a dwarf in red gestures toward the golden gifts. The participants in Fontana's painting are reputed to be portrayals of the Duke and Duchess of Mantua, Italy, Vincenzo Gonzaga and his wife Leonora de' Medici, as well as their court. The idea for this painting may have come from the Gonzagas' art collection, which included an onyx vessel believed to come from the Temple of Solomon. Presumably, Fontana's patrons would have identified strongly with Solomon as a noble predecessor.

The most commonly represented visit is the Visitation: the New Testament story of Mary's visit to her cousin Elizabeth when both women are pregnant, Mary with Jesus and Elizabeth with John the Baptist (Luke 1:39–56). The situation was different for each of the women: Elizabeth was married to Zacharias and had been barren for many years, while Mary was unmarried though betrothed to a carpenter named Joseph. When Mary entered the house, Elizabeth felt her child leap in her womb, and she recognized this as a sign of the special child Mary was bearing. Mary responded to this recognition in the words of the Magnificat: "My soul doth magnify the Lord and my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Savior. . .," her cousin's response reinforcing the words of the angel Gabriel in the Annunciation. Mary stayed with Elizabeth for three months, a testimony to Elizabeth's welcoming spirit and motherly qualities.

The Visitation is one of the scenes traditionally represented in the Life of the Virgin cycles in early Christian and Byzantine art. In the fourteenth century, it became a more independent subject, following the establishment of a separate Marian feast day under the influence of St. Bonaventura. The Visitation can be seen on the south portal (eleventh century) of the Church of

St. Pierre in Moissac, France. The Romanesque work shows two elongated figures who bow to each other, adjacent to an Annunciation scene. The figures are heavier and more classic in *The Visitation* (circa 1225–1245) on the west portal of the Cathedral of Reims, France. This Gothic work contrasts the perfect beauty and serenity of Mary's face with the older, lined countenance of Elizabeth.

In the Middle Ages, the two infants Jesus Christ and John the Baptist were sometimes displayed in the wombs, as if visible through X-ray vision, and even greeted one another. Sometimes a plaque or *platytera* was hung over the figures, representing the infants, a practice proscribed by the Council of Trent (1545–1565). In the fifteenth century, with an increased number of paintings being used for personal devotion, Elizabeth is sometimes shown kneeling before her cousin Mary, or kneeling before the Christ Child in Mary's womb, as in *Visitation* (before 1727) by Giuseppe Maria Crespi (lo Spagnuolo) in the Kress Collection in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.

In the sixteenth century, Albrecht Dürer included *The Visitation* in his woodcut series *The Life of the Virgin* (1510–1515). Here the embracing women are featured prominently in the foreground, both wearing flowing robes, and both obviously “with child.” The figure of Mary on the left has a tall fir tree behind her, a possible symbol of faith, while a typical mountainous landscape rises in the background. The figures are given great solidity and weight, and the entire scene is concentrated on them. The Visitation is also shown in a number of other paintings, sometimes with Joseph or Zacharias, but most often with the two women alone. It can be seen in an illuminated manuscript by the Master of the Boucicalt Hours in the Musée Jacquemart-André in Paris. One of the reasons for the great number of representations of this meeting was that it was a traditional scene in the Book of Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a book of prayers for the different hours throughout the day. The theme later appears in paintings by Albrecht Altdorfer in the Museum of Art in Cleveland; Giotto in the Arena Chapel in Padua, Italy; Palma Vecchio in the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna; Fra Angelico in San Marco Museum in Florence, Italy; Taddeo Gaddi in the Baroncelli Chapel in San Croce in Florence; Tintoretto in the Scuola di San Rocco in Venice, Italy; Pietro Vannucci Perugino in the Academia in Florence; and Rembrandt van Rijn's *The Visitation* (1640) in the Detroit Art Institute in Michigan. Although the figures of Mary and Elizabeth usually embrace or shake hands, occasionally one figure bows to one another, as in Ghirlandaio's *Visitation* (fifteenth century) in the Louvre in Paris.

Rembrandt's *The Visitation* is one of the most unusual representations. The scene takes place within a large darkened landscape that dwarfs the figures. The entrance of the house on the left, from which the elderly Zacharias emerges, is large and elegant, with a pillared doorway. Mary and Elizabeth are spotlighted in the center of the composition, standing on a circular entrance platform. A black servant removes Mary's cloak as Elizabeth embraces her tall young relation. Neither of the women are conventionally beautiful, but the reality of their presence in gesture and pose expresses the awe and wonder of the situation. This is Rembrandt at his most restrained and classical; every detail contributes to the immediacy of the meeting.

These are not elegantly clad noblewomen, as in Renaissance precedents, but humble, homely, and convincing people.

Käthe Kollwitz's monumental woodcut *Mary and Elizabeth* (1938) shows only the bulky bodies of the two women, enclosed within an arched black space. Elizabeth, on the left, is shown kissing her young relative as her hand touches Mary's swelling waist. Mary looks downward tenderly and shyly. The starkness of the composition and the use of enclosed figures indicates the mutuality of their experience of pregnancy. Through the starkness of outline and pose, Kollwitz makes the two women symbolic of every woman who has awaited birth and who has been supported by another woman. In its simplification of planes and detail and its expressive use of pose and gesture, the woodcut emanates a twentieth-century approach and sensibility.

Although the primary scene of the Visitation is the greeting between the two women, Mary is also shown journeying to meet Elizabeth, as in Alessandro Allori's ceiling painting *Mary on Her Way to Judah* (before 1607) in Capella della Visitazione in Florence. Mary taking leave of Elizabeth is depicted in Lorenzo d'Alessandro da San Severino's *Virgin Taking Leave of Zacharias and Elizabeth* (before 1503) in San Giovanni in Urbino, Italy.

There are occasional references to God's visitation to his people in the New Testament, such as in the Song of Simeon (Luke 1:68): “Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, for he hath visited and redeemed his people.” Jesus Christ refers to God's visitation when he foresees the destruction of Jerusalem (Luke 19:44): “and they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another; because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation,” that is, they did not recognize Jesus as Messiah. Jesus also told his followers of their obligation, and how he recognized those who helped him: “Naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me” (Matthew 25:36). When they asked, “When did we do this?” he replied, “Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me” (Matthew 25:40).

In terms of genre representations, visiting became a nineteenth-century institution complete with *cartes de visites* (visiting cards). Jane Austen described Mrs. Bennet in the first chapter of *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) in this fashion: “The business of her life was to get her daughters married; its solace was visiting and news.” Mary Cassatt perfectly captured the niceties of the etiquette of visiting in the painting *Five O'Clock Tea* (1880) at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and in the color etching and aquatint *The Visit*. In both of these works, well-dressed ladies drink tea and talk in an elegant interior, exemplifying the social codes of the upper-class lady of leisure. The most conscientious of these ladies would also visit the poor, as depicted in Frank Stone's *Charity* (before 1859), in the Warrington Museum and Art Gallery. Here two elegantly dressed women enter the cottage of a poor mother whose four children cling to her. The visitors' servant uncovers a basket of food as two of the children approach him with widening eyes.

Luke Fildes's *The Doctor's Visit* (1891) in the Tate Gallery in London reveals a more serious side of nineteenth century society, with its frequent illnesses and high mortality rate, especially among children. In Alfred Rankley's *Old Schoolfellows* (1854), a friend visits his ill, perhaps dying, former companion at school. The clergy also made rounds, visiting ill or incapacitated

tated parishioners, as in William Crosby's *The Pastor's Visit* (before 1873). In general, however, modern representations of visiting and visitation tend to show genre scenes of social custom, rather than scenes of a spiritual or biblical nature.

In several paintings and etchings, Edgar Degas portrayed a new kind of visit: a visit to a museum. For common people, this was a distinctly nineteenth-century experience as museums had not been accessible to them until Napoleon opened the former royal collections of the Louvre to the general population. The National Gallery in London also opened its doors in the nineteenth century. Degas painted more than one representation of museum visits, among them several elegant etchings of the painter Mary Cassatt and her sister visiting the Etruscan Gallery and other sites of the Louvre. His oil painting *A Visit to the Museum* (1876) in Boston is another rendering of Cassatt and her sister. On the surface, the work details an acceptable social practice of the time: visiting works of art in a cultured setting. Yet there may be a touch of wicked wit in Degas's depiction: the fashionable standing figure of the elegant Cassatt looks at the art while her sister studiously reads from a guide book. There may also be a pointed reference to the two women's unmarried status. They are looking at the sarcophagus of an Etruscan married couple and Paolo Veronese's *The Marriage Feast at Cana* (1562) is in the background. Perhaps Degas, single himself, implies that regarding marriage from a safe distance in a museum is an escape from life's greater commitments—that it is experiencing passion at arm's length. This kind of visit may simply be a piece of reportage on current social customs, but it may also be about art as a substitute for life. A visit to a museum is one during which the visited cannot talk back to the visitors, nor can the visitors truly communicate with the representations they see. Degas's *A Visit to the Museum* is art about viewing art: immediate formal concerns appear to dominate human ones, yet beneath the surface stir a number of perplexing questions about art and life.

See also Journey/Flight

Selected Works of Art

Visitation of Three Angels to Abraham

Raphael and assistants, *The Visitation to Abraham*, fresco, circa 1518, Vatican, Loggia

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Abraham's Visitation*, oil, circa 1628–1929, Seville, Spain, Cathedral

Lastman, Pieter, *Visitation of Three Angels to Abraham*, oil, private collection

Bol, Ferdinand, *Abraham Entertaining Three Angels*, oil, circa 1640s, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon

Gozzoli, Benozzo, *Queen of Sheba's Visit to Solomon*, fresco, fifteenth century, Pisa, Italy, Campo Santo

Piero della Francesca, *The Meeting of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba*, fresco, circa 1452–1457, Arezzo, Italy, Church of S. Francesco

Fontana, Lavinia, *The Visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon*, oil, late sixteenth century, Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland

Claude Lorrain, *The Embarkation of the Queen of Sheba*, oil, 1640s, London, National Gallery

Mary and Elizabeth

The Visitation, sculpture, circa 1230, Chartres, France, Cathedral, north portal

Mary and Elizabeth, stone, circa 1225, Reims, France, Cathedral, central portal, west front

Bertram von Minden (Master Bertram), *Visitation*, second quarter of fourteenth century, Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs

Piero di Cosimo, *The Visitation with Saint Nicholas and Saint Anthony Abbot*, oil on panel, circa 1490, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art

Ghirlandaio, Domenico, *Visitation*, fresco, 1486–1490, Rome, S. Maria Novella

Ghirlandaio, Domenico, *The Visitation*, oil, fifteenth century, Paris, Louvre

Allori, Alessandro, *Mary on Her Way to Judah*, before 1607, Florence, Italy, SS. Annunziata, Capella della Visitazione, ceiling

Lorenzo d' Alessandro da San Severino I, *Virgin Taking Leave of Zacharias and Elizabeth*, before 1503, Urbino, Italy, S. Giovanni

Reichlich, Marx, *Visitation*, circa 1500, Vienna, Austria, Österreichische Galerie

Master E. S., *Visitation*, 1506, Budapest, Hungary, Szepmuveszeti Museum

Dürer, Albrecht, *The Visitation*, woodcut, 1510–1515, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Pontormo, Jacopo Carucci da, *The Visitation*, fresco, 1514, Florence, Italy, SS. Annunziata Church

Allori, Alessandro, *Mary on Her Way to Judah*, before 1607, Florence, Italy, SS. Annunziata, Capella della Visitazione, ceiling

Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Visitation*, oil, 1640, Detroit, Michigan, Art Institute

Crespi, Giuseppe Maria (lo Spagnuolo), *Visitation*, before 1727, Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, Kress Collection

Kollwitz, Käthe, *Mary and Elizabeth*, woodcut, 1938, Berlin, Käthe Kollwitz Museum

Denis, Maurice, *Mary Visits Elizabeth*, 1894, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage

Genre Paintings

Steen, Jan, *The Doctor's Visit*, before 1679, London, Apsley House, Wellington Collection

Rankley, Alfred, *Old Schoolfellows*, 1854, private collection

Stone, Frank, *Charity*, before 1859, Warrington, England, Museum and Art Gallery

Crosby, William, *The Pastor's Visit*, before 1873, private collection

Degas, Edgar, *A Visit to the Museum*, oil, 1876, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts

Cassatt, Mary, *Five O'Clock Tea*, oil, 1880, Boston, Museum of Fine Arts.
 Fildes, Luke, *The Doctor's Visit*, oil, 1891, London, Tate Gallery
 Picasso, Pablo, *The Visit (Two Sisters)*, oil on canvas, 1902, St. Petersburg, Russia, Hermitage

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VOYEURISM

Eugene Dwyer

The following periods and cultures are covered in the discussion of the theme Voyeurism:

ANCIENT

ISLAMIC

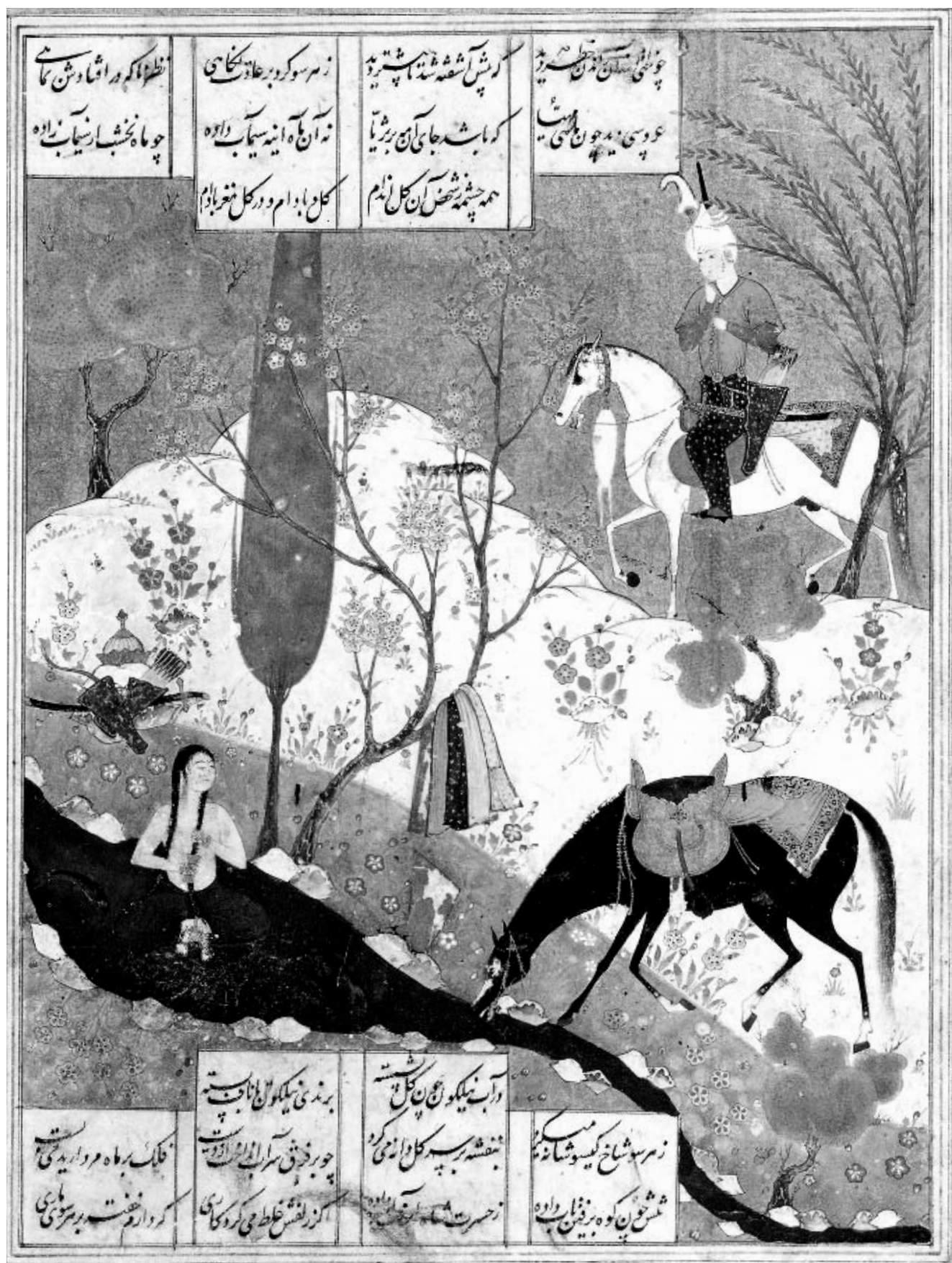
JAPANESE

RENAISSANCE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Khusraw Sees Shirin Bathing in a Pool, leaf from a Khamsah of Nizami, illustration from *Khusraw u Shirin*, Persian, mid-sixteenth century, Safavid period, opaque color, gold, and silver on paper, Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art (08.262). (Courtesy of the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.)

Modern societies usually understand voyeurism to mean the viewing by one or more persons of the intimate state or behavior of another person or persons. Such viewing is usually done without the consent or awareness of the person or persons viewed and thus entails a relationship of inequality in which the voyeur commands a superior position over the vulnerable “target.” The viewer’s motive is assumed to be pleasure, whence the term *scopophilia* to describe voyeurism in its erotic aspect. To understand why voyeurism is almost universally condemned, the practice of seeing what is not properly seen must be understood in the context of social attitudes toward envy and envy avoidance. “There is no curious man that is not also malevolent” (Francis Bacon). As Gyges said to Candaules, “Let each man look upon his own” (Herodotus). Thus, to condone voyeurism is to encourage behavior that is harmful to society.

While voyeurism has usually been universally regarded as dangerous to the individual and harmful to society, artists have often been called on to execute works of a very private nature, not intended for the public, like François Boucher’s portrait of a royal mistress, *Mlle. O’Murphy*. (The story is told in Giovanni Casanova’s *Memoires*.) The artist’s and the patron’s inability to restrict the subsequent viewing audience of a given work of art potentially affords the process of artistic representation a role in any subsequent act of voyeurism. Thus, artistic representation, like voyeurism, has often been condemned as harmful to society. The invention of photography and its popularization posed even greater challenges to traditional ideas of visual appropriation.

Aside from humorous ephemera, voyeurism per se rarely appears as a primary subject in the visual arts. Indeed, it was that very ephemeral quality of subjects that characterized the new Ukiyo-e of Hishikawa Moronobu, whose *Woman Surprised in Bath* is taken from the second illustrated edition of Ihara Saikaku’s *The Man Who Spent His Life in Love* (1682, 1686), “a long, eventful account of a rake’s progress . . . from precocious childhood to lecherous old age” (Hibbett, pp. 36, 42, 78). According to Hibbett, Moronobu’s print shows the hero “Yonosuke, at the age of nine. He is occupied by what has been cited as ‘an early Japanese use of a European invention’: observing by telescope a large naked woman in her wooden bath-tub . . .” (p. 78). At the top of Moronobu’s picture is a condensed version of the novel’s text: “Suddenly she noticed him. Speechless with embarrassment, she clasped her hands imploringly. But he only leered all the more, pointed at her, and laughed. . . .” Hibbett noted here “a disrespectful allusion to a scene in the third chapter of Lady Murasaki’s *Tale of Genji*, recalling the more discreet spying of the young Prince Genji, between screens and sliding doors, when he glimpses a pair of charming ladies in deshabille (‘This peep at everyday life was a

most exciting novelty’). Instead of bathing, they are playing the aristocratic game of go” (p. 78).

Saikaku’s novel and Moronobu’s adaptation of text and illustration emphasize a sadistic element in voyeurism. Even here the subject (inspired by a *David and Bathsheba*?) is a pretext for a graphic study of the female nude, suggesting the identification of artist/viewer with the voyeur rather than his target. Artists of the Hellenistic period first exploited the identification of viewer and voyeur by extending the spatial envelope about a work of sculpture to include the viewer’s station. Praxiteles’ *Knidian Aphrodite* (circa 350 B.C.) became celebrated in antiquity through numerous anecdotes of viewer involvement. The artist’s choice of the vulnerable moment of the goddess’s emergence from the bath has stimulated the largely modern debate over her awareness of the viewer. Some scholars have argued against the interpretation of the work as a surprised woman attempting to cover herself, arguing that such a characterization is beneath the dignity of the goddess as conceived by Praxiteles but allowing it for the works of inferior followers of the Athenian master (Bieber, p. 20). This argument concedes that whatever Praxiteles’ original intent was, some of his contemporaries understood the motif on a more human level. Other freestanding works, such as *Barberini Faun* and *Sleeping Hermaphrodite*, are clearly intended to shock the viewer through the dramatic exposure of the subjects’ genitalia. In each of these works, vulnerability, the sine qua non of the voyeuristic target, has been achieved through the action of sleep (for Renaissance artists’ use of the device of the sleeping figure, see Meiss). Similarly, the sleeping Ariadne, the mythological daughter of King Minos of Crete and countless other nymphs, appear in classical art as the subjects of voyeurism and rape. (Compare Pompeian marble sculptures of a sleeping slave boy with exposed genitalia.)

Although voyeurs or onlookers abound in classical art, their roles are usually not vicious or voyeuristic as we now understand that activity. Servants or assistants frequently appear as bystanders in Pompeian wall paintings of erotic couples, although their presence more likely results from the artists’ attempts to create settings (i.e., by means of staffage) or to frame narratives than from efforts to create dramatic involvement (Michel). A Roman silver cup, formerly in the Warren Collection, depicts two scenes of male-to-male coupling, one of them witnessed by a boy standing in a doorway (Clarke). Here, the boy might be analogous to figures in wall paintings or have the more significant role of an *epoptes*, that is, one admitted to the mysteries, a figuration of the viewer. (Art historian Edgar Wind proposed just such an interpretation for the figure of a young man who stares at the principal figures in Albrecht Dürer’s *Men’s Bath* from outside the enclosure.)

Other artistic spheres outside the Greco-Roman have institutionalized voyeurism. A favorite subject in Persian miniature painting is the scene of Prince Khusraw observing the lovely maiden Shirin as she bathes in a mountain stream. The episode comes from the epic poem *Khusraw and Shirin* by Nizami. Shirin has been traveling alone, disguised as a young prince. Having stopped to bathe (and in the act of wringing or combing her hair), she is discovered by Khusraw. The latter's surprise is indicated by his gesture of placing his index finger to his lips. At the approach of Khusraw, Shirin's horse Shabdiz alerts his mistress, thus enabling her to withdraw. The elements of the scene as it was treated in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Timurid miniatures are the bathing maiden, her clothing piled by the stream (or hanging from a tree), her horse Shabdiz, and the beholder Khusraw. The arrangement of figures follows the traditional placement of subjects in Timurid painting, with principals toward the bottom of the picture and observers at the top behind a coulisse of trees, mountains, or architecture. In earlier versions, a respectable distance and the barrier of the coulisse separate Khusraw from Shirin; in later versions, the observed and the observer are moved closer together, suggesting greater intimacy (Guest).

The so-called Shiraz canon that governs the placement of the subjects implies a certain decorum, restricting (but also institutionalizing) voyeurism to the top edge of the composition. In the illustration *Iskandar Watching the Water Maidens at Play*, from *Iskandar-nama*, or "Alexander Romance," the world conqueror is obliged by the conventions of the canon to act as a voyeur, peeping down at a large stream filled with cavorting maidens. Voyeuristic onlookers are also found in Timurid paintings in which they are entirely irrelevant to the action, such as scenes of meetings in the desert (Guest, pl. 42A) and courtly entertainments (Guest, pl. 43B).

A number of subjects in classical mythology involve the dramatic portrayal of voyeurism. The hunter Actaeon is stereotypical in that his fate involves the sight of a nude female, Artemis. Accidental discovery is more to the point in Actaeon's story than pleasure, and his fate was to be transformed into a stag (i.e., to be appropriated by the goddess of nature) and devoured by his own dogs. This subject thus involves a reversal of the normal target. On the other hand, the beautiful youth Narcissus derived pleasure from beholding his own image in water. Here, the voyeur is identical with the target. Pleasure is similarly absent as a motive in works depicting the judgment of Paris, although the subject was employed by later artists, such as Peter Paul Rubens, to display the voluptuous female body. In several Pompeian frescoes, the shepherd-god Pan reveals the sleeping Ariadne to Dionysus, god of wine, recalling scenes of nymphs uncovered by satyrs.

Several biblical episodes involve voyeurism as an essential feature of the narrative and are so represented in art. Certainly the most celebrated episode of voyeurism is that of David and Bathsheba (II Samuel 11:2–4). After seeing the latter in her bath as he walked on the roof of his palace, David appropriated Bathsheba, as Gyges did the wife of Candaules. High-Gothic miniaturists naturally seized on the subject of the beautiful nude bather and the watchful king, although Erasmus and others objected to the use of the subject in church decoration (Knipping, p. 203). The story of Susanna (Daniel 13) represents

the vindication of the target against the ill will of her voyeur/oppressors, yet the artistically invasive treatment of Susanna as a sensual nude involves the artist/viewer in the crime of the lascivious elders (Meiss, p. 225; Knipping, p. 203): "Few artistic themes have offered so satisfying an opportunity for legitimized voyeurism" (Garrard, p. 191). The stories of both Bathsheba and Susanna reached new levels of psychological intensity in the works of Artemesia Gentileschi. Whereas the episodes of Bathsheba and Susanna follow the conventional pattern of bathing female and peeping male, the story of Noah and his son Ham follows another pattern. Here Noah, drunk with the fruits of his viticulture (and presumably lying in an attitude of abandon à la *Barberini Faun*), is irreverently seen by his youngest son (Genesis 9:22–24). Although the Bible itself offers no explanation as to the precise nature of Ham's sin, Jewish legend told of the son's assault on the father's manhood (Ginzberg I, 166–173, strikingly reminiscent of the assault on Cronos by Zeus, king of the gods). The episode is rarely depicted outside of Genesis cycles (e.g., a ceiling mosaic in the narthex of St. Mark's in Venice, Italy). However, Giovanni Bellini attempted a single panel on this subject in which Ham is depicted as shamelessly inquisitive while his brothers display the requisite modesty.

Among genre painters, J. H. Fragonard produced one of the most memorable treatments of voyeurism in art in his painting *The Swing* (1767). Here, the swinging woman, espied by her voyeur/lover concealed in the bushes, is fully aware of her situation; the elderly man who assists her in swinging, presumably her unwitting husband, is the dupe.

Unlikely as it may have seemed at the time, Fragonard's painting is one of the last icons of voyeurism. Among later painters, Jean-Léon Gérôme offered up numerous idealized females to the hostile and profane stares of a vulgar crowd of exclusively male viewers. In *King Candaules* or *Queen Rodophe Observed by Gyges* (1859), Gérôme continued the subject of dramatic voyeurism, illustrating Herodotus's tale as retold by Théophile Gautier in *Le Roi Candule* (1844), emphasizing the sensuous oriental setting and Gyges' dramatic exit. In this work, as in his studies of nude female slaves exposed to lecherous male audiences, the identification of the implied viewer with the textual observer (Gyges) signals the advent of a more modern tradition. With the advent of photography and the objective beholder characteristic of the realist style of painting, the identification of painter and viewer emerged as an explicit theme. Most painters sought more authorial presence than was consistent with the viewer/voyeur paradigm. In his *Nude with White Stockings* (circa 1861), Gustave Courbet arranged his model to present the viewer with a near view of her most intimate parts, as if the sight were incidental to a tryst. In *The Origin of the World* (1877), the vantage point from which the faceless nude is presented is so intimate as to appear clinical. Close vantage points similarly characterize Edgar Degas's many studies of unselfconscious nudes. Yet, the more objective and matter-of-fact the connection between the observer and the observed (i.e., the voyeur and his target), the less the relationship can be described as voyeurism. Although unselfconscious, Degas's nudes do not in their positivism suggest vulnerability, nor can the viewer any longer pretend to the detachment of a voyeur, the "invisibility" previously accorded to servants by their masters.

Rather than furtively enjoying someone else's treasure, the viewer is now in possession. The artistic treatment of the subject of voyeurism historically parallels social attitudes toward sexual voyeurism.

See also Bath/Bathing; Gaze; Naked/Nude

Selected Works of Art

Ancient

Praxiteles, *Knidian Aphrodite*, circa 350 B.C., original lost, many copies

Sleeping Ariadne, marble, Hellenistic period, Vatican, Vatican Museums

Barberini Faun, marble, Hellenistic period, Munich, Germany, Glyptothek

Warren Cup, silver, first century A.D., private collection

Islamic

School of Shiraz, *Khusraw Discovers Shirin Bathing in a Pool*, illustration to Nizami, *Khusraw and Shirin*, sixteenth century, Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art (08. 262)

Japanese

Hishikawa Moronobu, *Woman Surprised in Bath*, woodcut from *The Man Who Spent His Life in Love* (*Koshoku ichidai otoko*), illustration to Ihara Saikaku, illustrated edition, 1686

Renaissance

Bellini, Giovanni, *The Drunkenness of Noah*, oil on panel, 1514, Besançon, France, Musée

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WHITENESS

Shane Adler

The following periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Whiteness:

RENAISSANCE

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

NINETEENTH CENTURY

TWENTIETH CENTURY



Frank Benson, *Sunlight*, 1909, oil on canvas, Indianapolis, Indiana, Indianapolis Museum of Art, John Herron Fund.
(Courtesy of the Indianapolis Museum of Art, Indianapolis, Indiana)

Whiteness is a visual perception, a quality of color that exists in various tones and materials in the natural world. Yet from earliest times, in unconnected cultures, the color white garnered similar meanings that migrated outwardly from token to belief and then back again. More than any hue, white has had consistent and lasting associations with particular values and their emotions. As the color closest to capturing the radiant effect of light, its meaning was initially spiritual. Eventually, the quality called whiteness took on strong moral overtones while maintaining the seemingly natural union with the divine. Each additional layer of attributed meaning depended on previous connotations so that, over time, the ideas linked to whiteness became intensified, as if immutable. White represented, and became inextricably bound with, truth.

Many ancient civilizations used color in their systems of order. The Chinese, Tibetans, islanders of the Southeast Pacific, early Irish, and the indigenous tribes of North America located the points of the compass according to the sun's rise and descent, and designated colors for directions, among them white. The physical world of day and night, of darkness and light, was a sign of the supremacy of the sun, the moon, and the spirits believed to dwell in these heavenly bodies. The moon's nightly glow inspired a faith that was transmuted to the Egyptian Horus, the white god, born of the coupling of the sun and the moon. Horus, who ruled the south, governed time and oversaw the span of human existence.

In several cultures the period of worship of a particular deity was illustrated by wearing the corresponding color. The Chinese emperor dressed in white when he honored the moon. To symbolize a personal affinity with all that was sacred, the ritual wearing of white was adopted by the Chinese philosopher and scholar Confucius, the Arab prophet Muhammad, and the Brahmins of India. For the Greeks of antiquity, the body itself was virtuous, and therefore was seen as white, especially for the gods who took human form. The poets Homer and Hesiod both referred to Hera as the goddess of the white arms; white was thought to enhance the complexion, a belief mentioned by Aristophanes and Socrates alike. When Ovid described the Roman gods in *Metamorphoses* (early first century A.D.), he too spoke of their "fair white limbs" and "snowy whiteness" of skin, the latter applied to both the female Io, the maiden loved by Zeus, and the beautiful male Narcissus. Ovid also spoke of the "snowy white" garments worn by married women at the festival to honor Ceres, Roman goddess of food plants; sexual abstinence was required of all participants in the festival's sacred rites. The white apparel specifically corresponded to the worship of Ceres, in that it represented fruitfulness. The period of abstention, or the denial of fertility, was an initiation into the dormant cycle of winter, when the Earth rested. Christian liturgy eventually

associated a state of sexual innocence and lack of knowledge with whiteness and the white robe.

Similarly, the taboo on some sexual practices described in Leviticus in the *Acharei Mot* (Codes of Law) declared that relationships considered unclean by the Hebrews were wrong because they were violations of the soul of another, not because they involved the sin of sex. Theologians reinterpreted biblical cleanliness and redefined sin so that female chasteness was associated with the purest qualities of the untouched Virgin Mother. Red and white were her colors, signifying blood and milk: the red rose of love and the spotless white lily were said to have surrounded Mary in the *hortus conclusus* (the enclosed garden of virginal splendor). According to the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great (sixth century), white was worn by all who attained Paradise, a field of sweet flowers.

Whiteness began to signify all that was good. The popular tale of *Tondal*, in which a knight's quest leads him through hell, purgatory, and heaven, was narrated by David Aubert in its only illuminated version, Simon Marmion's *Les Visions du Chevalier Tondal* (1474). Aubert, scribe to Philippe the Good of Burgundy, characterized the saints, male and female: "Clothed in white robes, they were very handsome, without blemish and without any imperfection." The courtly nobles living under the rule of Philippe the Good were themselves painted as they celebrated his betrothal to Isabella of Portugal in the fifteenth century. Because they lived by his beneficence, the earthly lords and ladies were all portrayed as resplendent in white, capped head to toe, their bodies rendered long and pointed.

However, over the centuries, whiteness came to be most closely identified with the supposed state of the womanly soul. "The untouched Lilly" praised by Anthony Stafford (1635) was the inspirational and chaste fair lady of his desire, an ideal created by man. Elizabeth I of England (1533–1603), the eternal virgin queen, declared her personal colors to be white for purity and black for constancy, and wore them for portraits and in public procession.

More abstract and complex than concepts that can be represented by either emblematic objects or descriptive actions, whiteness, as a testimony to character, has usually been conveyed through clothing. From the early eighteenth century, white gowns were seen in paintings as evidence of femininity, as they were thought to alter the outer form of imperfection and transform an ordinary woman into a flawless vision. Because of its frequent appearance in portraiture, it has been presumed that the white clothing was the wearer's own. However, unembellished gowns of costly, unpatterned white silk were exceedingly rare until late in the century. Charles Jervas painted *Martha and Theresa Blount* (1716), together called "nymphs" by the artist, in an informal but elegant *levite* of glossy white satin. In the following decades, William

Hogarth immortalized the gentrified English family in group portraits such as *The Jones Family* (circa 1730–1731). In many of these conversation pieces, it was the mother, in white satin shimmering with highlights, to whom the attention was accordingly drawn. Portraitists like Bartholomew Dandridge and Francis Hayman were among those who similarly outfitted sitters in gleaming white to attest to their feminine virtues.

Considered by many to be the first novel of sentiment, Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) was narrated in 12 engravings by Joseph Highmore and published as a set in 1745. The heroine, a lady's maid, was rewarded with an aristocratic marriage after staunchly defending her virtue and chastity from the advances of her master. In Highmore's renderings, Pamela has a large wardrobe, including a variety of gowns that are predominantly white and in the same fashion as those worn by the aristocracy in portraits. Pamela's own descriptions of the silk she wore while in service did not specify color, except in the case of the "sad-coloured stuff" that replaced her "grey russet" for her anticipated return home. This was painted as brown, with a crisp and spotless white apron and fichu covering the front.

In French art, too, white connoted goodness from which came love and presumably marriage. In *The Declaration of Love* (1731) by Jean François de Troy, a young woman seated at the center of the painting is courted by a plaintive suitor kneeling by her side. She wears a richly brocaded open robe and petticoat that flow out gracefully, an expanse of pure whiteness. As the eighteenth century progressed, gowns of white proliferated in portraits by artists such as Alexandre Roslin and in genre paintings, such as *A Musical Party* (circa 1734) by Louis Roland Trinquesse. Whiteness gained another dimension in the works of Marie-Louise-Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun and Jacques-Louis David, who created the prototype of the model draped *à l'antique* (in the ancient).

Alluding to an ideological valor residing in the virtues of the ancients, the moral lessons of neoclassicism were clothed in Roman costume. With the French Revolution (1789), history paintings, portraits and allegories, all saw women dressed in fine white draperies. At the same time, fashion participated by providing similar suggestions. White gowns that were said to imitate Grecian draperies proposed that to wear such a costume was to become a classical goddess and a work of art, and were universally worn by women of the middle- and upper-classes throughout the Western world. Writer Louis-Sebastien Mercier, writing in the 1790s, considered the shop girl in an *athénienne* (an Athenian-like dress) the equal of Venus, Roman goddess of love, and the writer Duchesse d'Abrantès referred to a friend dressed in the antique manner as "more beautiful than the work of Phidias." The belief that this trend achieved perfection in dress was proposed by the dandy and finicky fashion buff Beau Brummel in a manuscript dated 1822. He lauded the "pure models of Greece and Rome" and the present styles that replicated them.

Although white was worn in Japanese marriage ceremonies, the tradition actually derived from the color's association with mourning: the bride wore white as she departed from her family. In Europe whiteness was ritualized for religious celebration, weddings, and communion as art and dress eventually diverged from reference to the antique. White's for-

mer relationship to the Virgin Mary was reinforced by middle-class morality. Whereas Emma Hart, flamboyant mistress of Sir William Hamilton, could be "drest all in virgin white" [sic] and be publicly admired in the late eighteenth century, those who wore white in the nineteenth century were subject to closer scrutiny. No longer a state of mind, virginal "whiteness" was defined by the dictates of bourgeois righteousness and subject to its judgment. Promoted by fashion magazines as the appropriate choice for young unmarried ladies at social occasions, white began to signify youth, simplicity, and the innocent, feminine, middle-class soul. It was in this context that James Abbott McNeill Whistler produced his three harmonies of whiteness, beginning with *Symphony in White No. 1: The White Girl* (1861–1862). The model, Whistler's mistress Jo, holds a downcast wilted white lily, using the symbol of the Virgin to announce her fall. The hostility generated among Whistler's audience by this strangely passive yet sexual woman was to be surpassed by the outrage provoked by Édouard Manet and his painting *Le Repos* (1871) a decade later. The criticism audiences voiced at the rendering of the troubled young woman seated on a sofa was based on assumptions of her sexual knowledge and directed toward her impropriety in wearing white.

The Impressionists realized Whistler's technical intention to create a harmony of brilliant white in filtered light. The subject of Pierre-Auguste Renoir's *Lise* (1867) stood outdoors, and the effect of the sun shining on the white of her dress was called "delicious." Light's reflection of all colors interested Marie Braquemond and Berthe Morisot, who conformed to bourgeois moral codes by painting their female sitters in white long after its mid-century fashionable life had expired. So too did Claude Monet, who depicted his stepdaughters in white as "dreams" of his wife who had died while still young. In this regard his work approached the theories of the symbolist artists who reinvested the woman in white with private emotions, as a personal spirit. As if to find his way, Maurice Denis placed flattened female figures in floating, shapeless sheaths along a path receding into the distance, recalling the haunting muse guiding people toward self-knowledge described by the novelist Joseph Conrad as she who "emerges like a white figure from a dark confused sea." Pierre Puvis de Chavannes called his vision *Hope* (1872).

Yet again, the gown of white took on another dimension as the twentieth century emerged and European and American artists explored Impressionism and then went beyond it. Women were once again dressing in white, this time during the summer months. Made of gossamer, light, and fragile fabrics, the white dress became a summer one, and summer pervaded in painting in a seemingly never-ending languorous feminine reverie. The inner world of a woman who was settled in an intimate and quiet interior near a light-filled windowed outlook was a theme of the 1890s. When they moved outside as subjects, women were portrayed as part of nature itself, from the shadowed world of the fin de siècle to bright sun-drenched settings of colorful abundance in the new century. The statuesque and proud beauty who fills the frame of Frank Benson's *Sunlight* (1909) stands with one hand at her hip and the other shadowing her eyes from the dazzling light as she looks out toward the horizon and the future with American optimism. Significantly, such summer idylls were located in

remote places where untamed nature luxuriated and dark urban realities never intruded. Yet the actual events that were occurring in cities relied on real women purposefully wearing white. The leaders of women's suffrage established a uniform code of dress to promote unity and group identity. The adoption of white was an affirmation that they were fashionably correct ladies, feminine and respectable—their cause was therefore virtuous.

Most recently whiteness has been used to simplistically divide “good” and “bad.” The mythic hero of a mid-twentieth century American generation, the cowboy in white duds, favorite of television and movies, claimed great territories in the name of the good guys. And the female figure clothed in an aura of whiteness, a seemingly eternal symbol of the purest of ideals, is available now as nostalgia, in books or on note cards imprinted with Edwardian ladies of elegance. The confident and full-bodied beauties in these depictions now evoke longing for the supposed serenity of the past.

See also Dawn/Dawning; Female Beauty and Adornment;
Light II: Divine, Natural, and Neon; Virgin/Virginity

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WIDOWHOOD

Karen Pinkus

The following motifs are covered in the discussion of the theme Widowhood:

ALLEGORY

THE GOOD WIDOW

THE BAD WIDOW



Peter Paul Rubens, *Marie de' Medici*, 1622,
oil on canvas, Madrid, Spain, Prado.
(Courtesy of the Museo del Prado, Madrid,
Spain)

Although both men and women suffer at the loss of human life, in many cultures and during many historical periods mourning is constructed as a gendered activity and assigned to the women of a community. Often, the sexuality of a woman was tied up with her husband, and when he died she became a societal burden, a figure of ambivalent status. Widows were ritually murdered in ancient Egypt and China, in parts of Europe, and in Africa, India, and Malaysia, or they were inhibited by strict taboos, subjected to wearing specific clothes, and forced to crop their hair. Two themes dominate the iconography and cultural paradigms of widowhood: women as surrogate mourners for a community and “the good and bad widow.” Many cultures display a marked ambivalence toward overly expressive mourning rituals, perhaps because they seem to belie a sense of despair in the face of death or a fundamental lack of faith in a divinity. Roman law, to give just one example, allowed greater license to women than to men in the expression of grief, although the Twelve Tables specifically prohibit women from tearing at their cheeks with their nails, a practice common throughout Western antiquity. Later philosophical works, especially in the Stoic tradition, urge both genders to refrain from excessive mourning. Finally, widowhood is not so much a condition of particular loss as it is a ritual posture that is more economically feasible for women because it requires time and a cessation of all labor.

In addition, there is a persistent cultural attempt to divide feminine behavior into the two Manichean extremes of good and bad, a paradigm that is imposed on real social conditions of loss as a means of controlling and defining female sexuality. The good widow, represented in art from a wide variety of centuries and cultures, stands for the reining in of the female libido. This figure also represents the fulfillment of the wish that a wife, as economic and sexual property, would not be transferable; rather, her affections would be naturally bound to a single male for life. However, this cultural ideal is violated by real communal needs, especially when a woman is widowed during her procreative years. In various representations of widowhood from the West, the older woman is transformed into a “female masochist” who gives up her own identity with the loss of her spouse. Cesare Ripa’s canonical *Iconologia* (Hertel edition, 1758–1760) made use of the widow in the emblem of “alms.” Veiled, an old widow dispenses her last few coins to some children in front of a church. Her veil symbolizes her status as mourner, a figure marked as socially “different,” while allowing her charity to remain an anonymous gesture.

In any case, the widow carries the mark of her deceased husband until such time as she is transferred to another. As in ancient China and Egypt, funerals in Europe became ritual dis-

plays of wealth and status, and the iconography of widowhood is bound up with notions of public spectacle and class. In *Purgatory* (Cantos 8 and 13), Dante describes a bad widow and a good widow, and the acts of mourning performed for Nino Visconti and Forese Donati by their surviving wives influence the disposition of their souls on the mountain and in the afterlife. By the nineteenth century, widowhood as a retroactive tribute to the status of the absent male spread to the middle and then the working class. Widows frequently had their portraits painted, surrounded by the worldly goods left to them by their husbands or fathers.

Although Sigmund Freud, in his seminal essay “Mourning and Melancholia” (1917), does not assign a gender to the condition of melancholia, he clearly marks it as unproductive and even pathological because of the inhibition of activity it implies. The economics of mourning are similar to those of melancholy, except that the object of loss is recognizable and the process over after a certain period of time (six months, Freud posited, is average). The Western tradition of mourning as woman’s work is epitomized in the psychoanalytic account of libidinal cathexis and decathexis, reflecting long-standing moral constrictions on female bodies and behavior.

In Exodus 22:22–24, widows and orphans are offered special protection in the Commandments; they are assigned as property to the elders of a community. In I Timothy 5:3–16, Paul states that widows deserve to be honored by the community and by their own children. The widow should remain pious and uphold the mourning ritual after the death of her husband, but Paul distinguishes between old widows (at least 60 years of age, who should be cared for by the community or relatives) and young widows (who should not be thus supported because they will tend to want to remarry). These young widows are portrayed as idle wanderers, gossips, and busybodies, so they should be encouraged to remarry, bear children, and find a legitimate place in society.

In Lamentations, Jerusalem is personified as a widowed female. Abandoned by friends and lovers, she sits mourning the fall of the city (her own violation) and the Temple to the Babylonians in 587 B.C. Associated with miasma and ritual pollution, the widow of the Bible is alienated from daily life and compared to a menstruating woman who waits for a fixed period of time until her reintegration. Although the Bible does not express a single, unified moral or juridical notion of widowhood, the statement made by Jesus Christ in I Corinthians 7:8 has been taken as exemplary: “To the unmarried and to widows I say this: it is a good thing if they stay as I am myself [i.e., chaste], but if they cannot control themselves, they should marry.”

During the Christian Middle Ages, following the Lamentations text, various cities were represented as widows mourning,

having experienced not an actual death but rather some historical loss in a more general sense. In *Purgatory* 6, Dante echoes the biblical language of Jerusalem with these words: "Come see your Rome who weeps, / Widowed and alone, and day and night calls out: / 'My Caesar, why have you abandoned me?'" (112–114). The specific reference to Julius Caesar here reflects Dante's pessimism over the seizure of temporal powers by the clergy and the greed of the emperor, who was concentrating on increasing his holdings of German territories. In particular, Rome was portrayed as a widow by Petrarch and his ally Cola di Rienzo during the withdrawal of the papacy to Avignon, France. Often, Rome was shown as a depressed female in rags, seated within a representation of the walled city, drawing on a complex iconographic history that linked the city walls with some tutelary goddess such as Tyche or Fortuna, goddess of fortune, in Hellenistic and Greco-Roman art. The goddess with a "turreted crown" came to be conflated with the visual trope of the virgin protected by the walls of a city, an equally ancient motif traced to the biblical Song of Songs, in which the bride sings, "A garden enclosed is my sister" (4:12) and "I am a wall and my breasts are like towers" (7:10). In a miniature from the medieval travel epic *Il Dittamundo*, we see Rome represented as a disheveled widow. Her hair loosened and her hands tearing at her breasts, this Rome takes up the burden of mourning historical change that would have been too dangerous for the male politician to express directly.

Artemisia, queen of Caria in Asia Minor during the fourth century B.C., was often cited as an example of the "good widow" during the Middle Ages and Renaissance. After the death of her husband Mausolos, she is said to have built the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. The extreme qualities of this monument were taken as signs of her total devotion to her dead husband, and it easy to see how this narrative appealed to a later culture of humanists obsessed with ideas of familial authority, nobility, and antiquities.

Surprisingly, another figure from ancient narratives who was sometimes labeled a "good widow" was Dido, the mythological founder and first queen of the north African city of Carthage. According to Boccaccio in *De Claris Mulieribus*, Dido's suicide is explained as a defense against any *potential* seduction by the Trojan leader Aeneas, a gesture proving that she had in fact maintained her vow to remain faithful to her dead husband. In this reading of the Virgilian epic, Dido, as paragon of widowhood, never actually becomes Aeneas's lover; this may also explain a reference to the good widow Dido in William Shakespeare's *Tempest* (II, i).

Petronius's narrative of the Lady of Ephesus (*Satyricon*, Chaps. 111–112) gave rise to many literary and visual imitations. This widow is so faithful that she demands to be entombed with her newly deceased husband until one of the guardians at the burial site tempts her away with food. After a good meal, the guard persuades her to live, and she allows herself to be seduced. During this tryst, the guard neglects his watch, and a crucified corpse is stolen for burial from a nearby cross. To help the guard escape punishment, the Lady of Ephesus agrees to let her own husband be hung up, replacing the corpse. The guard is saved, and they marry. The narrative

bears a strong resemblance to parables of the young widow already mentioned. Her actions are both prudent and morally sanctioned as she finds a legitimate place in society after the incident. This is carried to comic extremes in the ribald novel tradition of the Middle Ages, epitomized by Geoffrey Chaucer's life-affirming *Wife of Bath*.

In pictorial representations, mourning quickly becomes codified as a series of gestures and motifs related to dress. Throughout antiquity, widows often tore their nails or cheeks and rended their garments, but such extreme practices were not always tolerated. At other times, we find the image of a woman drawing her veiled hand to her eye, obscuring her face. Another common posture for a mourning woman was a full frontal portrait with hands fully extended upward, pointing toward heaven as a prayer for the departed soul and an expression of extreme grief. All these gestures appear in later iconography for the Lamentation, the Entombment, and the Crucifixion. Although this iconography of mourning is rather general and not necessarily restricted to widows, it is almost always women who mourn in the Passion scenes, and their dress, such as widows' weeds, is related to clothing worn by religious women. The reason for this connection is obvious: Many women did in fact join convents during their widowhood. Headpieces, such as habits or large veils, helped to hide their hair (making for a more barren look) and to distinguish them from other women of the lay community.

In Peter Paul Rubens's portrait of Maria de' Medici (1622), the subject wears the "widow's peak," a section of her hood drawn just over the forehead, later mutated into an analogous condition of coiffeur that the superstitious continue to associate with a prediction of widowhood. From antiquity onward, black (but also white) was associated with widowhood. Catherine de' Medici, for example, is always depicted in black after the death of her husband Henri II. By the nineteenth century, black had become increasingly fashionable in general, with many precise social nuances attached to each shade. At this point, black mourning clothes lost their particular distinction, giving rise to the return of the widow's peak and to a number of other symbols such as special headgear, armbands for men, and crepe drapery.

In P. A. Fedotov's mid-nineteenth-century portrait of a good (or young) widow, the subject stands piously before a framed portrait of her deceased husband, her modest black cape reaching the floor. Ironically, although the portrait does present the widow as a faithful and devout woman, she seems to offer herself up to a gaze, her half-closed eyes demurely pointing to the floor in a gesture of obvious coquetry. This style of portraiture becomes quite common: The woman is represented with attributes of her virtue, but in the context of oil painting these are recodified as commodities for a potential new suitor. The comic reverse of this—the theme of a man courting a rich (but undesirable) widow—figures in a number of important narratives, including *The Rake's Progress*, illustrated with prints by William Hogarth (1735). Widows assume a comic valence in the British novelistic tradition in works such as Charles Dickens's *The Pickwick Papers*.

Although the widows discussed here are primarily examples from Western culture, many of the structural principles of mar-

ginality, masochism, and “difference” can be found in various societal contexts. Portraits of widows from the East often focus on the symbolic elements of mourning dress, which may include familiar items such as the veil, ornamental headgear, or even items of jewelry such as a brooch. Widows from non-Western representational art often assume postures of piety and acceptance, such as the kneeling Hindu woman in G. T. Seton’s *Yes, Lady Sahad*. A widow appears in an advertisement for a Scottish insurance company from the 1970s. Like many of the painted widows, she sits with her eyes downcast and her hands folded over a stack of unpaid bills. This widow has become a burden to the state because her husband neglected to provide life insurance, and as a cultural symptom she suggests that fears of state responsibility for the widow have not progressed far beyond the earlier representations. Each culture marks the widow through outward visual signs; her very representability suggests that her “good” behavior flatters the culture at large and helps to ease the idea of death itself.

See also Death; Devotion/Piety; Funeral/Burial; Grieving/Lamentation; Melancholy

Selected Works of Art

Allegory

Rome as a Widow, based on a lost mural commissioned by Cola di Rienzo in the late fourteenth century, London, British Museum (Royal Ms. 6 E. IX, llv)

Rome as a Widow, from an anonymous manuscript of 1447, but considered to be a copy of a fourteenth century miniature

The Good Widow

Memling, Hans, *Paris Triptych of St. Anne and St. William*, before 1494, Kahn Collection

Caron, Antoine, *Artemesia and Lygdamis View the Completed Mausoleum*, pen and ink with wash, before 1599, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Estampes, Res. Ad 105, f. 43)

Mary Queen of Scots, 1610, after a miniature by Nicholas Hilliard of 1578, London, National Portrait Gallery

Rubens, Peter Paul, *Marie de’Medici*, oil on canvas, 1622, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Hogarth, William, *Portrait of Mrs. Anne Hogarth*, 1735, Canyon, Texas, Panhandle-Plains Historical Museum

Greuze, Jean-Baptiste, *Inconsolable Widow*, circa 1763, London, Wallace Collection

West, Benjamin, *Agrippina with the Ashes of Germanicus*, 1768, Northamptonshire, England, Burghley House

David, Jacques-Louis, *Andromache Mourning Hector*, 1783, Paris, École des Beaux-Arts

Wright, Joseph, of Derby, *Indian Widow*, 1785, Derby, England, Museum and Art Gallery

Harvey, Elisabeth, *Malvina Mourning Oscar*, circa 1806, Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs,

Graefle, Albert, *Queen Victoria as a Widow*, 1864, London, Collection of Her Majesty

Millais, John Everett, *The Widow’s Mite*, 1870, Birmingham, England, City Art Gallery

Perugini, Charles Edward, *Faithful*, late nineteenth–early twentieth century, Liverpool, England, Walker Art Gallery

Hindu Widow, in *Yes, Lady Sahad*, by G. T. Seton, circa 1925

The Bad Widow

Hogarth, William, *Marriage to an Old Maid*, circa 1735, London, British Library

Redgrave, Richard, *Throwing off Her Weeds*, 1846, London, Victoria and Albert Museum

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WITCHCRAFT/SORCERY

Yona Pinson

The following iconographic narratives are covered in the discussion of the theme Witchcraft/Sorcery:

MOSES AND AARON BEFORE
PHARAOH

THE WITCH OF ENDOR

CIRCE

MEDEA

SATURN

SIMON MAGUS

ST. JAMES AND THE
MAGICIAN HERMOGENES

WITCHES' SABBATH:
PREPARATIONS FOR THE
SABBATH

WITCHES' SABBATH: THE
DEPARTURE FOR THE
SABBATH

WITCHES' SABBATH:
WITCHES' ASSEMBLY

SCENES OF WITCHCRAFT

THE CULT OF THE DEVIL
INCORPORATION OF
WITCHCRAFT MOTIFS

THE NIGHTMARE

ILLUSTRATIONS OF LITERARY
WORKS

WITCH TRIALS



Hans Baldung Grien, *Witches' Sabbath*, 1510, chiaroscuro woodcut, from *Devils, Demons, Death and Damnation* by E. and J. Lehner (New York: Dover, 1971). (Courtesy of Dover Publications, Inc.)

Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live. (Exodus 22:18)

Sorcery has haunted the human imagination from very remote times. In Judeo-Christian thought it has generally been related to idolatry and heresy. During the Middle Ages, however, attitudes to sorcery were not always unanimous. The Roman Catholic Church's official attitude was a total rejection of belief in *maleficium* (malefice, black magic), condemned as equivalent to idolatry, and therefore a heresy (*Canon Episcopi* 314, as cited later in the writings of Burchard, Bishop of Worms, 1006–1025; *Burchardi Wormacienensis Decretum*, Pl. CXI, Col. 831). St. Augustine adopted a different view. He held that the *maleficium* was created by God's enemies (*Sermons*, 15th sermon; *De Haeresibus*, 46; *Faustum*, XV, 7; XX, 11, 30; *The City of God*, X, 9) and was followed to some extent by St. Thomas Aquinas, who established the official belief in demonology (*Questiones Disputatum*, questio 6, art. X) and traced the main lines of later witchcraft mythology. This was fully expressed by the Dominicans Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger in their *Malleus Maleficarum* (1486). They taught that God's anger at mankind's depravity permitted the devil to found the "Secte" of sorcerers and witches, who since then have menaced both the deity and his creation—man.

The terror that invaded Europe in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance was based on already deeply rooted beliefs in a conspiracy of the devil against God, foreshadowed in the thirteenth century as part of the violent struggle against all forms of heresy. Witchcraft is condemned for the first time as heresy in an official ecclesiastical document, the papal bull of 1233. But juridically and theologically, sorcery and witchcraft were first defined in the bull of Pope Innocent VIII, *Summis desideratus affectibus* (1484). This document effectively summed up the belief current during the Middle Ages, especially in northern Europe, that

. . . many persons of both sexes, unmindful of their own salvation and straying from the Catholic Faith have abandoned themselves to devils, incubi and succubi . . . and by their incantations, spells, conjurations . . . other accursed charms and crafts . . . they blasphemously renounce the Faith . . . [and] outrage the Divine Majesty. . . .

This bull gave the official cachet to the Great Witch Hunt that shook Europe, and with the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum*, the iconography of witchcraft was established and spread all over Europe, first verbally and then visually.

Sorcery in the Old Testament

Although biblical references to sorcery are rather laconic, there are many signs indicating that a belief in magical powers of evil existed at a very early period, arousing fear and signifying heretical attitudes.

The pharaoh's priests (Exodus 7:11, 7:22) are the first sorcerers to be mentioned in the Western history of witchcraft. However, the first magical events mentioned in the Bible are attributed to God's envoy Moses and seen as miraculous signs: his shepherd's crook turned into a snake, his hand whitened as if afflicted by leprosy, etc. (Exodus 4:1–9). These signs were used to persuade people to believe that God's voice was speaking through his mouthpiece.

Moses and Aaron came to the pharaoh's court (Exodus 5:1–7) in accordance with the divine will and pleaded with the pharaoh to release the people of Israel. When the pharaoh refused, God's representatives struggled with the forces of evil alliance, the pharaoh's magicians, and turned their rods into serpents, which Aaron's serpent overcame and devoured. Later demonologists would interpret this passage as a proof of the inferiority of devilish powers once they are confronted with a divine intermediary who represents the priesthood (Pierre de Lancre, *Tableau del'inconstances des mauvaises anges* . . . , Paris, 1613, p. 227).

This scene became an important iconographic motif in the decoration of episcopal and abbatial crosses. The duel between the Lord's messenger and the pharaoh's magicians prefigures the struggle of St. Peter against Simon the "Devil's Apostle," and as such may be considered a prototype of the Roman Catholic Church's fight against witchcraft.

References to the Witch of Endor are found in the *Baalat H'ov* and in I Samuel 28. The evocation of ghosts and the practice of necromancy placed high in the sorcerer's repertoire. Saul, rejected by God, looked for help from the Witch of Endor, asking her to call up the spirit of the prophet Samuel. She thus became a prototype of the late medieval necromancer. Since the word *Ov* (sorceress) was translated as *Python*, she came to be known as the Domina Pythonis (i.e., the devil's ally). This scene of necromancy, present to the minds of sixteenth-century demonologists, was rarely illustrated.

Jacob Cornelisz. van Oostanen's *Saul Visiting the Witch of Endor* (1526) in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam, The Netherlands, represents the witch accompanied by her apprentices, demonstrating her craft, as King Saul appears with his retinue at the entrance of her dwelling and Samuel's phantom is called up from the grave. Other sorceries are performed in the air above: a naked witch rides a goat while another follows astride a horse skull. The theme of the Witch of Endor attracted later artists to the witchcraft motif, such as the seventeenth-century painters Jacob de Gheyn II in a drawing (circa 1600) in the Louvre in Paris and Salvator Rosa in a painting (1688) also in the Louvre; and later Johan Heinrich Fuseli, whose drawing of the subject is in a Zurich, Switzerland, private collection, and Benjamin West, whose painting (1777) is in the Wadsworth Athenaeum in Hartford, Connecticut.

Sorcery in Greco-Latin Sources

The European "mythology of witchcraft" inherited memories of the art of maleficence from classical Greek sources—this resurfaced later as the Christian imagery of sorcery. Classical sources provided themes that were eventually developed in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Ovid depicts an old vampire witch called Dispas, who was known for her magical potions. Anointing her body with a magic ointment, she could change herself into a giant bird and fly screaming through the air at night. Ovid attributes other forms of *maleficium* to her as well: she could call up the dead, transform men into wild beasts, and was also accused of sacrificing babies (Ovid, *Fasti*, I, 131, 141–142, and 150; *Amores*, I, 1–18, cf.; Apuleius, *Golden Ass*, I, 10 and II, 22).

In classical times, lunar goddesses were associated with the underworld, magic, and sorcery. Hecate was originally a protective goddess associated with fertility (Hesiod, *Theogony*, 41 ff.), then degenerated into a terrifying figure, goddess of the night and the crossroads, queen of the realm of ghosts and the demons' emissary. Presiding over sorcerers' assemblies while grasping a flaming torch (Theocritus, *Idylls*, II, 12), Hecate foreshadowed the modern witch.

Circe, expert sorceress and devil's messenger, Great Goddess of the Wild, was known for her magic philters (*Odyssey*, X, 394). Together with the sorceress Medea, she employed erotically seductive powers to achieve evil (*Odyssey*, X, 391–394), chiefly known for her skill in turning men into wild beasts (Apuleius, *Golden Ass*, III, 24 and *Apologia, Sive pro se de Magia Liber*, 31, *Odyssey*, X). By the time St. Augustine wrote *The City of God*, Circe was already regarded as an archetypal witch. In the section of the *Malleus Maleficarum* dealing with transmutations (Part I, Quest. 10) Kramer and Sprenger refer to Augustine's remark that a certain sorceress named Circe changed the companions of Odysseus into beasts. On Greek vases and lekythoi she typically appears preparing a magic beverage, using her magic stick, and transforming Odysseus's companions into pigs and other animals. Sometimes she is shown raising her arms in an incantatory gesture amidst the already transformed brutes as they lie on the floor of her enchanted palace. Similarly, in literary sources Circe's enchanted palace was said to be surrounded by terrible wild beasts, lions, wolves, pigs, and innocent travelers whom she has metamorphosed (*Odyssey*, X, 212–219). Odysseus's companions are usually depicted with human bodies and beasts' heads: bewitched men "leaping up" are only transformed into "heraldic animals."

Circe's companion Medea is another prototype of the modern sorceress. Moon goddess and queen, she was Hecate's devoted priestess and disciple (Euripides, *Medea*, 395–398). After falling in love with Jason, Medea used her charms and spells to help Jason overcome mortal dangers and win the Golden Fleece. She also provided him with a magic ointment to protect him against the guardian dragon's flaming mouth. But once betrayed, she would turn into a furious devilish figure and exercise her maleficent science. She gave fatal gifts to Jason's beloved princess Creüsa, Creon's daughter: a poisoned crown and mantle that caused her to die a dreadful death (Euripides, *Medea*, 784 ff and 947 ff). This scene was depicted on Greek vases inspired by Euripides' tragedy and also on

Medea sarcophagi. On an Apulian volute krater by the Underworld Painter (circa 330–320 B.C.), no. 3926 in the Museum Antiker Kleinkunst in Munich, Germany, Creüsa is shown collapsing in the presence of her horrified father and dropping her jewelry box. On the same krater Medea rides on her chariot, which is drawn by serpents (or dragons) whom she has conjured up (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 7, 350, 398). Shown naked, holding a torch (like her mistress and goddess, Hecate, and with some analogy to Persephone, goddess of the underworld), Medea prefigures late medieval and Renaissance sorceress. The theme was particularly favored by artists working at Fontainebleau, France, for it enabled them to treat classical subjects and witchcraft motifs at the same time. It inspired Leonard Thiry's illustrations for Jacques Gohory's *Livre de la conquête de la Toison d'Or par le Prince Jason de Thessalie* (1563, Paris), followed by Renée Boyvin's series of engravings *Historia Jasonis* (sixteenth century) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes in Paris. In Boyvin's *Medea Invoking the Night Goddesses* (1563) Medea conjures the gods in order to obtain the dragon's chariot (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 7, 350, 398). Medea is portrayed as disheveled in a stormy, deserted, nocturnal landscape in which she invokes the divinities of the night. Behind her are her attributes: a jar and a magic stick. The demonic chariot descends to take her to remote regions where she will pick her magic drugs.

Ovid dwells on Medea's rejuvenation spells. The rejuvenation of her aged father-in-law Aeson (*Metamorphoses*, 7, 164–294) is the subject of some Greek vase decorations. She is often shown standing by a steaming cauldron boiling a ram, as on an Archaic red-figure vase, no. E442 in the British Museum in London. This "miracle" served her against Pelias, Jason's uncle, as she demonstrated to his daughters how they could produce this "magic" by drawing off their father's blood, leaving them with the corpse. Medea is sometimes shown demonstrating this magical rejuvenation to Pelias's daughters, cutting up a ram and boiling it, as in a white-figure lekythos by the Beldam Painter (fifth century B.C.), no. 599 in the National Museum in Athens, Greece.

Boyvin's *Medea Preparing her Philter for Aeson* shows her before an altar performing a sacrifice to her patroness Hecate:

Ah by the Queen of Night, whom I revere
Above all, and for fellow-worker chose,
Hecate dweller by mine hearth's dark shrine.
(Euripides, *Medea*, 395–398)

Medea is represented here according to the already crystallized motif of the Witch's Kitchen, foreshadowed in late antiquity in the Latin grammarian Macrobius's description of her cutting roots with a bronze sickle and collecting their juices in bronze jars. "She was naked, shrieking and wild eyed" (Macrobius, *Saturnales*, V, 19:10). Medea, the terrible archetypal sorceress motivated by evil and erotic impulses (Euripides, *Medea*, 401–405), announces the new type of witch, one able to control the course of nature, cause tempests, destroy fields, and even alter the moon's movements (Euripides, *Medea*, 398; Horace, *Epodes*, 5, 45–46; 62). Priestess of Hecate, the crossroads' moon goddess, Medea even introduces the crossroad as a favorite place for witches' ceremonies.

Mythological Figures Incorporated in Late Medieval and Renaissance Witchcraft

The first recognition of pagan prefiguration of sorcery types appears in the eleventh-century *Canon Episcopi* (PL, CXL, 831–833). It attacks the belief that certain women ride out at night accompanied by Diana, the Roman virgin goddess of the moon, assimilated to the Greek Artemis, the terrifying Holda in Germanic lands, and at times with Hecate (Virgil, *Aeneid*, VII, 516). This might have been regarded as heritage of the worship of Diana that was sometimes carried out at night by women carrying torches.

In ancient Greece the image of the Satyr—a spirit of the woods and mountains with goatlike features—was adopted as an archetypal diabolic image. Its unrestrained sexual appetite prefigures the devil and he often appeared in witches assemblies. A demon-satyr raping a witch-nymph appears in sixteenth-century popular illustrations, such as Olaus Magnus's *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus* (1555) in Rome. Saturn, the Roman god of agriculture, was annexed to the demonic and the infernal in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance and became associated with *maleficium*. In his relationship to the underworld Saturn also became the patron of miners. The mythological tale of Saturn devouring his own offspring prefigured the devil in what became the new witchcraft mythology. In popular imagery Saturn became the patron of witches. In Renaissance depictions, such as Crispijn de Passe's engraving after Maarten de Vos's *Saturn, the Witch's Patron* (late sixteenth century) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes in Paris, he is shown in his dragon-drawn chariot accompanied by an infernal black dog. His astrological sign, Capricorn (billy goat), in this context became a distinctive attribute of sorcery. In this work Saturn's figure dominates the whole composition which in itself is a kind of anthology of witchcraft.

Sorcery in Christian Sources

The topos of the Devil's Grain has a Biblical association. "The field is the world; the good seed are the children of the kingdom; but the tares are the children of the wicked one" (Matthew 13:38). The tare, a weed of the grainfields, was interpreted as the Devil's weapon in his contest with God and mankind. An engraving by Bartholomaeus de Momper, *The Haywain* (1559), shows Satan sowing the tare, as it turns into various vices. The motif was rarely depicted; a drawing by Gheyn II (now destroyed, formerly in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinet) depicted the devil sowing tares that turned into witches riding goats.

The fall of Simon Magus, a Samaritan magician whose attempts at imparting the Holy Ghost angered Peter, occupies a central place in Jacobus de Voragine's account of the Acts of St. Peter. The sorcerer first appears in Samaria as God's adversary, challenging the apostle with his "miracles" (Acts 8:9–24). The Golden Legend's apocryphal version stresses the Roman Catholic Church's struggle against sorcery as heresy (foretelling the Inquisition). Pretending to be the "True Son of God," Simon Magus is a kind of Antichrist; practicing the *maleficium*, he also prefigures also a new type of sorcerer, one able to fly through the air aided by "Satan's angels" as the

devil's apostle (*Simoni deo Sancto*; according to Eusebius of Caesarea, lib. II C. XVIII). In Rome he gained the favor of Emperor Nero (A.D. 37–68), who erected Simon Magus's image as it became an object of a false cult, venerated as Simon Deo. The devil's messenger Simon was said to have challenged St. Peter, accompanied by St. Paul, in a test of his "miraculous" skills. After he failed to restore life to the dead, the final trial came: Simon leapt from the top of a tower in Nero's presence and flew in the air supported by "Satan's angels." But St. Peter, with God's help, adjured the demons to release their hold and the magician fell to his death. This episode was popular in the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and survived into the Counter-Reformation, stressing the triumph of the Roman Catholic Church over heresy.

The legend of St. James the Greater, one of the twelve Apostles, and the magician Hermogenes, as related by Voragine, is another version of a confrontation between God's apostles and pagan heretic menace, one that haunted early Christianity and appeared again in the waning Middle Ages, when fear of the Devil's triumphs over faith infested Europe. In Judea, Hermogenes, supported by the Pharisees, summoned up the demons against St. James. But, as related in the Golden Legend, the saint finally overcame the sorcerer's spells, invoking the divine powers to release the demons and instructing them to bring the sorcerer before him. In the end the Apostle overcame the forces of evil and the defeated sorcerer was converted and baptized. Pieter Bruegel the Elder's *St. James and the Magician Hermogenes* (1565) is a very interesting interpretation and a significant deviation. Here it is the saint who is magically led to the sorcerer, as the Latin caption declares: *Divus iacobus diabolis praestigio ante magnum sis titur* (The divine James by devilish arts is placed before the magician). This inversion illuminates the artist's attitude. The composition is an important source for the study of the iconography of sorcery. The enthroned Hermogenes, holding a book of spells, is surrounded by demons, monsters, and attended by the devil. In the dark sky naked witches ride dragons and a billy goat to their assembly, raising a storm. A witch flies a broomstick through a chimney, another is already perched on top of the chimney, and a third prepares to fly, tracing a "magic circle." In the middle of the composition a magic potion is boiling in a huge cauldron, causing ships to sink. Toads, apes, and a cat, emblems of evil and witchcraft, are sitting before the fire. Meanwhile, a hellish performance has broken loose in the chamber, illustrating the devil's "antimass." Bruegel's "witchcraft anthology" parody shows his satirical intentions, which are more directly expressed in his second illustration *The Fall of the Magician* (1564). This is apparently a version of the devil's revenge on Hermogenes. The caption is *Idem impetravit a Deo ut magus a demonibus discerperetur* (God granted the saint's prayer that the magician should be torn apart by the demons). The punishment of the heretic wizard takes place in a topsy-turvy world. The context of a kermis spectacle, where heresy and witchcraft are represented in the guise of performers, such as jugglers, acrobats, a puppeteer, and fools, underlines a new conception of the contemporary witchcraft mania. Bruegel satirizes this traditional "moral lesson." He seems to consider it another aspect of human folly, foreshadowing the satire of William Hogarth and Francisco de Goya's modernism.

Witches' Sabbath or Satan's Synagogue

The nocturnal Witches' Assembly was considered the principal event in Satanic devotion. First mentioned in the Inquisition's registers concerning heresy around 1330, it is based on an imaginative mixture of bacchanal orgies and heretic cults. The "Office" opens with the sorceresses' *confessio* declaring their absolute loyalty to their master, followed by an antimass, the Adoration of the Devil, and the affirmation of their pact with the devil (*Malleus*, Part II, Quest. 1, ch. II). The antimass is celebrated with spoiled wine and the sacrifice of unbaptized babies. Following a banquet that culminates with copulation with the devil in the form of incubi or succubi (*Malleus*, Part I, Quest. 6; Part II, Quest. 1, ch. IV), the celebration finally turns into a wild bacchanal orgy with dances in honor of the devil (or with him).

The Preparation for the Witches' Sabbath

For witches, the ritual of the Sabbath was preceded by various preparations. A magic potion (or ointment) had to be boiled and smeared on the body so that the witch would be able to fly and change her shape.

The newly established iconography adopted a visual form only toward the end of the fifteenth century, when the first illustrated "manuals" were published. *Witches Brewing up a Hailstorm*, the title page of Ulrich Molitor's *De Lanijs et phitonicis mulieribus* (1489), is the first known representation of witches brewing the magic potion, one composed of snakes and cocks. Its vapors cause stormy weather. ("For they raise hailstorms and hurtful tempest and lightnings," *Malleus*, Part I, Quest. 1, ch. II.)

This operation takes place in the Witches' Kitchen or in a wild nocturnal landscape, such as in Hans Baldung Grien's *Witches' Sabbath* (1510). In Grien's single-leaf woodcut three naked witches are seated in a triangle of forked devil's sticks. One holds a vessel with pseudo-Hebraic lettering (a cabalistic spell?) spouting a great cloud of vapor that produces stormy weather, sweeping a hag aloft. Another is already riding backward on a billy goat toward Satan's synagogue.

The hellish kitchen motif recurs toward the end of the sixteenth century and the first decades of the seventeenth century. Gheyn II made versions of both open-air and interior kitchens. His *The Witches' Kitchen* (circa 1660), an exceptionally large engraving, depicts the preparation of the ointment. Witches consult their recipe books while a strewn corpse and bones hint at the ingredients. Cats, frogs, and a lizard also inhabit the scene (*Malleus*, Part II, Quest. 1, ch. II). The effects of the potion are shown above, where a hag riding on a broomstick soars aloft on magic vapors, others sitting astride a demonic mount, creating thunderbolts and volcanic eruptions. A winged Eros, the Greek god of love, mounted on a monster is a clear reference to the erotic character attributed to witches by demonologists, who declared "All witchcraft comes from carnal lust which is in women insatiable" (*Malleus*, Part I, Quest. 6). In a drawing depicting an interior kitchen, formerly in the Staatliches Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, Gheyn II established a new iconographic motif—the witch flying up the chimney. Demonologists considered the kitchen fire a means of making offerings to the Prince of Evil; in popular imagination the

smoke was seen as a means of "devilish transport," already occurring in Bruegel's *St. James and the Magician Hermogenes* and repeated in David Teniers the Younger's many versions of the subject, such as *Preparations for the Sabbath* (circa 1650).

The Departure for the Sabbath (Malleus Part II, Quest. 1, Ch. III)

Witchcraft's sexual connotations are emphasized in sixteenth-century German works, especially in Grien's interpretations. The moment of departure depicted in his drawing *Witches' Sabbath* (1514) in the Albertina in Vienna, Austria, shows the effects of the magic ointment. In a dreamy and ecstatic state, shrouded in enchanted vapors, one of the witches is already flying, mounted on the devil's fork and taking up a young witch with her. As in many other versions of *Hexen*, the woman's long hair blows wildly: according to tradition a witch's hair was endowed with demonic powers. The presence of a putto trying to ride a goat reminds one of the sorceress's association with carnal temptations.

Albrecht Dürer, the first artist to assimilate the teachings of the demonologists in his work, produced the earliest independent compositions on the subject and formulated new iconographic patterns. In the engraving *Witch Riding Backwards on a Goat* (circa 1500–1502), he illustrates the very moment of departure for the Sabbath. A naked old hag with sagging breasts is mounted backward on a dark goat, facing into the storm, flying aggressively toward the devil's Sabbath. She is holding a spindle and distaff, probably associated with the Fates. Dürer's depiction of the witch riding backward conforms to the belief that in the Satanic realm all was reversed and that "the (devil) transports the witches on animals which are not true animals but devils in that form . . ." (*Malleus* Part I, Quest. 6 and Part II, Quest. 21). The winged putti attending the witch and holding her utensils also hints at the lascivious character of the demonic cult.

The departure was sometimes said to be followed by shape-changing, attributed to the witch's demonic power. This iconographic motif appeared for the first time in Molitor's illustrated manual *Preparation for Sabbath* (see above). Italian Renaissance representations of sorcery are rather rare. Marcantonio Raimondi's *La Carcase lo Stregozzo* (sixteenth century) is formulated as a bacchic trionfi. A witch rides an enormous animal skeleton, holds a steaming cauldron, and carries babies and little children to be sacrificed to Satan (*Malleus*, Part II, Quest. 1, ch. II and ch. XIII). She is accompanied by demons mounted on monstrous skeletons and goats. The pageant passes through a marshy landscape that, together with the reeds, may refer to a cult of Diana.

The Cult of Satan

Sorcery was considered an "antireligion" menacing God and humankind. The Church of Satan was supposed to have its own cult: its magic rites, worship of the devil, and antimass (or Black Mass) were regarded as offensive manifestations of the Antichurch of Satan. Although this motif does not appear before the end of the fifteenth century, it is foreshadowed in the thirteenth, mainly in illuminated *Bible Moralisée*s, in which Jews, as the devil's agents, appear worshipping Satan in some

illustrations of the Adoration of the Golden Calf. Jews are also shown sacrificing before the devil (*Bible Moralisée*, circa 1250–1270, Österreichisches nationalbibliothek, Vienna, Codex 2554, fol. 29[d]; *Bible Moralisée de Jean le Bon*, circa 1349–1352, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fa. 167, fol. 27[b] and va [b]). The first representation of the cult of Satan appears in tracts against heresy at the end of the fifteenth century, in which the devil usually appears in the form of a goat adored by his adepts, who kneel in prayer before him. In Renaissance and Baroque representations, the goat is sometimes replaced by a cat, an ape, or by an enthroned Satan himself.

Incorporation of Witchcraft Motifs in Northern Renaissance Art

A growth of belief in sorcery affected the Netherlands especially after the Vauderie d'Arras (1461), which set off a mass hysteria. A terrifying idea, propagated through St. Thomas Aquinas's writings, that the world might be ruled by the devil, assisted by his agents, was disseminated. These credences took such profound root that it is not surprising that motifs were borrowed from witchcraft iconography and incorporated into other themes, especially when the power of evil was shown in conflict with the divine.

Hieronymus Bosch used the Witches' Sabbath as a motivating factor in his *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (circa 1505–1506) in Lisbon, Portugal. He adopted the motif of the Departure for the Sabbath in representing men and women on monstrous mounts riding through the air. The antimass celebration takes place in the central panel and is opposed to the true Mass celebrated by Jesus Christ. Other motifs are also incorporated, creating a new iconographic pattern: the gathering on the banks of a pond (reminiscent of Diana's cult), and a Black Mass read by a demon priest with a pig's head, are borrowed from the recently established witchcraft iconography.

The new iconography of St. Anthony's temptations, filled with witchcraft motifs, continued into the sixteenth century (in the works of artists such as Pieter Huys and Pieter Verbeek) and influenced seventeenth-century works such as those by Pieter Brueghel the Younger and his son Jan Brueghel the Elder, and especially Tenier the Younger's many versions of the saint's temptations (circa 1640), which show the air filled with flying monsters and witches on broomsticks. Sometimes the Queen Devil tempting the saint is accompanied by hideous witches, as in the Anonymous German Master's *Temptation of St. Anthony* (circa 1516–1520) in the Prado in Madrid, Spain.

Bosch confronts the divine miracle with demonic magic in his *Marriage at Cana* (1475–1480). In the background, a magician is performing an antioffice in a "chapel" before an "altar," turning the cherubim that decorate the capitals into demons and bewitching the food. In contrasting the true faith with heretical manifestations, Bosch might be illustrating the Pauline verse: "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils" (I Corinthians 10:21).

Bosch also incorporates witchcraft motifs in his infernal scenes. In the *Hell* panel from the *Garden of Earthly Delights* (1485–1505) a damned personage is being seduced by a demon-succuba in the figure of a pig-nun tempting him to sign a pact with the devil. Images of the Witches' Kitchen are repeat-

ed in the central panel of the *Last Judgment* (1490–1510) in Vienna.

The Erotic Nightmare

Erotic fantasies play an important role in sorcery mythology. Nightmares were also etymologically ascribed to sorceresses. (" . . . Au pays de Valois et de Picardie il y a une sorte de sorciere qu'ils appellent coche-mare . . . " Jean Bodin, *De la demonomanie de sorciers* . . . [1587, II, 7, Paris]). It was believed, especially in German-speaking areas, that *nachtmars* (nightmares) were evocations of night-demons or night-hags tormenting sleepers and riding on their chests. These dreams were also considered the devil's instruments for what was called "interior temptation" (*Malleus*, Part I, Quest. 7).

Erotic-demonic iconography is expressed in the sixteenth century drawing by Taddeo Zuccaro *The Nightmare* or *Allegory of Dreams*, which depicts a young maiden lying on her back dreaming. A mixture of frightening demonic apparitions and erotic images fills the air. The dreaming girl holds a magic staff and a sprig of opium poppies, a traditional ingredient of the "magic ointment." Behind her pillow lurks a toad-devil, inciting her to dream. This theme obsessed a representative figure of early Romanticism, the eighteenth-century Anglo-Swiss painter Henry Fuseli, in work such as his *Nightmare* (1781) in the Detroit Institute of Art. A dreaming maiden lies on her back in an agonized erotic pose as an incubus-demon squats on her chest. Behind the bed, a grinning bewitched horse hints at the nightmare's connection to sorcery. On her night table are ointment jars and a "magical" mirror, accessories traditionally related to the sorceress's demonic practices. The mirror, Venus-Luxuria's attribute, was considered a devilish tool of seduction, especially of young virgins and innocent boys who might fall into the hands of the devil's agents (*Malleus*, Part II, Quest. 1, ch. XIII, p. 142).

By the end of the seventeenth century the fear of witchcraft had subsided and the furious persecutions of demons and their allies began to calm down. But the dying mythology still nourished the artistic imagination and elicited some response to the macabre and the morbid, as reflected especially in Salvator Rosa's many versions of the theme, which along with Fuseli's paved the road for early Romanticism.

With the new era of the Enlightenment, the formerly official belief in diabolic powers was criticized and satirized (Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique*, IV, Paris, 1821, 343–344 B; Benito Jeronimo Feijoo, *Cantas Erudiatas y Curiosas en quepar la Mayor Parte se Continúa del designio del Theatro Critico Universal*, vol. IV, Letter XX, Madrid, 1774), and sorcery scenes began to reflect this satirical approach. Hogarth's engraving *Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism* (1762) is a satire directed against crazed frenzied fanaticism, especially that of the Methodists, and against superstitious beliefs about ghosts and demons, rumors that were still prevalent in his time. The caricature shows a preacher on his pulpit holding figures of a witch riding a broomstick and a devil, evoking panicked reactions in his audience.

Goya used a very large repertoire of witchcraft iconography in his series *Los Sueños* (1757, *Dreams*); in *Los Caprichos* (1797–1798); in *Six Paintings of Witchcraft* (1797–1798) initially acquired by the Duke and Duchess of Osuna, his greatest

patrons; and in the series *La Quinta del Sordo* (1821–1823, Black Paintings). These demonic appearances constitute a symbolism reflective of the real forces of evil that affected both Goya's society and his own life.

In these series Goya acts as a moralist preaching against the vices and social abuses of his age. In *Los Caprichos* he expresses his own anguish and satirizes the prejudices, superstitions, hypocrisy, and follies of unenlightened Spanish society. His satirical approach again clearly appears in the series *Six Paintings of Witchcraft*, formerly in the Osuna Collection, in which he translates the satirical images conveyed in the plays of the seventeenth-century Spanish author Antonio de Zamora (reedited in 1795). Here Goya's moralistic criticism initially seems to convey an optimistic attitude; he portrays these hideous creatures in the hope of influencing his audience. But his hopes collapse in front of reality, which becomes more frightening than his own didactic nightmares. In the series *La Quinta del Sordo* Goya responds to the atrocity of actuality. The terrifying images of Saturn devouring his own children, witches celebrating the Black Mass and sacrificing babies, and alarming flying monsters symbolize the real political and ecclesiastical injustices of his time, and at the same time refer to his own fears and pessimism.

The works of Goya had an immense influence on Eugène Delacroix, whose illustrations for Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Faust* (1828) similarly expressed his own melancholy. The old philosopher Faust and the devil-figure Mephistopheles are conceived as the embodiment of an internal conflict between evil and good in the human soul, manifesting itself in the Middle Ages through the Theophilus, reemerging in the Renaissance with the German folk legend of Faust popularized in Christopher Marlowe's version (1604), and reaching final form in the late eighteenth century with Goethe's great work.

Delacroix gave an extraordinary expression to Goethe's view that Faust and Mephistopheles reflect an inner human conflict. Goethe saw in Delacroix's illustrations the work of an artist "of great talent who found in Faust his proper aliment . . ." and gave expression to his own experience. He also observed that in these drawings the artist not only assimilated the gloom inherent in Faust, but tinted his depictions with his own moods (*Conversations of Goethe with Eckermann and Soret* 1822–1833, November 29, 1826). Preoccupied as he was by the presence of evil, Delacroix also found interest in Macbeth's encounter with the witches (William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act I; 1 and 3), again a theme in accordance with the romantic approach, which he represented in *Macbeth and the Witches* (1825).

Sorcery has troubled humankind from the beginnings of Western civilization. In the Judeo-Christian tradition it was related to heresy and the forces of evil opposing the deity; this belief reemerged with violence during the waning Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The late European "mythology" of witchcraft can be traced back to classical sources: Hecate, Circe, and Medea can be considered prototypes of the "modern" archetypal witch. The new "mythology" spread over Europe after the publication of the *Malleus Maleficarum* (1486), especially through a large number of engravings. The growth of a belief in sorcery, and in the terrifying idea that the world might be ruled by the devil assisted by his "agents," had a great influence on artists in northern Europe, especially Bosch.

Although the witchcraze died down, "witchcraft mythology" still inspired modern artists, mostly as a means of expressing their own anguish and fear, such as in Salvator Rosa's work, which paved the road for the Romantics (Fuseli, and later Delacroix). Goya revived the iconography of witchcraft in the form of a bitter satire reflecting his own anguish.

See also Bacchanalia/Orgy; Nightmare; Path/Road/Crossroads

Selected Works of Art

Moses and Aaron Before Pharaoh

Wooden Doors, sixth century, Rome, S. Sabine

Flemish Tapestry, from Tournai, early sixteenth century, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Woeriot, Pierre, *Moses and Aaron Before Pharaoh and his Magicians*, engraving, 1580, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet Estampes (Res. ed. 5c petit in folio)

West, Benjamin, *Moses and Aaron Before Pharaoh*, oil on canvas, 1796, Greenville, South Carolina, Bob Jones University

The Witch of Endor

Cornelisz. van Oostanen, Jacob, *Saul Visiting the Witch of Endor*, oil on canvas, 1526, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Gheyn, Jacob de, II, *The Witch of Endor Invoking the Prophet's Spirit*, drawing, circa 1600, Paris, Louvre
Rosa, Salvator, *The Witch of Endor*, oil on canvas, 1688, Paris, Louvre

Fuseli, Henry, *The Witch of Endor*, drawing. Zurich, Switzerland, private collection

West, Benjamin, *The Witch of Endor*, oil on canvas, 1777, Hartford, Connecticut, Wadsworth Athenaeum

Blake, William, *The Witch of Endor Raising the Spirit of Samuel*, pen and watercolor, 1783, New York, New York Public Library, Prints Division

Allston, Washington, *Saul and the Witch of Endor*, oil on canvas, 1820–1821, Amherst, Massachusetts, Amherst College, Mead Art Museum

Circe

The Daybreak Painter, *Circe and Ulysses' Metamorphosed Companions*, lekythos, late sixth century B.C., Taranto, Italy, Taranto Museum (9125)

Parmigianino, *Circe Gives the Magic Potion to Ulysses' Companions*, drawing, mid-sixteenth century, Florence, Italy, Uffizi Gallery; Fantuzzi, engraving after Parmigianino, 1542

Burne-Jones, Edward Coley, *The Wine of Circe*, watercolor, 1863–1869, private collection

Medea

The Underworld Painter, *Medea Throwing a Spell over Jason's Arms, The Rejuvenation of Aeson, The Death of Creusa, Medea on Her Snake's Chariot*, Apulian volute krater, circa 330–320 B.C., Munich, Germany, Museum Antiker Kleinkunst

Medea Sarcophagus, Basel, Switzerland, Antikenmuseum
(Inv. 135, 203)

Boyvin, René (after Leonard Thiry), *Medea Invoking the Night Goddesses and Medea Preparing Her Philter for Aeson*, engraving 1563, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes (Ed. Z in folio)

Sandys, Frederick, *Medea*, oil on panel, 1866–1868, Birmingham, England, Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery

Saturn

Passe, Crispijn de (after Maarten de Vos), *Saturn, the Witch's Patron*, engraving, late sixteenth century, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes (sa 1 in-folio)

Simon Magus

Simon Magus, capital, twelfth century, Autun, France, Cathedral

Bourdon, Sébastien, *St. Peter and Simon the Magician*, oil on canvas, seventeenth century, Montpellier, France, Musée Fabre

St. James and the Magician Hermogenes

Gaddi, Agnolo, *Hermogenes Is Brought Before the Saint*, predella, circa 1380, Paris, Louvre

Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *St. James and the Magician Hermogenes*, engraving, 1565

Bruegel, Pieter, the Elder, *The Fall of the Magician*, drawing, 1564, Amsterdam, The Netherlands, Rijksmuseum

Witches' Sabbath: Preparations for the Sabbath

Witches Brewing up a Hailstorm, from the title page of Ulrich Molitor's *De Lanijs et Phitonicis Malieribus*, Cologne, Germany, 1489

Baldung Grien, Hans, *Witches' Sabbath*, chiaroscuro woodcut, 1510

Baldung Grien, Hans, *Witches' Sabbath*, pen on green tinted paper, 1514, Paris, Louvre

Gheyn, Jacob de, II, *The Witches' Kitchen*, engraving, circa 1600

Teniers, David, the Younger, *Preparations for the Sabbath*, oil on canvas, circa 1650, New York, Historical Society

Witches' Sabbath: The Departure for the Sabbath

Vaudoise on a Broomstick, illustration for Martin Lefranc, *Le Champion des Dames*, circa 1451, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (Ms. 1276, fol. 104v)

Dürer, Albrecht, *Witch Riding Backwards on a Goat*, engraving, circa 1500–1502

Altdorfer, Albrecht, *Witches' Sabbath*, pen on pale brown paper, 1506, Paris, Louvre

Baldung Grien, Hans, *Witches' Sabbath*, pen on red tinted paper, 1514, Vienna, Austria, Albertina

Raimondi, Marcantonio, *La Carcase lo Stregozzo*, engraving, sixteenth century

Witches' Sabbath: Witches' Assembly

Francken, Frans, II, *Witches' Assembly*, 1607, Vienna, Austria, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Bramer, Leonard, *Witches' Sabbath*, oil on copper, circa 1630–1635, Bordeaux, France, Musée des Beaux-Arts

Scenes of Witchcraft

Rosa, Salvator, *Scene of Witches*, oil on canvas, early 1640s, collection of Tommaso Corsini

Rosa, Salvator, *Scene of Witches*, oil on canvas, circa 1646, Althorp House, collection of Earl Spencer

Ernst, Max, *The Witch*, oil on canvas, 1941–1942, New York, collection of Alfred Barr

The Cult of the Devil

Adoration of the Devil, illustration for Johanis Tinctoris's *Contra Secatum Voldemsum*, circa 1460, Brussels, Belgium (Bibl. Roy., Ms. 11209, fol. 3r)

Callot, Jacques, *The Cult of the Demon*, engraving, 1627

Rijckaert, David, III, *The Diabolic Dance*, oil on wood, circa 1650, Clermont-Ferrand, France, Musée Bargoin

Incorporation of Witchcraft Motifs

Bosch, Hieronymus, *The Marriage of Cana*, oil on wood, circa 1475–1480, Rotterdam, The Netherlands, Museum Boymans-Van Beuningen

Bosch, Hieronymus, *The Temptation of St. Anthony*, oil on wood, circa 1505–1506, Lisbon, Portugal, Museu Nacional

Teniers, David, the Younger, *Temptation of St. Anthony*, oil on copper, circa 1640, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Teniers, David, the Younger, *Temptation of St. Anthony with Seven Deadly Sins*, oil on copper, circa 1640, Madrid, Spain, Prado

The Nightmare

Zuccaro, Taddeo, *The Nightmare (Allegory of Dreams)*, drawing, sixteenth century, Paris, Louvre

Fuseli, Henry, *The Nightmare*, oil on canvas, 1781, Detroit, Michigan, Detroit Institute of Arts

Goya, Francisco de, *Dream of the Witches*, drawing, 1797–1798, Madrid, Spain, Prado

Goya, Francisco de, *The Dream of Reason*, engraving, Capricho 43, 1797–1798, also Caprichos 45, 47, 60, 62, 66, 68, 70

Goya, Francisco de, *Six Paintings of Witchcraft*, 1797–1798, London, National Gallery; Madrid, Spain, Museo Lázaro Galdiano; Madrid, Spain, Ministerio de la Gobernación; Mexico, Pani Collection.

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Illustrations of Literary Works

Fuseli, Henry, *Macbeth, Banquo and the Witches on the Heath*, oil on canvas, 1793–1794, Petworth, England, National Trust, Egremont Collection

Delacroix, Eugène, *Lithograph Illustrations for Goethe's Faust*, printed by Goyer Hermet, Paris, 1828

Delacroix, Eugène, *Mephistopheles Appears Before Faust*, oil on canvas, 1826–1827, London, Wallace Collection

Delacroix, Eugène, *Macbeth and the Witches*, lithographs, 1825

Sandys, Frederick, *Morgan le Fay*, oil on panel, 1864, Birmingham, England, Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery

Witch Trials

Fuller, George, *The Trial of the Salem Witches*, oil on canvas, circa 1883, Chicago, Art Institute

Fuller, George, *And She Was a Witch*, oil on canvas, circa 1883, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

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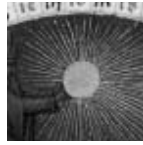
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ZODIAC

Paul Grimley Kuntz

The following motifs and periods are covered in the discussion of the theme Zodiac:

FORMS AND USES OF THE
ZODIAC

FORMS OF THE ZODIAC: THE
GLOBE

FORMS OF THE ZODIAC:
PLANISPHERE

FORMS OF THE ZODIAC: THE
CIRCLE

FORMS OF THE ZODIAC: THE
RING

USES AND FORMS OF THE
ZODIAC: THE ARCH

FORMS OF THE ZODIAC: THE
BAND OR FRIEZE

USES OF THE ZODIAC: THE
HOROSCOPE

USES OF THE ZODIAC:
SEASONS, MONTHS, AND
LABORS OF THE MONTHS

USES OF THE ZODIAC:
ZODIACAL MAN

USES OF THE ZODIAC: GODS
AND GODDESSES

USES OF THE ZODIAC: OTHER
GROUPS OF 12

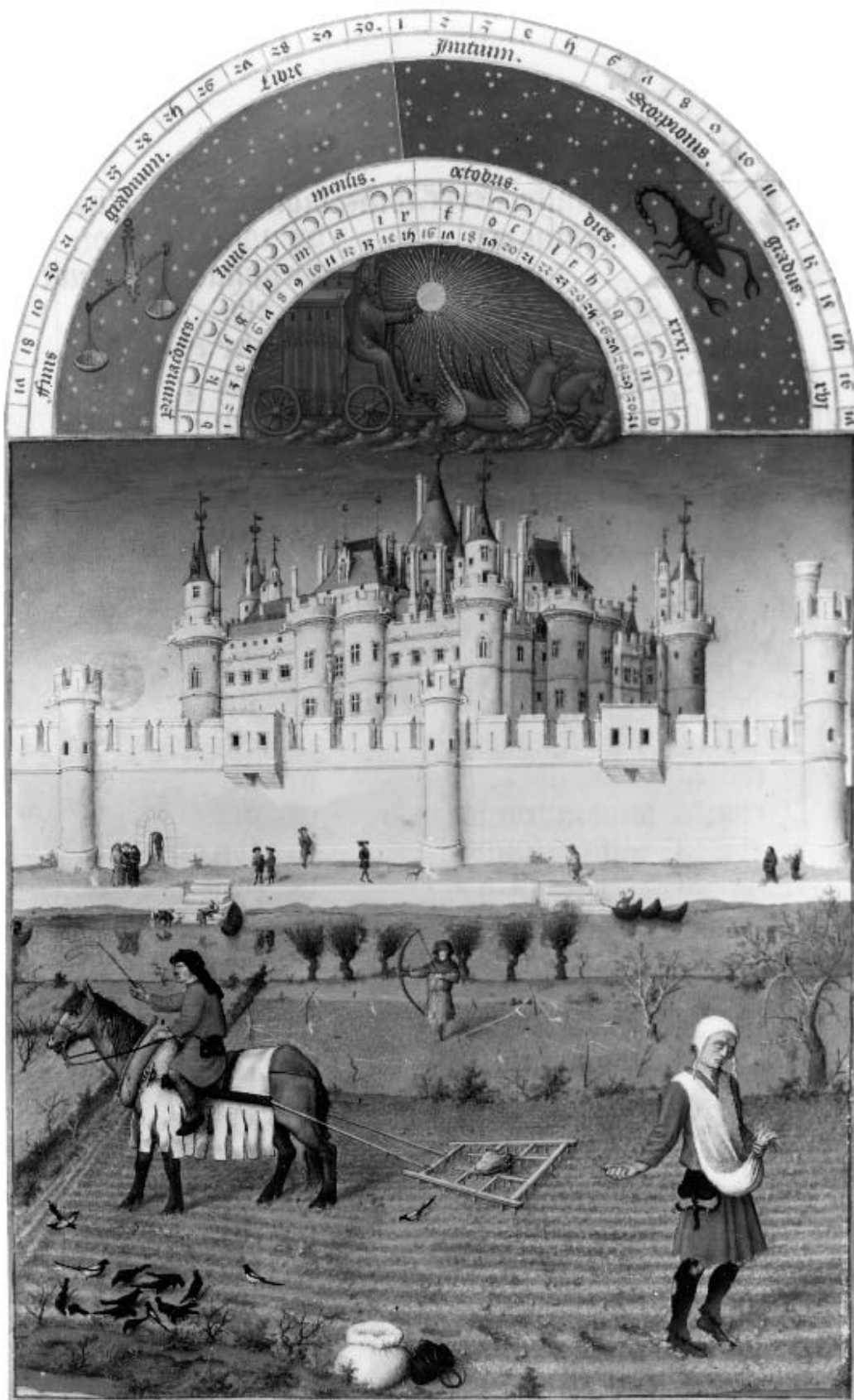
USES OF THE ZODIAC: THE
OCCULT

OTHER VARIATIONS

ANCIENT AND NON-WESTERN

MEDIEVAL

RENAISSANCE



Limbourg Brothers, *October: Planting*,
Chateau du Louvre, from *Très Riches*
Heures du Duc de Berry, manuscript
 illumination, before 1415, Chantilly,
 France, Musée Condé. (Courtesy of
 Giraudon/Art Resource, New York)

To understand the important iconography of the zodiac, it is wise to begin with an ancient text. All the iconographic elements developed by later artists were thought out philosophically 2,000 years ago by poets. There is Aratus's *Phaenomena* (circa 276 B.C.), a Greek poem that often appeared in one of three Latin versions with paintings in the early Middle Ages. There is Firmicus Maternus's *Mathesis* (circa A.D. 336), eight books partly derived from the *Astronomica* of Manilius, a long didactic poem written at the time of Jesus Christ, in the reigns of the Roman emperors Augustus and Tiberius. These texts are helpful in understanding the iconography that we encounter exclusively as astrology (which was then astronomy), for the distinction has been sharp only in the last two centuries. Into the seventeenth century, those who studied the heavens, such as Johannes Kepler and even Sir Isaac Newton, cast horoscopes, unlike modern astronomers. The Babylonians began to interpret certain movements in the sky as omens for good and ill, and by the time the science of astrology was developed by the Greeks, horoscopes for their leaders were cast and predictions about specific events made. Astrology, based on intense observations over time and complicated calculations, amounted to a science in the ancient world, and although astrology is a larger subject than the zodiac, it did use zodiacal names and symbols and reflected the continuing belief that what happened in the sky influenced events on Earth.

According to Manilius, the universe is an interrelated whole in which nothing happens by chance because all is designed by divine reason. Manilius believed that civilization arrived when the ancients discerned the influence of the starry heavens on human destiny (Manilius, I. 25–112). Wise men from the east taught the Greeks and Romans. These were Babylonians and Egyptians and also apparently Zoroaster, the prophet of the ancient Aryans in Persia (Manilius, I. 42), who divined how the patterns of the constellations repeat themselves endlessly year after year. This accounts for the seasons, “why days varied in duration and the period of darkness fluctuated” (Manilius, I. 69–71).

The zodiac, a “slating girdle [of] the heavens,” is the path of “the Sun and the other planets” of the celestial sphere. What in general is its meaning? That “a divine spirit . . . by sacred dispensation brings harmony and governs with hidden purpose, arranging mutual bonds between all parts, so that each may furnish and receive another's strength and the whole may stand fast in kinship despite its variety of forms” (Manilius, I. 250–264).

The procession of 12 symbols is now well known to us: “Resplendent in his golden fleece the Ram (*Aries*) leads the way and looks back with wonder at the backward rising of the

Bull (*Taurus*) who with lowered face and brow summons the Twins (*Gemini*); then the Crab (*Cancer*) follows, the Lion (*Leo*) the Crab, and the Virgin (*Virgo*) the Lion. Then the balance (*Libra*), having matched daylight with the length of night, draws on the Scorpion (*Scorpio*), ablaze with his glittering constellation, the man with the body of a horse (*Sagittarius*) aims with taut bow a winged shaft, ever in the act to shoot. Next comes Capricorn (*Capricornus*), curled up with his cramped space [not quite thirty degrees], and after him from urn upturned the Waterman (*Aquarius*) pours forth the wonted stream for the Fishes (*Pisces*) which swim eagerly into it; and these as they bring up the rear of the signs are joined by the Ram” (Manilius, I. 265–274). The cycle thus endlessly repeats itself.

I have inserted into the English translation the Latin names in the nominative case. These names are as well known to the contemporary person of Western culture as to the person of the Roman empire 2,000 years ago. This continuity is all the more remarkable because the symbols of the zodiac of the ancient world are so similar to most of those in contemporary visual culture that an ancient, opening our daily newspaper or weekly magazine, would recognize the 12 signs that draw the eye to horoscopes.

Even more remarkable is the fact that zodiacs of Islamic culture are in part derived from the Babylonians, going back beyond our Western tradition another 2,000 years. And the cycle of 12 animals in Far Eastern cultures applies not only to each year but to each cycle of 12 years: Rat (*Aries*), Ox (*Taurus*), Tiger (*Gemini*), Hare (*Cancer*), Dragon (*Leo*), Serpent (*Virgo*), Horse (*Libra*), Sheep (*Scorpio*), Monkey (*Sagittarius*), Cock (*Capricorn*), Dog (*Aquarius*), and Boar (*Pisces*). We have added to the 12 Chinese animals our 12, not because there is a correspondence but to mark the divergence of East from West. In a series of studies, Franz Cumont found astrology to be the universal religion of the ancient world, and at the end of the twentieth century he would find evidence that this is again the case worldwide. Given a continuous history with many variations throughout humankind, the art of the zodiac calls for comparative study of its iconography. Jews and Christians adopted the zodiac from Greco-Roman sources, and Babylonian iconography survives among Moslems. Much of ancient astronomy was advanced in Islamic cultures, and in returning to Europe many stars still bear Arabic names.

The iconographer of zodiacs M. A. Clarke suggests that we could go around the world and find parallels on every continent. “It is curious to find the same sequence of symbols employed for the same decorative purposes in India as in Europe. A perfect set of signs was copied in 1764 from a pagoda in Verdapettah near Cape Comorin, and one equally com-

plete existed at the same period on the ceiling of a temple near Mindurah" (Clarke).

The first and most evident elements of zodiacal iconography are the circle and the sphere. Their origin is evident: We see our universe as the dome of heaven and in the dark expanse of night pick out patterns of stars that we call constellations. The tradition of the Hindus does this—but again in a very different way. Most evident now as in the time of Manilius, we learn to identify the "Pole Star" in the constellations of "the shining Bears, which from the summit of the sky look down on all the stars and know no setting and shifting of their opposed stations" (Manilius, I. 275–276). The sky and stars rotate, and, like a wheel, the universe turns as on an axis, from the north "through the very globe of the earth, stands fixed," itself without motion (Manilius, I. 280–282). There is, then, a still center that can symbolize eternity in contrast to the ceaseless circular motion of time. Seven planets turn in the middle space between the pole and the Earth. Why is this symbolism of circle and sphere significant? There is "nothing . . . more wonderful than its design and the credence of all to an immutable law. Nowhere does confusion do harm; nothing in any of its parts moves randomly . . ." (Manilius, I. 478–482). Manilius, on the basis of observable uniformity, affirms as an indubitable argument that the universe "is indeed the manifestation of God . . ." (Manilius, I. 483–486).

The iconography of the zodiac is not independent of belief. In many illustrations, graphic and sculptural, the artist shows nature dependent on the divine. In one, the hand of God holds the axis. The text is "the heavens declare the glory of God, a demonstration of Psalm 19" (Heninger).

The center has various functions. An empty circle may signify eternity. An Eastern alternative is the circle divided by an S-curved line: the opposites yang-yin, the light and the dark, the male and the female. Western iconography more commonly uses the sun. This may be read impersonally as the Pythagorean central fire or personified as the Creator who commands "Let there be light" or as a crowned figure, Jesus Christ the King. We will encounter many other alternatives, such as the shepherd-god Pan, the God of Time, and even physical Earth itself.

Thus, the iconography of the zodiac is profoundly ambiguous. We may recognize, as do scholars who have studied Babylonian mythology, that as many as seven of our signs derive from Mesopotamian polytheism, yet the unity of the harmonious whole points toward monotheism.

The universe of the zodiac may be polytheistic, for the stars and planets, especially the sun, are living spirits. Yet Manilius, in sympathy with Stoic natural theology, speaks of one ultimate divinity characterized by reason. In Chinese zodiacs, the center may appear empty because eternity cannot be represented by a temporal being. However, the principle is of eternal change, as illustrated in the eightfold permutation and combination of three broken and three unbroken lines.

The most famous Egyptian planisphere, from a ceiling at Dendera, shows the world order upheld by four pairs of kneeling deities at the north, south, east, and west sides of the square room. At the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest corners are standing female deities also supporting the heavenly circle. Although built during the reign of the Ptolemies, with

Greco-Roman borrowings (Aries and Libra), we are aware of a different tradition of mythology. Ursa Major is the god of the Celestial Cow, Ursa Minor is a Jackal dedicated to the Goddess Set, and Draco is the Hippopotamus. It is of great iconographic importance that the circle of animals is within a square. Manilius writes that "Earth, poised squarely in the centre, with a sphere of stars . . . by fixed laws . . . united . . . into a single body, [the first Cause and Guardian of All Things] ordaining that *air* and *earth* and *fire* and flowing *water* should each for the other provide mutual sustenance in order that harmony might prevail over so many elements at variance . . ." (III. 48–54, cf. I. 49f). The variance of the elements is developed in many texts as contrasted qualities of dry and wet, hot and cold. Life is possible for the universe and for humans only if balance restrains the cosmic body and human body from extremes, thus the basis for the parallelism of microcosm to macrocosm: "We perceive our creator, of whom we are part, and rise to the stars, whose children we are. Can one doubt that a divinity dwells within our breasts and that our souls return to the heavens whence they came?" (IV. 885–888). The most famous representation of the analogy between the divinely ruled cosmos and the divinely ruled person is in Leonardo da Vinci's *Homo*, proportioned to the cosmic circle and square.

What, then, are the twelve signs of the zodiac? The way God divided the world into portions [and] distributed it among the individual signs. To each guardian power he has given a special region of the world to rule. And just as the human fate is apportioned among the signs, and the protection they afford, though collectively extending over the limbs allocated among them (the Ram is attached to the head, the Bull to the neck; the arms reckoned as under the Twins' domain, the breast under the Crab's; the shoulders appeal to you Nemian [Lion], and to you Maiden [Virgo], the belly; the Balance attends the loins, and the Scorpion is lord of the groin; the Archer has bestowed his love upon the thighs, Capricorn upon his knees, whilst the Youth [water-man] is protector of the shanks and the Fish[es] of the feet), so in like manner do different signs lay claim to different lands. (Manilius, IV. 701–710)

Of these ideas, it is the Chinese zodiac that names the 12 tribes of humankind under the signs. There are many medical zodiacs, dating from early times into the eighteenth century. The symbols are the significant influences tied to the bodily parts or rays of light or by lines connected to the signs.

Many of the more than 4,000 lines of Manilius's verses are devoted to devising horoscopes, and there are innumerable calculations of lots that our birth date makes likely or inevitable. We are told which combinations of signs are unlikely to be harmonious and which days (102) of the year are unlucky. All this is more clearly communicated in charts. But the basic scheme of the starry heaven with the procession of the signs is visual and an invitation to painter and sculptor. For the most part, we must recognize that the pictures reflect beliefs about the cosmos and human destiny, yet we must set them aside to concentrate on the iconography. The way in which we select patterns and express them visually to some extent explains the beliefs. All

books on astrology more or less depend on their illustrations for significance. Let us set side by side the most famous Egyptian painting of the starry heavens and a sculpture from third-century Rome.

When the ceiling of the temple at Dendera was first studied at the end of the eighteenth century, it led the French scholar Charles-François Dupuis to claim, in a series of books (1781, 1794, and later), that the zodiac was universal and revealed the origin of all varieties of worship. Dupuis's drawing calls attention to the presence of the same 12 signs described by Manilius in his procession. However, there are Egyptian peculiarities. The sun god Ra was a personification of the solar disk, and the moon was sometimes called the left eye of Horus. Egyptians who plied the Nile River pictured sun and moon crossing the sky by boat. The solar boat during the night returned by a lower sky.

In the Roman sculpture, the divine planets included Horus, "the bull of the sky" (Saturn), "the goddess of the morning" (Venus), "the jewel of the sky" (Jupiter), and "the star of the east" or "Horus the red" (Mars). The departed pharaoh joined this astral company ("Astronomy and Astrology," Col. 45). Rather than the 12 gods of Egypt who uphold the heavens in a famous Roman sculpture, it is Atlas whose shoulders bear the zodiacal ring. In the center sits the chief of the gods, Jupiter. Another noted example of Atlas holding up the sphere of heaven, with zodiac, is *Atlas Farnese* (second century A.D.) in Naples, Italy.

In contrast to the anthropomorphic Egyptian and our classical Greco-Roman systems is the impersonal principle of heaven, or yang-yin, at the center of Chinese zodiacs. Here, we have a completely different set of 12 animals (Becker; *Cycle*).

In thinking of the variations between zodiacs that illustrate different belief systems, art history also reminds us of their practical application in everyday life. The zodiac is a calendar, a way of keeping track of the days of each twelfth segment of the yearly cycle. In the graffiti calendar of A.D. 354, found on the Equiline Hill of Rome, there are holes for each of 30 days; each day a peg is moved one step further. Also, there are the seven gods, after whom the days of the week are named, and the 12 signs, each with a midpoint (Cutler, p. 231).

Representation of many deities was the reprehensible idolatry prohibited by Moses and the prophets. Jeremiah in particular denounced foretelling the future from the planets and stars (Jeremiah 10:2, etc.). Yet the zodiac had great appeal to Jews of the ancient world, and most significant is the zodiac in the mosaic floor of the synagogue at Beth Alpha in Israel (also Na'Arán and Hammath Tiberias, which are not as well preserved). The 12 signs may iconographically represent the 12 sons of Jacob or the 12 tribes of Israel. YHWH may not be represented as a deity at the center, but the sun can symbolize the work of the Creator. Just as the signs from Aries to Pisces can be shown in procession across the sky, so too can the animal symbols of the 12 tribes ("Zodiac," cols. 191-192); *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 7, p. 972).

Christian teachers, who were originally all Jews, similarly condemned astrology. But the zodiac had spiritual worth. The best brief account of how the zodiac was adopted into Christian iconography is the article "Zodiakus" (Holl).

Because the 12 signs had been related to the 12 patriarchs, it was fitting to take the zodiac as symbolic of the 12 apostles. However, more significant than numerological correspondence was to consider Aries a lamb and Taurus a gentle calf. Virgo meant the Blessed Virgin Mary, and Libra meant the justice that Jesus Christ brought to the world. The theologians who condemned the determinism or fatalism of astrological prognostications did not also condemn the zodiac. Because the Orphics put Phanes in the central divine place, and the Mithraic cult reserved it for Mithras, Christ as a crowned sun could take central place and the whole zodiac became a symbol of Christ's mission.

Some of the earliest evidence of how Christians used biblical metaphor to make the zodiac at home in the church is from Hippolytus of Rome (circa A.D. 170-235):

Christ the Sun, once he had risen from the womb of the earth, showed the twelve Apostles to be, as it were, twelve hours. . . . Once they were gathered together, the twelve Apostles, like twelve months, proclaimed the perfect year, Christ. . . . Because the prophet refers to Christ as day, sun, and year [Isaiah 61:2] the Apostles must be called hours and months. (*Bened. Myosis, Patrologia Graeca* 27:171, from *Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 14, p. 869)

Christian interpretation casts Christ as the sun and the 12 zodiacal signs as the 12 apostles and the 12 minor prophets (from Schmid's "*Musterbuch*"; Becker).

Among the most interesting parallels to what Jews and Christians did are the noted examples that show at the center Phanes or Aion, god of time, and the Mithras slaying the bull. Mithras overcame the sun and made friends with him. By slaughtering the bull, he conferred fertility on Earth, as vegetation springs from the blood. Witnessing salvation, part of a cult that appeared to soldiers of Roman armies are a dog, a serpent, a scorpion, a cup, and a crow, among the constellations. The serpent symbolizes Earth, the cup water, the crow air, and the lion fire—once again, the four elements (Gleadon, *Origin*, p. 120, and fig. 8). The zodiacs of Babylon present the violent struggle between gods and between gods and monsters. Salvation in Mithraism, as in Christianity, does not come without blood. An Orphic stone relief of the second century A.D. in the Galleria Estense in Modena, Italy, presents us with the zodiac circle as an oval mandorla. In the center, emerging from the cosmic egg, is an angelic winged God of Time. Although entwined by a serpent, he triumphs (Gundel and Gundel, p. 166). The Christian version replaces Phanes with Christ; sometimes, because the birthday of light is December 25, the scene is of the birth of Jesus.

Christian Europe did not destroy the achievement of pagan astronomy; rather, it transmitted texts such as that of Aratus. His poem *Phaenomena* appeared in three Latin translations. In the age of Charlemagne's revived Roman Empire, with its court at Aachen, Germany (Aix la Chapelle), numerous manuscripts were illustrated with paintings copied from ancient artists who represented the signs of the zodiac. A score or two of these illuminated manuscripts survive in various libraries (listed with shelfmarks in *Encyclopedia of World Art*, vol. 3, Cols. 57-59).

The best known, the Leiden *Aratea*, shows the signs, such as *Sagittarius*, with squares of gold to represent the stars of its constellation. The small book is made up of 99 parchment leaves. In the painting of each sign and other constellations, the painter was little concerned with the astronomical number, position, or brightness of the stars. In presenting the universe, the painter represents Earth by a circle in the center. In spheres around Earth, the seven “wandering stars”—not only Mars, Venus, Mercury, Jupiter, and Saturn but the sun and the moon as well—revolve around Earth in their cycles. Each sign is also in a circle and interspersed with the figures of the months, also in circles. The oddity is that the signs read counterclockwise and the months clockwise! The copyist followed the heavenly configuration, now calculated to have been March 28, 579, so that the book is useless as either calendar or astronomy. The Leiden *Aratea* presented the four seasons: four human heads in corners of the squarish field. Twelve signs group easily into four threes. “Spring wears a garland of flowers; Summer is crowned with wheat; Fall sports a wreath made of vine leaves; and Winter covers her head with a warm cloak” (Katzenstein and Savage-Smith, p. 35). The figures of the zodiacal signs are beautiful and convey noble messages. The twin sons of Leda and Jupiter, Castor and Pollux (the Gemini), are balanced. One carries a club and the other a lyre. The gods’ lives must combine the virtues of an athlete with those of an artist (learned in both *Gymnastiké* and *Mousiké*, which teach Plato’s *Republic*). In this regard, the sign has moral significance. According to the myth of brotherly loyalty, when Castor was killed in battle, Pollux begged his father to exchange his life for that of the dead brother. Jupiter rewarded the brothers’ devotion by placing them among the stars. In an age of chivalry, the distinction between pagan and Christian virtues vanished.

During the Middle Ages, the language of the 12 symbols was enriched with 12 corresponding abstract signs. Renaissance scholars provide us with explanations of the derivation of each sign from its original symbol. Sometimes the symbol accompanies the sign, and sometimes another circle is provided to make the association meaningful and memorable (Becker).

Name	Sign	Explanation
Aries	♈	Ram’s head
Taurus	♉	Ox’s head
Gemini	♊	Two people, arms and legs tied
Cancer	♋	Claws of a crab
Leo	♌	Tail of a lion
Virgo	♍	Wings of a virgin
Libra	♎	Balance beams
Scorpio	♏	Scorpion with raised tail
Sagittarius	♐	Arrow resting on a bowstring
Capricorn	♑	Wound tail of a goat-fish
Aquarius	♒	Stream of water
Pisces	♓	Two fishes

We should not be surprised to find Christ represented as the sun. The Roman Catholic Church chose December 25 as the day of his birth because on that day, birthday of the sun, the amount of daylight increases. Each Lord’s Day (Dies Domenica) is Sun-Day.

Astrology blended with revelation in such a way that it shocked no one at the time. The great authority on religious art of medieval France, Émile Mâle, found no protest against such blending of pagan and Christian, even when the iconography was used in church sculpture. Why? Because the zodiacal creation reinforced biblical faith that “man is the center of the universe. It was for man that God set the planets in their orbits to turn round the earth; they were there not only for the enjoyment of his eyes, but to teach him the rules of health.”

Astrology’s premise—that nature limits human freedom—can be accepted by Christian theology.

The newly born is like virgin wax, ready to receive any imprint. The planet reigning in the sky at the moment imprints an indelible stamp on his being. At the moment, the child’s character and destiny are inscribed within him . . . he can only become what he is. A formidable fatalism, but one which the Church as a whole could accept . . . freedom is only the power to accept or reject grace. It is by grace alone that we escape . . . nature, that is, fatality. . . . Our temperament and character [are] predestined. . . . All temperaments can participate in redemption: St. Peter was of a sanguine temperament, St. Paul was choleric, St. John was melanchol[ic], St. Mark was phlegmatic: all four sit at the right hand of God. That is what Albrecht Dürer meant to convey when he represented the four temperaments as the four apostles. (Mâle)

In Romanesque and medieval cathedrals, the zodiac occurs in the tympanum of the western entrance. In many shrines, such as at Vézelay, France, Christ sits in judgment, and the procession of the symbols arches the sky above. There are 30 circles carved in the 180 degrees of the round arch that show how early medieval sculptors represented Cancer (the Crab), which has the head of a fish, the tail of an octopus, the claws of a lobster, and three pairs of frog legs. We cannot complain that they merely copied ancient models or nature and that they lacked imagination.

Zodiacal symbolism became conspicuous in medieval art. Nearly all the French cathedrals of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries exhibit on their portals a species of rural calendar in which each month and sign has its corresponding labor. The zodiac of Notre Dame of Paris, opening with Aquarius, is a noted example. A similar series, in which sculptured figures of Christ and the apostles are associated with the signs, can be seen in perfect preservation on the chief doorway of the abbey church at Vézelay. The cathedrals of Amiens, Sens, and Rheims are decorated in the same way. In Italy, the signs and works survive fragmentarily in the baptistery at Parma, completely on the porch of the cathedral of Cremona, and on the west doorway of St. Mark’s at Venice. They are less common in England, but St. Margaret’s in York and the church of Iffley in Oxfordshire offer good specimens. In the zodiac of Merton College in Oxford, Libra is represented by a judge in his robes and Pisces by the dolphin of Fitzjames, warden of the college (1482–1507). The great rose windows of the early Gothic period were frequently painted with zodiacal emblems. Some frescoes in the cathedral of Cologne, Germany, contain the signs, each with an

attendant angel, just as they were depicted on the vault of the church at Mount Athos in Greece.

Forms and Uses of the Zodiac

Although the symbols for the zodiac (both the animal and the human figures and another set of more abstract signs developed in the medieval period) were frequently used in casting horoscopes and other astrological activities, the fact that they were well known made them useful in a number of ways. Furthermore, the forms in which they were used in art fall into a number of familiar groupings. Some of these are discussed below. In some cases, the symbols are found without a clear purpose, as in an early potsherd, or *ostrakon*, found in Egypt that lists the zodiacal signs and the planets and has been dated to circa 250 B.C. Later Egyptian examples of zodiacal signs include several painted sarcophagi that show the goddess of the sky Nut stretched across the starry sky, surrounded by the symbols of the zodiac. Although the Egyptians contributed to the development of the zodiac, their interests were in the calendar rather than astronomy.

Forms of the Zodiac: The Globe

One of the most direct ways to represent the zodiac was to depict the celestial globe with the zodiac band around it, the symbols on the band echoing the placement of the constellations. A Roman example, probably from the second century, can be seen in the Hall of the Busts in the Vatican. A round ball, covered by stars, it has a narrow band around its circumference that bears the symbols of the zodiac. Often this globe is worked into a larger composition, as in a fresco painting from the Villa Diomede in Pompeii, Italy. Urania, the muse of astronomy, stands in front of the globe holding a pointer as if she were giving an art history lecture about it. In the Roman bas-relief *Apotheosis of Antoninus and Faustina* on the base of the Antoninus Column in the Cortile della Pigna in the Vatican, the central winged figure of Genius or Aion, a personification of Time, carries a zodiacal globe in his hand. In a variation on this theme, the figure of the first century B.C. *Atlas Farnese* in Naples holds up on his back a large globe covered with the symbols of the zodiac. In this case, they are not in a band but distributed all over the globe.

Another form of a zodiacal globe shows it with two bands crossing it, one representing the zodiac and the other the equator. For example, in a Pompeian wall painting from the Villa dell'Argenteria, a representation of Helios holds a crossed globe in his outstretched hand. A sixth-century ivory plaque in the Staatliche Museen in Berlin shows the Virgin and Child with two angels, one of them holding a globe with crossed bands.

Forms of the Zodiac: Planisphere

The constellations were also depicted as a flat sphere or plane passing through a polar circle. The Ptolemaic ceiling planisphere in the Hathor Temple at Dendera (circa 30 B.C.) shows an elaborate circular disk with signs of the zodiac indicating the position of the heavenly bodies.

A painted planisphere can be seen in the ceiling of the caldarium of a palace bath house in Quasayr 'Amra, Jordan (circa A.D. 700). The planisphere can also be found in medieval manuscripts, as in one of the ninth century in the Staatsbibliothek in Munich, Germany, and in Renaissance prints, as in a woodcut by Albrecht Dürer (1515). In the latter print, the four corners of the sphere are taken up with figures of astrologers, Aratus, Ptolemy, and Manilius among them. In each case, this map of the heavens uses the zodiacal figures to indicate the location of the constellations.

Forms of the Zodiac: The Circle

Many zodiacs are found in the form of a circle of the 12 signs surrounding a central scene or figure. The circle, the most common representation of the zodiac, can be seen in such examples as the mosaics in the Synagogue at Beth Alpha, Israel (sixth century A.D.). Helios, the sun god, is in the center of the circle in his quadriga, with stars and the moon in the background, while surrounding him and making a larger circle are 12 wedge shapes, each containing a figure or figures symbolic of one symbol of the zodiac. A similar composition is represented by a more realistic depiction in a Roman mosaic of the third century, now in the Landesmuseum in Bonn, Germany. At the center, Helios, in his chariot with four rearing horses, dominates the composition, with the encircling band of the 12 symbols of the zodiac clearly depicted, although of smaller scale. Similar compositions commonly appear as sculpture. For example, in a second-century relief in the Villa Albani in Rome, Atlas holds up a circle of the zodiac symbols in the center on which an enthroned Jupiter is seated.

Forms of the Zodiac: The Ring

The zodiac is also pictured as a figure, often as Aion, the personification of Time, holding a large band or ring on which the signs can be seen while he is standing inside it. Examples of the open band or ring variety include the mosaic from Sentinum, Italy, and the silver plaque depicting the Phrygian mother-goddess Cybele and her young consort Attis from Parabiago, Italy. The zodiacal symbols follow one another around the circle in their usual order. In the Renaissance, Giovanni di Paolo's *The Expulsion from Paradise* (circa 1445) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York shows Earth as mountains and rivers surrounded by colored rings, with the outermost blue ring containing the 12 signs of the zodiac.

Uses and Forms of the Zodiac: The Arch

At times, the zodiacal symbols, instead of forming a full circle around a figure, were deployed in an arch above the central figure or surrounding it on three sides. This form seemed to be especially popular on Mithraic zodiacs, as in a third-century relief from the ancient Mesopotamian town of Dura-Europos, now in the Gallery of Fine Arts at Yale University in New Haven, Connecticut. Mithra is sacrificing a bull while surrounding figures watch. The composition is framed by columns with the zodiacal symbols arching above them. The arch bear-

ing the zodiacal symbols surrounds the bust of Mithra in a horseshoe shape in a sculpture from Housesteads, England, near Hadrian's Wall of about the same time, now in the University of Durham in England. In a Gnostic relief of the same time in the British Museum in London, the bust of the goddess of the sky with a lunar crescent on her head is backed by seven star forms and surrounded by an arch bearing the zodiacal symbols, which continue across the base.

Forms of the Zodiac: The Band or Frieze

The symbols of the zodiac were often fitted into a long rectangular space, as on the surface of a baldric or sash usually worn by a god or goddess or on the archivolt of a building. For example, the fragment of the torso of the so-called *Apollo with the Goose* (*Helios*) in the Vatican wears a sash over his left shoulder that falls down to his waist on the right side. It is ornamented with the symbols of the zodiac. A Hellenistic frieze embedded in the archivolt of the Hagios Eleutherios in Athens, Greece, is another example of the zodiac arranged in a lateral band, in this case mingled with personifications of the months, or labors.

Uses of the Zodiac: The Horoscope

The horoscope, which shows the configuration of the stars, planets, and constellations of the zodiac on a particular date, is usually cast with the intent of foretelling events in the future. The horoscope appeared in classical times, when it was first used to determine the influence of the stars on an individual at his or her birth or some other occasion. In Greece and Rome, astrologers often forecast the most propitious moment for the coronation of a ruler. The earliest such horoscope found is that plotted for the Hellenistic ruler Antiochus I of Commagene, a district of ancient Syria, in 62 B.C. Placed on his tomb high on the Taurus Mountains in Turkey, it shows the conjunction of the planets Mars, Mercury, and Jupiter among the stars in Leo, represented as a massive lion, on Antiochus's coronation date of July 7, 62 B.C.

With a similar motive in the Renaissance, Agostino Chigi, a banker in Siena, Italy, in building the Villa Farnesina in Rome, reproduced the heavenly configurations in the sky the night of December 1, 1466, his birth date. These panels in the Sala di Galatea, the same room that housed Raphael's *Triumph of Galatea*, thus represented his horoscope and reminded him and his guests of his promise of greatness.

The modern horoscope that spawned the current popularity in newspapers and magazines was apparently the horoscope in London's *Sunday Express* in 1930 on the occasion of the birth of Princess Margaret (Barton, p. 1). Whereas the horoscope of ancient times was usually meant to predict the date of death or to show the prospects for a ruler's success or failure, the modern horoscope, although using the same zodiacal symbols, is more like a counseling service that deals with personal relations, dating, and financial transactions.

Although the scientific community and most "men of good sense" have turned their backs on astrologers, there are still reports that prominent figures, including Ronald Reagan and

Georges Papandreou, have consulted them, even arranging events according to their predictions.

Uses of the Zodiac: Seasons, Months, and Labors of the Months

The zodiac's 12 symbols linking heavenly and earthly life are nowhere more vivid than in medieval and Renaissance visualizations of the yearly cycle of agricultural life, as on the portals of cathedrals that displayed the labors of the months and manuscripts such as *Aratea* in Leiden, the Netherlands, and *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* in Chantilly, France. There are many variations on the agricultural cycle: Plowing must precede sowing, growth of flowers precedes the fruiting of plants, and harvesting proceeds in states. The sun may occupy the center, and the corners may show figures holding flowers or a sheaf of wheat; harvesting may be symbolized by a sickle. The weather is important, and the four winds may occupy the corners. The "zodiac of labors" was replaced in the French castles and hotels by a "zodiac of pleasures" in which hunting, hawking, fishing, and dancing were substituted for hoeing, planting, reaping, and plowing.

Let us now turn to the most celebrated of all illuminated manuscripts. Umberto Eco, now famous for his studies of medieval aesthetics as well as for *The Name of the Rose*, first fell in love with the medieval imagination when he was about 20 years old. What he encountered was the 12 months from *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*. If we take the month of October from this work as an example, we see not only the detail with which the scenes of planting and sowing are depicted—with a flock of blackbirds, unafraid of the scarecrow archer in the background, stealing the seed—but also the semi-circular arch above the calendar miniatures. This month and those that complete the cycle of the year reveal that the medieval zodiac consisted of precise astrological references belonging to both an elaborate system devised by experts and customary discourse. Each of the 12 arches is of 30 degrees, and each shows the transition from one zodiacal sign to another. October is between Libra and Scorpio, golden stars shine from a deep blue sky, and in the center the sun is in his chariot. For each day, we can read the length of the day from sunrise to sunset and for each night the phase of the moon. On the facing page, a calendar shows the feasts and fasts and the saint commemorated (Cazelles and Rathofer, pp. 7, 12–13).

Uses of the Zodiac: Zodiacal Man

What is extraordinary in *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, the most beautiful of all calendars and prayer books, is the complete cycle of the zodiac in a mandorla, an oval cosmic frame in which stand two beautiful nudes, facing us: Woman and, immediately at her back, Man (or is it the converse?). The zodiacal symbols form an oval surrounding the figures, but they also are placed down along the front of the foremost figure, each symbol placed near the organ or part of the body it affects. The iconographic idea became famous in the Renaissance in the astronomical thought of Robert Fludd and Athanasius Kircher. This manuscript clearly depicts the relation

of human to the cosmos, microcosmos to macrocosmos, the little world to the great world (Cazelles and Rathofer, pp. 12–13; Longnon and Cazelles, p. 11). Renaissance illustrations develop the idea of the Homo Zodiacus, corresponding the 12 signs to 12 body parts, as in the fifteenth-century manuscript Codex Urbin. lat 1398 in the Vatican. This manuscript shows a human body in a U-shaped position in the center of a ring of zodiacal signs with lines extending from each part of the body to the sign associated with it.

Uses of the Zodiac: Gods and Goddesses

The principal Greek gods and goddesses are frequently paired, male and female, in a group of 12. Sometimes these 12 are associated with the months, at other times with the zodiac. In the so-called “Altar” of *Gabii* (A.D. 117–138), a Roman marble relief disk, the heads of the 12 main Olympian divinities are arranged around the circle of the disk. These divinities include Venus, goddess of love; Mars, god of war; Diana, goddess of wild things; Apollo, god of youth; Vesta, goddess of the hearth; Mercury, god of merchants; Ceres, goddess of food plants; Neptune, god of the sea; Minerva, goddess of arts and crafts; Vulcan, god of fire; Juno, goddess of marriage; and Jupiter, king of the gods. On the bank around the sides of the disk, the 12 zodiacal signs are matched with an attribute of one of the Olympians. Slots for mounting a metal plaque in the center of the disk have led some to identify the disk as a sundial, but its original function is unknown. A similar association between Roman gods and goddesses and zodiacal signs can be found in a carpet mosaic from Hellin, Spain, now in the Archaeological Museum in Madrid, Spain, and in a marble candelabrum base, now in the Louvre in Paris.

Humanists at the court of the Este in fifteenth-century Ferrara, Italy, used the zodiacal signs in conjunction with the paintings of *Triumph of the Gods of Antiquity*. Here is a very different theology from that in the great *Très Riches Heures*, where we saw the sun in every month but did not think of Apollo; rather, we thought of the Creator and His command “Let there be light” or Christ as the “Light of the World.” On the other hand, Francesco del Cossa paints Minerva, Venus, Apollo, and others in March to September in what remains of *Triumph of the Gods of Antiquity* (five months have been lost) in the great hall of the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara. The division is by months, over which gods and goddesses preside; however, not only are there signs of the zodiac (even the 10-day third parts of a 30-degree segment), but the decans are personified. Minerva might be morally acceptable as a symbol of chastity and wisdom. Her chariot is drawn by white unicorns, and the Wise Virgins, busy at their weaving, sewing, or embroidery, flank the goddess. There is also a group of teachers and students from the University of Ferrara. But the Triumph of Venus shows that goddess of love on a barge drawn by swans while on the banks amorous couples wander among flowery groves. A Girolamo Savonarola would have suspected that paganism displays an all-too-alluring yielding to temptation.

The symbols of the zodiac are also used with images of single gods (Aion, Jupiter, Helios, and Apollo have already been

mentioned). There are also many examples of the zodiac associated with Diana of Ephesus, an ancient Ionian city of Asia Minor. A statue of her in the Ephesus Museum displays the zodiacal symbols encircling her throat just above her multiple breasts.

Uses of the Zodiac: Other Groups of 12

In Jewish iconography of the zodiac, the 12 signs could also stand for the Twelve Tribes of Israel. The hours and the months are associated with zodiacal symbols in a ninth-century manuscript in the Vatican (Cod. Vat. Gr. 1291, fol. 9 recto). The outer ring of a circular composition contains the symbols of the zodiac, and two inner rings contain figures representing the 12 months and 12 hours of the day. In the center, Helios, the sun god, drives his chariot through a blue circle of sky. In the Christian era, the number of apostles (12) made them candidates for association with zodiacal symbols. For example, in an ivory relief on a reliquary of the tenth century, each apostle is placed between columns. Above each apostle, in an arched frame, is a symbol of the zodiac.

Uses of the Zodiac: The Occult

The largest marble zodiac in a medieval church, in the nave of San Miniato al Monte in Florence, Italy, is in the form of a large circle with the 12 zodiacal figures: silhouettes embedded in an ornate arabesque background and radiating from a solar center. The whole church, according to Fred Gettings, art historian and student of astrology and the occult, is a web of symbols emanating from this zodiac and its accompanying inscription. With symbols (not only Christian symbols but others more esoteric and obscure as well), Gettings sees the church and its zodiac as an important key to medieval life and thought.

Other Variations

Giotto’s zodiac at Padua, Italy, was remarkable (in its undisturbed condition) in that the signs were arranged so that each was struck in turn, during its corresponding month, by the sun’s rays. Some iconographies mix the usual forms of the zodiac. For example, the west entrance to St. Mark’s Basilica in Venice displays a frieze around the doorway. The January figure carries wood, as Aquarius carries water. The February figure has cold feet, as the Fishes (Pisces) are cold. March is as Mars, ready for a fight, and Aries (the Ram) is ready, too. April suggests the Easter feast, for he carries a lamb on his neck and shoulders, but Taurus (the Bull) is not gentle, and Spring is a contest of opposites, Winter and Summer. May is being crowned by two maidens, corresponding to Gemini (the Twins) (Demus). There is, in repeating the zodiac, much subtle symbolic thought.

We of the twentieth century live in another period of revived interest in the zodiac. This is surprising because it comes after several centuries of attack on ways of thinking rejected by those who consider scientific methods alone worthy of praise. It is all the more remarkable because modern artists often reject traditional iconographic symbols. The wonder, then, is that a

Roman reader of Manilius's poem, shown a horoscope column in one of our daily newspapers, would in some cases recognize every sign of the zodiac, presented visually to lure the eye to the advice proffered. This, too, would appear familiar.

See also Fortune; Labor/Trades/Occupations; Order/Chaos

Selected Works of Art

Ancient and Non-Western

Apollo with the Goose (Helius with a Baldrick), fragmentary torso, marble, original fifth century B.C., copy in Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti

Signs of the Zodiac, ceiling painting, 170–71 B.C., New Haven, Connecticut, Yale University, Art Gallery

Calendar Frieze, archivolte bas-relief, marble, circa second or first century B.C., Panhagia Gorgoepikoos, Athens, Greece, now embedded in the facade of the Hagios Eleutherios, Athens

Coronation Horoscope of Antiochus I of Commagene, bas-relief, 62 B.C., Nimrud Dag, Turkey, tomb complex, western terrace, cast in Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin

Planisphere, Egyptian sandstone ceiling relief, from the Hathor Temple, Dendera, circa 30 B.C., Paris, Louvre

Atlas Farnese Supporting the World Ring Carved with the Signs of the Zodiac, sculpture, Roman copy, first century B.C., Naples, Italy, Museo Nazionale

Uranus and Minerva with Globe, Roman wall painting, circa A.D. 79, Pompeii, Italy, Villa di Diomede, Room K

Helius with a Crossed Globe, Roman wall painting, circa A.D. 79, Pompeii, Italy, Villa dell'Argenteria, VI, 7, 20, Naples, Italy, Museo Nazionale (Inv. 8819)

Nut, Goddess of the Heavens and Zodiac, painting on wood, Sarcophagus of Petemenophis, Egyptian, from Luxor, A.D. 116, Paris, Louvre

"*Altar*" of *Gabii*, Roman, marble relief cylinder, from Gabii, A.D. 117–138, Paris, Louvre

Globe with Zodiac Ring, Roman, marble sculpture, circa second century A.D., Vatican, Sala dei Busti (No. 341)

Birth of a God in Oval Zodiac Ring, marble relief, second century A.D., Modena, Italy, Galleria Estense

Zodiac Circle with Jupiter Upheld by Atlas, relief, second century A.D., Rome, Villa Albani

Zodiacal Globe in the Hand of Genius, detail of the Apotheosis of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, Roman, marble bas-relief, circa A.D. 160, Vatican, Courtile della Pigna, base of Antonius column

Gnostic Relief with Zodiacal Signs Around the Goddess of the Sky, marble bas-relief, from Argos, second–third century A.D., London, British Museum

Zodiac Around Helius, Roman mosaic, mid–third century A.D., Bonn, Germany, Landesmuseum

Ring Zodiac, Roman mosaic, from Sentinum (Sassoferrato), third century A.D., Munich, Germany, Glyptothek

Wahid, Abd al-, *Zodiac*, Persian ceramic plate, 1563–1564, Berlin, Staatliche Museen

Medieval

Helius in Chariot Surrounded by the Zodiac, mosaic floor, fifth or sixth century, Hefzibah, Israel, excavated synagogue

Virgin and Child with Two Angels, One with a Crossed Globe, Byzantine ivory plaque, sixth century, Berlin, Staatliche Museum

Zodiac Ring with Helius, Months, and Hours, illuminated manuscript, 813–820, Vatican (Cod. Vat. Gr. 1291, Fol. 9 recto)

Planisphere, illuminated manuscript, 818, Munich, Germany, Staatsbibliothek (Cod. Monac. lat. 219, Fol. 113v)

Zodiac Signs with the Apostles, ivory relief on reliquary, tenth century, Munich, Germany, Bayerische Nationalmuseum

Zodiac Signs, stained-glass windows, thirteenth century, Chartres, France, Cathedral

Zodiac Signs and Seasonal Tasks, bas-reliefs, mid–thirteenth century, Amiens, France, Cathedral

Zodiac, portal sculpture, twelfth century, Paris, Notre Dame

Zodiac, portal sculpture, twelfth century, Vézelay, France, Le Madeleine

Zodiac, porch sculpture, Cremona, Italy, Cathedral

Zodiac, portal sculpture, twelfth century, Venice, Italy, St. Mark's, west portal

Zodiac, marble, 1207, Florence, Italy, San Miniato al Monte

Renaissance

Limbouurg Brothers, *Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry*, manuscript illumination, before 1415, Chantilly France, Musée Condé (Fol. 14 verso)

Circle with Zodiacal Man, manuscript illumination, fifteenth century, Vatican (Cod. Urb. lat. 1398, Fol. 10 verso)

Dürer, Albrecht, *Four Apostles*, oil painting, Munich, Germany, Alte Pinakothek

Giovanni di Paolo, *The Expulsion from Paradise*, tempera and gold on panel, circa 1445, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

Cossa, Francesco del, *Triumphs of the Gods*, fresco, 1469–1470, Ferrara, Italy, Palazzo Schifanoia, Great Hall

Horoscope of Agostino Chigi, ceiling painting, 1508–1511, Rome, Villa Farnesina

Dürer, Albrecht, *Imagines coeli septentrionales cum duodecim imaginibus zodiac*, woodcut, 1515

Zodiac, ceiling fresco, 1575, Caparola, Italy, Villa Farnese, Sala dei Mappamondo

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

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Diane Apostolos-Cappadona, Professorial Lecturer in Art, Religion and Gender Studies at Georgetown University, has published many books and articles on various aspects of religion and the arts, including the *Encyclopedia of Women in Religious Art* (1966), *Dictionary of Christian Art* (1994), and *The Spirit and the Vision: The Influence of Christian Romanticism on 19th Century American Art* (1995). She has also edited many works, including *Women, Creativity, and the Arts* (1995), *Art, Creativity, and the Sacred* (1984/1995), and the publications *Theologians on Art: Documents and Sources in the History of Christian Art* (1998) and *Then They Knew They Were Naked: The Nude in Western Art* (1998). **Essays:** Beheading/Decapitation; Toilet Scenes; Virgin/Virginity

Andrew Stephen Arbury is an Associate Professor of Art History at Radford University in Virginia. As a graduate student at Rutgers University, he was a founding editor of the *Rutgers Art Review*, a scholarly journal of art history. He has presented professional papers at numerous conferences and has published articles on Spanish catafalques and slide computerization. **Essays:** Abduction/Rape; Judgment; Laughter

Priscilla Baumann, Instructor in Medieval Art and Architecture in the Radcliffe Seminars, Radcliffe College, has published *The Profane Arts of the Middle Ages* (1996), articles on Romanesque sculpture in *Church History* (1990, 1991) and *La Revue Mabillon* (1994), and articles on the history of Auvergne in the *Dictionnaire encyclopédique du Moyen Age chrétien*. She is currently completing a book on Romanesque sculpted capitals of Auvergne. **Essays:** Avarice; Labyrinth/Maze; Margins/Outsiders

Rudolf M. Bisanz, Professor of Art History at Northern Illinois University, has written more than 100 professional publications, including *German Romanticism and Philipp Otto Runge, a Study in Nineteenth-Century Art Theory and Iconography* and *The René von Schleinitz Collection of the Milwaukee Art Museum*. **Essays:** Dawn/Dawning; Devotion/Piety

Christine M. Boeckl, Associate Professor at the University of Nebraska at Kearney, has published on the subject of the plague, including "A New Reading of Nicolas Poussin's *The Miracle of the Ark in the Temple of Dagon*" in *Artibus et Historiae* 24 (1991); "Vienna's Pestsäule: The Analysis of a Seicento Plague Monument" in *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 49 (1996); "Plague Imagery as Metaphor for Heresy in Rubens's *The Miracles of St. Francis Xavier*" in *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 27:4 (1996); and "The Pisan *Triumph of Death* and the Papal Constitution *Benedictus Deus*" in *Artibus et Historiae*. Her book *Plague Imagery in the Renaissance and Reformation: Iconography and Iconology* is in preparation for the series *16th Century Studies*. **Essays:** Path/Road/Crossroads; Penitence/Repentance; Plague/Pestilence; Protestantism; Self-Portraits I: Men; Sin/Sinning

Lee Braver, a student of Søren Kierkegaard's use of pseudonyms, is pursuing a Ph.D. in Philosophy at Emory University. **Essays:** Ascent/Descent; Fortune; Order/Chaos

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Petra ten-Doesschate Chu has taught at Princeton University and at Seton Hall University, where she is currently Chair of the Department of Art and Music. Her specialization is in nineteenth-century French and seventeenth-century Dutch art. Among her book-length publications are *French Realism and the Dutch Masters* (1974), *Courbet in Perspective* (1977), *Im Lichte Hollands* (exhibition catalog, 1987, with contributions by other authors), *The Letters of Gustave Courbet* (1987), and *The Popularization of Images: Visual Culture Under the July Monarchy* (1994, coedited with Gabriel Weisberg). **Essays:** Nightmare; Sleep/Sleeping

Julie F. Codell, the Director of the School of Art at Arizona State University, has published numerous articles and book reviews on nineteenth-century British art and has edited the *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies* (1991–1994). She is currently preparing a book-length study on artists' careers and the image of the artist in England in 1870–1914 as well as coediting (with Dianne Macleod) *Colonialism Transposed*, a collection on the influences of the colonies on Britain. **Essays:** Artists/Art

Erica Cruikshank-Dodd, Professor of Byzantine and Islamic Art at American University of Beirut and the University of Victoria, British Columbia (retired), has published *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (1962), *Byzantine Silver* (1973), and *The Image of the Word* (1982). She is currently publishing a volume on *The Frescoes of Mar Musa al-Habashi, near Nebek, Syria*, is working on a publication about the medieval frescoes in Lebanon, and is working on inscriptions of the Wazir Khan of Lahore, Pakistan. **Essays:** Light I: The Lamp in the Niche; Logos/Word; Offering

Don Denny, Professor in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Maryland, College Park, is the author of *The Annunciation from the Right* and various articles in such periodicals as *Art Bulletin* and *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. **Essays:** Annunciation; Apocalypse; Baptism

Eugene Dwyer, Professor of Art History at Kenyon College, is a classical archaeologist who has written on Roman sculpture and architecture and on the classical tradition. His works include *Pompeian Domestic Sculpture* (1982), articles in European and American journals, and collections of essays. **Essays:** Destruction of City; Envy; Evil Eye; Excess; Gaze; Luxury; Voyeurism

Alicia Craig Faxon, Professor of Art History and Chair of the Department of Art and Music, Simmons College, Emerita, is the author of *Dante Gabriel Rossetti* (1989) and *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Prints of Jean Louis Forain* (1982). She is also the coeditor of and a contributor to *Pre-Raphaelite Art in Its European Context* (1994) and *Pilgrims and Pioneers: New England Women in the Arts* (1987). She has also published articles in such periodicals as *Art Bulletin*, *Master Drawings*, *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies*, *Visual Resources*, and *History of Photography*. She is working with colleagues Liana Cheney and Kathleen Russo on a book, *Self-Portraits of Women Painters*. **Essays:** Bath/Bathing; Crucifixion; Damned Souls; Dance/Dancers/Dancing; Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale; Hair/Haircutting; Journey/Flight; Kiss/Kissing; Martyrdom; Metamorphosis; Reading; Sacrifice; Shipwreck; Temptation; Visiting/Visitation

Zirka Zaremba Filipczak is the Massachusetts Professor of Art History at Williams College. She is the author of *Picturing Art in Antwerp, 1550–1700* (1987) and of articles on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century topics for journals and exhibitions. She guest curated *Hot Dry Men, Cold Wet Women, the Theory of Humors and Depictions of Men and Women in Western European Art of the 1600s* for the Williams College Museum and for the American Federation of Arts. **Essay:** Humors

Nancy Frazier is a writer and editor whose published books include *Sexism in School and Society* (1973), *Special Museums of the Northeast* (1985), *Louis Sullivan and the Chicago School* (1991), and *Jewish Museums of North America* (1992). She is enrolled in the University of Massachusetts American Studies Ph.D. program. **Essays:** Crucifixion; Judaism

Beth S. Gersh-Nešić is an art historian who wrote *The Early Criticism of André Salmon: A Study of His Thoughts on Cubism* (1991). She is currently translating Salmon's 1912 work *La jeune peinture française* and his 1919 *La jeune sculpture française* from French into English. **Essays:** Birth/Childbirth; Drunkenness/Intoxication; Pregnancy

Sarah S. Gibson, retired Librarian of the Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute in Williamstown, Massachusetts, has published widely on iconography, scientific institutions, and library science. Her most recent publication, with Susan Roeper and Dustin Wees, is *Book Illustration from Six Centuries in the Library of the Sterling & Francine Clark Art Institute Library* (1990). **Essays:** Adultery; Bacchanalia/Orgy; Expulsion; Hunting/Hunter/Huntress; Journey/Flight; Serpent's Bite; Shepherds/Shepherdesses

Elise Goodman is Professor of Art History at the University of Cincinnati and General Editor of the series *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Art and Culture*. She is the author of *Rubens: The Garden of Love as Conversatie à la mode* (1992), and numerous articles. She has recently completed the book *The Portraits of Mme de Pompadour: Celebrating the Femme Savante*. **Essay:** Female Beauty and Adornment

Dimitri Hazzikostas, Professor of Art History at Pratt Institute, New York, is currently preparing a book on *Images of Sleep in Greek Art*. **Essays:** Arms Raised; Grieving/Lamentation

Kathryn Moore Heleniak, Associate Professor of Art History at Fordham University, is the author of *William Mulready* (1980) and articles in *Art Bulletin* and *Acts of the XXVII International Congress of the History of Art* (1992) and in other periodicals. She is preparing a book on the nude in nineteenth-century British art. **Essay:** Naked/Nude

Claudia Hill has been an editor for the Getty Art History Information Program's *Art and Architecture Thesaurus* in Williamstown, Massachusetts, and is currently an architecture cataloger for Avery and Butler Libraries at Columbia University. **Essay:** Sanctuary

Fredrika Jacobs is an Associate Professor of Art History, with an affiliation with the Department of Women's Studies, at the Virginia Commonwealth University. She has published articles on Italian Renaissance art, critical theory, and women artists in *Art Bulletin*, *Artibus et Historiae*, *Studies in Iconography*, *Word & Image*, *Renaissance Quarterly*, and other periodicals. She wrote the book *Defining the Renaissance Virtuosa* (1997). **Essay:** Self-Portraits II: Women

Paul Grimley Kuntz, a philosopher interested in iconography, has taught at Smith College, Grinnell College, and Emory University. Among his books are studies of George Santayana, Alfred North Whitehead, and Bertrand Russell. With Marion Leathens Kuntz he has written *Jacob's Ladder and the Tree of Life: Concepts of Hierarchy and the Great Chain of Being* (1987) and is preparing another volume on the concept of order. He has also published many articles on metaphysics, aesthetics, and the philosophy of religion. His next book is on the Ten Commandments, with attention to the iconography of Moses, Mount Sinai, and the Tablets of the Law. **Essays:** Ascent/Descent; Expulsion; Fortune; Order/Chaos; Zodiac

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Fritz Laupichler since 1981 has been a collaborator in the Bildarchiv Foto Marburg—Deutsches Dokumentationszentrum für Kunstgeschichte (German Documentation Center for Art History) in Marburg, Germany, and staff member of DISKUS, the database of art and architecture in Germany. He is the coauthor of *ICONCLASS Indexes—Italian Prints* (1987–) and the author of *ICONCLASS Indexes—German Prints* (1995–) and of essays on the history of Bildarchiv Foto Marburg. **Essays:** Madness; Misfortune; Pointing/Indicating

Claire Lindgren, Professor of Art History and Humanities at Hofstra University, is the author of *Classical Art Forms and Celtic Mutations* (1980) and has been associated with the publication of *The Age of Spirituality* (1979) and *The Society of Independent Artists: The Exhibition Record* (1984). She has also written reviews and delivered papers and is working on a book on the art of personal adornment. **Essays:** Apotheosis/Deification; Calumny; Patronage

Corinne Mandel, an Associate Professor of Art History at the University of Western Ontario, is the author of *Sixtus V and the Lateran Palace* (1994) and of numerous articles on Italian Renaissance art. She is completing a book on the Vatican Library facade program and carrying out research on the *scrittoio* of Francesco I in Florence. **Essay:** Melancholy

Janice McCullogh is an Associate Professor of Art History at Baylor University. She is the author of articles on German expressionism, August Macke, and contemporary topics in *Art Bulletin*, *Arts Magazine*, *Ceramics Monthly*, *German-American Cultural Review*, and other periodicals and books. **Essays:** Hanging; Upside Down

David D. Nolta has taught art history and literature at Yale University and at the Massachusetts College of Art, where he is currently Assistant Professor of Critical Studies. His published work includes articles on Christina Rossetti, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Italian painting, and eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British art. **Essay:** Sublime

Edward J. Nygren is Director of the Art Collections at the Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens in San Marino, California. He has written on British and American art of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. **Essay:** Money

Valerie (Hutchinson) Pennanen, an independent scholar, has published on the cult of Bacchus, including *Bacchus in Roman Britain: The Evidence for His Cult* (1986). She has also published the *Instructor's Manual* to accompany the third edition of Frederick Hartt's *Art: A History of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture* (1989). In addition to her work in Greek and Roman Art, she is also interested in sacred and spiritual themes in world art. **Essays:** Communion; Ecstasy

Karen Pinkus, Assistant Professor of French and Italian and of Comparative Literature at the University of Southern California, Los Angeles, is the author of *Daily Regimes: Italian Advertising Under Fascism* (1995) and *Picturing Silence: Emblem, Language, Counter-Reformation Materiality* (1996). She has also written on various topics in cultural studies, psychoanalysis, race, and gender studies. **Essays:** Automata; Sport; Widowhood

Yona Pinson has taught Northern European Painting at Tel Aviv University since 1975. An expert on late medieval and Northern Renaissance painting and on iconography, she has published in *Artibus et Historiae*, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, *Source*, *Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts*, *Assaf*, and other periodicals. Her current research includes iconographic issues in Hieronymus Bosch's and Pieter Bruegel the Elder's works, iconographic aspects of marginalia of late medieval illuminated manuscripts, and human folly in Northern Renaissance art. **Essays:** Music; Witchcraft/Sorcery

Elizabeth Powers, a Ph.D. in German literature from the City University of New York, is the author of two novels and the coeditor of *Pilgrim Souls: An Anthology of Spiritual Autobiography*. She contributes regularly on literary subjects to *Commentary* and other publications. **Essay:** Choice/Choosing

Helene E. Roberts is the Editor of *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation* and of the book series *Documenting the Image*. She has compiled two iconographic indexes of Old and New Testament subjects in works of art and has published articles on visual imagery and on nineteenth-century British art and art criticism. **Essays:** Abandonment; Light II: Divine, Natural, and Neon

Elaine Shefer, Chair of the Art History Department at Haifa University, is an expert in Pre-Raphaelite Art. She has published the book *Birds, Cages and Women in Victorian and Pre-Raphaelite Art* (1990) and many articles in *Journal of Pre-Raphaelite Studies*, *Art Bulletin*, *Women's Art Journal*, *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, and others. She is working on the Pre-Raphaelites and the fairy tale, Édouard Manet, Jan Vermeer, and American artists at Kibbutz ein Herod in Israel. **Essays:** Death; Dreams/Visions; Masks/Personae; Mirror/Reflection

M. Ann Simmons is a practicing psychotherapist in New York City, specializing in women's issues and eating disorders. She has contributed to various seminars and projects and was the Editor of *New York Pulse*, an electronic publishing project of the *New York Times*. Her dissertation for a Ph.D. in comparative literature at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York is entitled "Fictions of Femininity: Hysteria in the Fin-de-Siècle." Her current project is investigating the narratives of multiple personality and their relationship to postmodernism. **Essay:** Hermaphrodite/Androgyny

Gina Strumwasser, Professor of Art History at California State University at Fresno, is a specialist in Renaissance and Baroque art. She has presented papers and published articles on Jan van Eyck, Leonardo da Vinci, and heroic women from the Old Testament, as well as on problems of gender in art, humor, popular culture, and advertising. **Essays:** Betrayal; Justice

Margaret A. Sullivan, an independent scholar of the Northern Renaissance, has published *Bruegel's Peasants: Art and Audience in the Northern Renaissance* (1994). She also has published articles in *Art Bulletin*, *Artibus et Historiae*, and other periodicals. She is preparing a manuscript on satire for publication. **Essays:** Caricature/Cartoon; Fools/Folly; Peasantry; Physiognomy

Barry Wind, Professor of Art History at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, is the author of books on Diego Velázquez's *bodegones*, on seventeenth-century genre painting, and on the depiction of deformity in seventeenth-century art. His long and abiding interest in things risible, ranging from works by Caravaggio to William Hogarth, is manifest in articles in such periodicals as *Art Bulletin*, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, *Storia dell'Arte*, *Paragone*, and *Arte Lombarda*. **Essay:** Comic

BruCIA Witthoft, Professor of Art History, Emerita, Framingham State College, is author of *Fine Arts Etchings of James David Smillie* (1992) and the exhibition catalog *American Artists in Düsseldorf 1840-1865*, Danforth Museum of Art (1982). She has also published on the *Tacuinum Sanitatis* and other medieval and Renaissance topics in *Gesta* and *Artibus et Historiae*. Her most recent publication is "Riti Nuziali e loro Iconografia," a chapter in *Storia dei Matrimonio*, edited by M. De Giorgio and C. Klapisch-Zuber (the third volume in the series *Storia delle Donne in Italia*). **Essays:** Harvesting; Marriage/Betrothal

INDEX OF ANCIENT MYTHOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL PERSONAGES, PLACES, AND CONCEPTS

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- AJAX, Greek hero of the Trojan War, known for his great strength, Arms Raised, Destruction of City, Madness, Metamorphosis
- AKELOOS *see* ACHELOUS
- AKHENATON (ruled 1379–1362 B.C.), Egyptian pharaoh, Eighteenth Dynasty, established a monotheistic religion worshipping the sun god, Aton, Light I, Light II
- AKKO, terrifying female character in ancient drama, Masks/Personae
- ALARIC (A.D. 370–410), Visigothic king who sacked Rome in A.D. 410, Destruction of City
- ALCESTIS, wife of Admetus, was willing to die for him, but was rescued from Thanatos, Journey/Flight, Love and Death, Sacrifice
- ALCINOUS, king of Phaeacian and savior of shipwrecked sailors, Luxury
- ALEXANDER THE GREAT (356–323 B.C.), through his military victories spread his rule from Greece to India, and is responsible for introducing Hellenism over this area, Apotheosis/Deification, Artists/Art, Dawn/Dawning, Excess, Fame, Gaze, Judgment, Light I, Luxury, Peace
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- ALPHITO, terrifying female character in ancient drama, Masks/Personae
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- AMARYLLIS, a Virgilian shepherdess, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
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- AMMON, Egyptian deity, originally god of Thebes, he is represented as a ram or a ram-headed man, Apotheosis/Deification
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- AMPHISSA, ancient Greek city on the site of the modern city Salona, Bacchanalia/Orgy
- AMULIUS, brother of Numitor, drove him from power and killed his heirs, Love and Death
- AMUN, Egyptian creation deity, Devotion/Piety, Light II
- AMYMONE, daughter of Danaë, seduced by Poseidon, Abduction/Rape, Sleep/Sleeping
- ANCHISES, father of Aeneas who carried him on his back escaping from the Trojan War, Comic, Damned Souls, Journey/Flight
- ANDROMACHE, Hector's wife, awarded to Neoptolemus after the Trojan War, Death, Destruction of City, Grieving/Lamentation, Journey/Flight
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- ANNA PERENNA, an old crone in a bridal dress who fooled Mars, Laughter
- ANTENEOR, advised the return of Helen to Menelaus, became known as a traitor to Troy, Betrayal
- ANTICLEIA, Odysseus's mother, Journey/Flight
- ANTIGONE, daughter of Oedipus, defied Creon, Destruction of City
- ANTINOUS, companion to Emperor Hadrian, Apotheosis/Deification
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- ANTIOPE, Amazon Queen, abducted by Theseus, Abduction/Rape
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- ANTISSA, area of Lesbos, Beheading/Decapitation
- ANTIUM, ancient Roman city on the present day site of Anzio, Virtue/Virtues
- ANTONINUS PIUS (A.D. 86–161), Roman emperor whose reign enjoyed peace and prosperity, Apotheosis/Deification
- ANUBIS, Egyptian jackal-headed god who conducted the dead to judgment, Funeral/Burial, Judgment
- APELLES (flourished 4th century B.C.), the most celebrated painter in Greece, but now only known through reputation, as none of his works are extant, *see* Index of Artists and Works of Art
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- APOLLO, one of the major Olympian deities; he personifies beauty, clarity, and music; he is often associated with reason in opposition to Dionysian ecstasy, Abduction/Rape, Apotheosis/Deification, Arms Raised, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Beheading/Decapitation, Birth/Childbirth, Dawn/Dawning, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Excess, Gaze, Hair/Haircutting, Hanging, Honor/Honoring, Humors, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Imagination/Creativity, Judgment, Light I, Love and Death, Metamorphosis, Music, Order/Chaos, Plague/Pestilence, Pointing/Indicating, Seasons, Serpent's Bite, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Zodiac
- APPIAN WAY, main road from Rome to Greece and the east, Virtue/Virtues
- APPIUS CLAUDIUS (471–451 B.C.), severe and corrupt Roman decemvir, Judgment
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- ARACHNE, earned Athena's rage by besting her in a weaving contest, and hanged herself when the goddess punished her, Hanging, Metamorphosis
- ARCADIA, mountainous interior region of the Peloponnesus, Pregnancy, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- ARCAS, son of Zeus and Callisto and king of Arcadia, Pregnancy
- ARCHELAUS of Priene (2nd century B.C.), Greek sculptor, *see* Index of Artists and Works of Art
- ARES (MARS), the god of war, Adultery, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Comic, Excess, Humors, Justice, Laughter, Logos/Word, Love and Death, Months, Peace, Sleep/Sleeping, Virtue/Virtues
- ARGOLIS, area of land in the Peloponnesus, more commonly called Argos, Madness
- ARGONAUTS, 50 Greek heroes who sailed with Jason in search of the Golden Fleece, Abduction/Rape, Journey/Flight
- ARGOS *see* ARGOLIS
- ARGUS (ARGUS PANOPTES), man with many eyes, often used as a watchman, Sleep/Sleeping
- ARIADNE, daughter of King Minos of Crete, helped Theseus to kill the Minotaur; he then abandoned her on the island of Naxos; Dionysus rescued her and married her, Abandonment, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Journey/Flight, Labyrinth/Maze, Love and Death, Sleep/Sleeping, Voyeurism
- ARISTANEUS (ARISTIAEUS), a beekeeper and son of Apollo, Serpent's Bite
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- ARTEMIS (DIANA), chaste goddess of hunting and of childbirth, Adultery, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Birth/Childbirth, Expulsion, Hair/Haircutting, Honor/Honoring, Humors, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Imagination/Creativity, Love and Death, Marriage/Betrothal, Metamorphosis, Naked/Nude, Offering, Pregnancy, Sacrifice, Sleep/Sleeping, Toilet Scenes, Virgin/Virginity, Voyeurism, Witchcraft/Sorcery, Virtue/Virtues, Zodiac
- ASCANIUS (IULUS), son of Aeneas and Creusa; also the name of a river, Abduction/Rape, Journey/Flight, Love and Death
- ASCLEPIUS, god of healing, Arms Raised, Birth/Childbirth, Plague/Pestilence, Serpent's Bite
- ASHURBANIPAL III (died 860? B.C.), king of ancient Assyria, 884–860? B.C., Dreams/Visions, Sport
- ASTARTE, Phoenician goddess of fertility, beauty, and love, Hair/Haircutting
- ASTRAEUS, the father of the Winds, Virtue/Virtues
- ASTREA *see* DIKE
- ASTYANAX, son of Hector and Andromache; the child was flung from the walls of Troy, Destruction of City, Journey/Flight
- ATALANTA, a famous maiden hunter and warrior, involved in many adventures, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Sport
- ATELLAN FARCE, Roman farce developed from plays of rustic life, Comic, Masks/Personae
- ATHAMAS, king of Orchomenus, driven mad by Hera, killed his own son, Learchus, Madness
- ATHENA (MINERVA), virgin warrior goddess of reason and wisdom, and patron of Athens, Abandonment, Abduction/Rape, Beheading/Decapitation, Birth/Childbirth, Choice/Choosing, Destruction of City, Devotion/Piety, Dreams/Visions, Envy, Excess, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Gaze, Hair/Haircutting, Hanging, Judgment, Laughter, Madness, Music, Path/Road/Crossroads, Peace, Reading, Self-Portraits I, Serpent's Bite, Temptation, Toilet Scenes, Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues, Zodiac
- ATHENIANS, citizens of Athens, Judgment
- ATHENS, major Greek city-state of the ancient world, Patronage, Virtue/Virtues
- ATLAS, one of the Titans, so strong he supported the heavens, Zodiac
- ATON/ATUN/ATUM, Egyptian sun god, Devotion/Piety
- ATROPOS, one of the Moirai, represents the fate that cannot be avoided (i.e., death), Choice/Choosing
- ATTALUS I (died 107 B.C.), king of Pergamon, Patronage
- ATTIS, Phrygian youth associated with Cybele; he went mad when she killed his beloved, Bath/Bathing, Devotion/Piety, Madness, Zodiac
- ATUM, one of the names for the Egyptian sun god, Light II
- AUGUSTUS (63 B.C.–A.D. 14), first Roman emperor who patronized the arts and letters and established the Pax Romana, Abundance, Apotheosis/Deification, Luxury, Virtue/Virtues
- AURA, personification of the breeze, Love and Death
- AURELIAN WAY, ancient road along the west coast of Italy, Virtue/Virtues
- AURORA *see* EOS
- AVERUS, a lake near Naples, regarded by the Romans as an entrance to the underworld, Damned Souls, Vices/Deadly Sins
- BABYLON, ancient city of Mesopotamia, Abduction/Rape, Destruction of City, Grieving/Lamentation, Luxury, Widowhood
- BACCHANALIA/ORGY, or ceremonies in the worship of the cult of Dionysus, characterized by drunkenness, wild frenzy, ecstasy, and the dismemberment of animals, Abandonment, Automata
- BACCHANTS *see* MAENADS
- BACCHUS *see* DIONYSUS
- BAUBO, caused people to laugh by lifting her clothes to expose her buttocks, Laughter
- BES, Egyptian god of recreation, depicted as a dwarf with a large head, Dreams/Visions, Fools/Folly, Laughter, Pointing/Indicating
- BOREAS, the god of the north wind, Abduction/Rape
- BRISEIS, the favorite slave of Achilles, Abduction/Rape, Grieving/Lamentation

- BRUTUS, LUCIUS JUNIUS (circa 509 B.C.), Roman consul who sentenced his two traitorous sons to death, Judgment
- BRUTUS, MARCUS JUNIUS (85–42 B.C.), principle assassin of Julius Caesar, Death, Martyrdom
- CADMUS, founder of Thebes, Birth/Childbirth, Comic
- CAECINA, German general, excited envy and disapproval through his dress, Envy
- CAESAR, JULIUS (102?–44 B.C.), the great Roman statesman and general, Widowhood
- CALCHAS, a high priest in some versions of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, Sacrifice
- CALCHUS, a seer with the Greeks who made important predictions about the Trojan War, Honor/Honoring
- CALIGULA (A.D. 12–41), a cruel and ruthless Roman emperor, Envy
- CALLIOPE, the Muse of Epic Poetry, Imagination/Creativity, Love and Death
- CALLISTO, a nymph seduced by Zeus in the form of Artemis, Adultery, Expulsion, Pregnancy, Sleep/Sleeping
- CALYDONIAN BOAR, a savage beast sent by Artemis to ravage Calydon; killed in the famous Calydonian Boar Hunt, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Sport
- CALYPSO, detained Odysseus for seven years, Abandonment, Journey/Flight, Shipwreck, Temptation
- CAMBYSES (6th century B.C.), king of the Medes and Persians, Judgment
- CAMILLUS, MARCUS FURIUS (365–403 B.C.), a Roman general and censor, Betrayal, Judgment, Virtue/Virtues
- CAMPUS MARTIUS, Rome, site of funeral pyres and consecration ceremonies, Apotheosis/Deification
- CANDAULES, Lydian king, so proud of his wife's beauty, he reveals her to his bodyguard Gyges, Envy, Gaze, Voyeurism
- CANTHUS (CANATHOS), a spring in Nauplion, Virgin/Virginity
- CARTHAGE, ancient city on the northern coast of Africa, Destruction of City, Luxury, Temptation
- CARYATIDS, sculptured female figures supporting an entablature, Envy, Luxury
- CASSANDRA, daughter of Priam and Hecuba, was endowed with the gift of making prophecies, which, although always true, were never believed, Adultery, Destruction of City
- CASSIOPIA, queen of Ethiopia, mother of Andromeda, Sacrifice
- CASTOR *see* DIOSCURI
- CATO, the Elder (234–149 B.C.), Roman statesman and moralist, Luxury
- CEBES, student of Socrates, Ascent/Descent
- CECROPS, a king of Attica, father of Aglauros and Herse, Birth/Childbirth, Envy
- CENTAUR, creatures that are half horse, half human, Abduction/Rape, Arms Raised, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Excess, Music, Virtue/Virtues, Zodiac
- CEPHALUS, loved by Eos, he mistakenly killed his wife Procris, Abduction/Rape, Dawn/Dawning, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Love and Death, Sleep/Sleeping
- CERASUS, modern name, Kerasund, on the north coast of Turkey, Luxury
- CERBERUS, the three-headed dog of the underworld, Abduction/Rape, Journey/Flight
- CERCOPE, Lydian ruffians and thieves captured by Hercules, Upside Down
- CERES *see* DEMETER
- CHALCHAS, a winged old man, Mirror/Reflection
- CHARON, old man who ferried dead souls across the river Styx to the underworld, Damned Souls, Light I, Order/Chaos, Sin/Sinning
- CHARUN, Etruscan demon of the underworld, Damned Souls
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- CHIMERA, a Lydian monster, part lion, goat, and serpent, Fame
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- CHRYSES, a priest of Apollo Smintheus, Arms Raised
- CICONIAN WOMEN, Maenads who killed Orpheus, Abandonment
- CIMON, old man in prison, saved by his daughter's own milk, Virtue/Virtues
- CINCINNATUS (5th century B.C.), legendary Roman patriot, Virtue/Virtues
- CINYRUS, the father of Adonis through an incestuous union with his daughter Myrrha, Birth/Childbirth
- CIRCE, a sorceress who turned men into beasts, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Journey/Flight, Metamorphosis, Temptation, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- CIRCUS MAXIMUS, Roman arena for chariot races and contests, Martyrdom
- CLAUDIUS, APPIUS *see* APPIUS CLAUDIUS
- CLEOPATRA, queen of Egypt, Birth/Childbirth, Excess, Love and Death, Luxury, Serpent's Bite
- CLYTEMNESTRA, wife and betrayer of Agamemnon, Adultery, Bath/Bathing, Birth/Childbirth, Hair/Haircutting, Sacrifice
- CLYTIE, loved Apollo, and was transformed into a sunflower, Abandonment, Metamorphosis
- COLCHIS, land on the Black Sea, Journey/Flight
- COLOSSEUM, ancient Roman amphitheater, Destruction of City, Martyrdom
- COLOSSUS of Thebes, mythical speaking statue, Automata
- COMMODUS (A.D. 161–192), Roman emperor, licentious and brutal, who sought to be worshiped under the name of Hercules Romanus, Apotheosis/Deification
- COMUS, Roman god of mirth and revelry, Laughter
- CORINTH, ancient rival city of Athens, Destruction of City, Virtue/Virtues
- CORYBANTES, male dancers and attendants of Cybele, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Ecstasy
- CORYDON, a Virgilian shepherd, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- CRATO, Greek philosopher, baptized by Christ, Annunciation

- CREON, king of Corinth, father of Creüsa,
Witchcraft/Sorcery
- CREÜSA, wife of Aeneas, presumably died in the Trojan War, Journey/Flight
- CREÜSA (GLAUCE), bride of Jason, killed by the jealous Medea, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- CROCUS, beloved of Smilax, Metamorphosis
- CROESUS, king of Lydia, Abundance, Money, Pointing/Indicating
- CRONUS (CHRONOS, KRONUS, SATURN), a Titan, father of Zeus, god of the harvest, and site of his temple at Olympia, Abundance, Ascent/Descent, Birth/Childbirth, Dawn/Dawning, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Death, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Fame, Melancholy, Sanctuary, Serpent's Bite, Voyeurism, Witchcraft/Sorcery, Zodiac
- CRUMISSA, the island where Poseidon took Theophane to hide her, Abduction/Rape
- CUPID (EROS, AMOR), the Greek god of love associated with Aphrodite; he often engaged in amorous adventures, as with Psyche, sometimes being punished for his behavior, Abandonment, Abduction/Rape, Betrayal, Love and Death, Female Beauty and Adornment, Fame, Fortune, Honor/Honoring, Journey/Flight, Luxury, Music, Penitence/Repentance, Sleep/Sleeping, Virtue/Virtues, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- CURETES, Cretan mountain nymphs and diviners, Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- CYBELE (OPS), goddess of wild nature, mountains, and fertility; also called Great Mother or Magna Mater, Bath/Bathing, Dawn/Dawning, Devotion/Piety, Ecstasy, Judaism, Madness, Toilet Scenes, Virtue/Virtues, Zodiac
- CYCLOPES, monsters with one eye in the middle of their foreheads, Excess, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- CYRUS, the Great (died 529 B.C.), king of Persia, conqueror of Lycia and founder of the Persian Empire, Abandonment, Abundance, Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Excess
- CYTHERA, Greek island, center of the cult of Aphrodite, Journey/Flight
- DACIANS, ancient peoples of southeastern Europe, Devotion/Piety
- DAEDALUS, master craftsman who devised lifelike statues, the Labyrinth, and wings for flying, Automata, Labyrinth/Maze, Path/Road/Crossroads
- DAEMONES (GENII), a large number of supernatural beings acting as guardian spirits, not usually individually named or personified, Fortune, Virtue/Virtues
- DANAË, although sequestered in a tower by her father, she was seduced by Zeus in the form of a shower of gold, Adultery, Beheading/Decapitation, Money, Pointing/Indicating
- DAPHNE, a nymph who, to escape Apollo, was turned into a laurel tree, Honor/Honoring, Humors, Metamorphosis, Virtue/Virtues
- DAPHNIS, a blind shepherd, composer of sad songs, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- DARIUS (549–485? B.C.), king of ancient Persia, Dawn/Dawning
- DECIUS (A.D. 201–251), Roman emperor, Martyrdom
- DEIANEIRA, the wife of Hercules, Abduction/Rape
- DELPHIC ORACLE, the much revered seat of the Pythia and her prophecies, Pregnancy
- DEMETER/CERES, goddess of corn and agriculture, was particularly associated with the search for her daughter, Persephone, abducted by Hades to the underworld, Abduction/Rape, Abundance, Birth/Childbirth, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Laughter, Seasons, Serpent's Bite, Whiteness, Zodiac
- DEMOCRITUS (460–370 B.C.), Greek philosopher, Melancholy
- DIANA *see* ARTEMIS
- DIDO, queen of Carthage, was beloved by the shipwrecked Aeneas, who abandoned her when called to fulfill his destiny to found Rome, Abandonment, Arms Raised, Betrayal, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Journey/Flight, Kiss/Kissing, Love and Death, Marriage/Betrothal, Temptation, Widowhood
- DIKE (ASTREA, DICE, IUSTITIA), personification or goddess of justice, one of the Horae, Dawn/Dawning, Justice, Virtue/Virtues
- DIOCLETIAN (A.D. 245–313), Roman emperor, Madness, Martyrdom
- DIOGENES (circa 412–323 B.C.), Greek Cynic philosopher, Light I
- DIONE, a Titan or Oceanid, the mother of Aphrodite, Birth/Childbirth
- DIONYSUS (BACCHUS), the god of wine and mystic ecstasy, usually represents the irrational in contrast to Apollo; he rescued Ariadne from the island of Naxos, Abandonment, Abduction/Rape, Apotheosis/Deification, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Birth/Childbirth, Comic, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Ecstasy, Evil Eye, Excess, Honor/Honoring, Imagination/Creativity, Light I, Love and Death, Madness, Masks/Personae, Music, Naked/Nude, Offering, Peasantry, Seasons, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Sleep/Sleeping, Voyeurism, Virtue/Virtues
- DIOSCURI (CASTOR and POLLUX), twin sons of Leda and brothers of Helen of Troy, Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Birth/Childbirth, Journey/Flight, Zodiac
- DISPAS, vampire mentioned by Ovid, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- DORIAN MODE, musical style that is firm, grave, and severe, Imagination/Creativity
- DRAGON OF COLCHIS, guardian of the Golden Fleece, Music
- DRYADS, tree nymphs, Naked/Nude
- DUMUZI, Sumerian god, abducted by demons to spend half the year in the underworld, Abduction/Rape, Journey/Flight
- ECHO, a nymph, punished by Hera, was able to repeat only the words of others, Laughter
- EILEITHYIAE, Greek goddess of childbirth, Arms Raised, Birth/Childbirth
- EIRENE, personification of peace, one of the Horae, Dawn/Dawning, Virtue/Virtues
- ELECTRA, the daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, sister of Orestes, Hair/Haircutting

- ELYSIAN FIELDS, land of humans immortalized by the gods, Virtue/Virtues
 EMPEDOCLES (495–435 B.C.), Greek philosopher, Melancholy
 ENDYMION, beloved by Artemis (or Selene), he chose everlasting sleep, Funeral/Burial, Love and Death, Night, Sleep/Sleeping
 ENKI, Sumerian water god, Damned Souls, Journey/Flight
 ENKIDU, Gilgamesh's companion, Journey/Flight
 EOS (AURORA), goddess of the dawn, Abduction/Rape, Dawn/Dawning, Love and Death, Sleep/Sleeping, Virtue/Virtues
 EOSPHORUS (LUCIFER), the morning star, Love and Death
 EPHIALTES (GIANT) *see* OTUS and EPHIALTES
 EPHIALTES (INCUBUS), a demon causing nightmares, Nightmare
 EPICURIANS, Roman cult devoted to the pursuit of pleasure, Excess
 EPICURUS (341–270 B.C.), Greek philosopher, Virtue/Virtues
 EREBUS, darkness of the underworld, Vices/Deadly Sins
 ERECHTHEUS, a king of Athens, Abduction/Rape
 ERECTHEUM, porch of the Acropolis, consisting of caryatids, Envy
 ERESHKIGAL, Sumerian queen of the underworld, Damned Souls
 ERICHTHONIUS, born of Hephaestus's semen, fallen to the ground when he tried to rape Athena, Birth/Childbirth, Envy, Virgin/Virginity
 ERINYES (FURIES), avenging spirits, especially of blood acts against kin, Abduction/Rape, Hair/Haircutting, Madness
 ERIS, the goddess of discord, Adultery, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Choice/Choosing
 EROS *see* CUPID
 ETNA, volcano whose eruption destroyed Pompeii and Herculaneum, Abduction/Rape
 EUMENES II (died 160 or 159 B.C.), king of Pergamon, Patronage
 EUNOMIA, personification of order, one of the Horae, Dawn/Dawning, Virtue/Virtues
 EUPHROSYNE *see* GRACES
 EUROPA, seduced by Zeus in the form of a white bull, Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Imagination/Creativity
 EURYDICE (EURIDICE), killed by a snakebite, and brought back from Hades by her husband Orpheus, who breaks the prohibition to look at her, Abandonment, Gaze, Journey/Flight, Love and Death, Music, Serpent's Bite
 EURYSTHEUS, king of Tiryns and Mycenae, exacted the labors of Hercules, Abduction/Rape
 EURYTUS, the Centaur who tried to abduct Hippodamia, and began the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs, Drunkenness/Intoxication
 FALERII, Etruscan town, Judgment
 FATES *see* MOIRAI
 FAUN *see* SATYR
 FAUSTINA (circa A.D. 104–141), Roman empress, wife of Antonius Pius, Apotheosis/Deification
 FAUSTULUS, the shepherd who found Romulus and Remus, Love and Death
 FELICITAS, Roman goddess of good fortune, Virtue/Virtues
 FLORA, Roman goddess of flowering plants and fertility, Dawn/Dawning, Metamorphosis, Seasons, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
 FORTUNA *see* TYCHE/FORTUNA/FATE
 FURIES *see* ERINYES
 GAIA (GE), personification of the Earth, Abundance, Birth/Childbirth, Offering, Seasons
 GALATEA, modern name for the statue created by Pygmalion, Metamorphosis
 GAMYMEDE, a beautiful youth abducted by Zeus, Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Comic
 GAULS, ancient Celtic peoples of France and northern Italy, Destruction of City, Gaze, Patronage
 GE *see* GAIA
 GENII *see* DAEMONES
 GERMANICUS CAESAR (15 B.C.–A.D. 19), Roman general, presumably poisoned by rivals, Death, Grieving/Lamentation
 GIANTS, 24 monstrous offspring of Gaia and Uranus who waged war on Olympus and were eventually defeated with the help of Hercules, Dawn/Dawning, Fame
 GIGANTOMACHY, war of the giants with the gods of Olympus, Patronage
 GILGAMESH, hero of a Babylonian epic legend, Journey/Flight, Light I
 GIZA (GIZEH), site of Great Pyramids and the Sphinx, opposite the Nile from Cairo, Sanctuary
 GOLDEN FLEECE, the fleece of the magical ram, the goal of the Argonauts, Abduction/Rape, Betrayal, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Journey/Flight, Music, Witchcraft/Sorcery
 GORGONS (STHENO, EURYALE, and MEDUSA), women with brazen hands, gold wings, and serpents as hair, who could turn men to stone by their gaze, Evil Eye, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Gaze, Hair/Haircutting, Metamorphosis
 GRACES (AGLAIA, EUPHROSYNE, THALIA) handmaids of Venus, personifications of beauty, charm, and grace, Choice/Choosing, Seasons, Virtue/Virtues
 GREAT GODDESS OF THE WILD, Witchcraft/Sorcery
 GREAT MOTHER GODDESS, Abundance, Bath/Bathing, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Pregnancy, Toilet Scenes, Virgin/Virginity
 GRILLOS, antique satirical character, Comic
 GULA, Near Eastern goddess, Arms Raised
 GYGES, the bodyguard of King Candaules, who shows off his naked wife to Gyges, Envy, Luxury, Voyeurism
 HADES (PLUTO), the god of the underworld and the place that is the home of the dead, Abduction/Rape, Ascent/Descent, Damned Souls, Excess, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Gaze, Journey/Flight, Judgment, Love and Death, Madness, Music, Order/Chaos, Serpent's Bite, Sleep/Sleeping
 HADRIAN (A.D. 76–138), Roman emperor, Apotheosis/Deification, Luxury, Sanctuary, Virtue/Virtues

- HALICARNASSUS, ancient city of Caria in Asia Minor, Widowhood
- HAMMURABI (flourished 2100 B.C.), king of Babylonia, Arms Raised, Devotion/Piety, Gaze, Justice
- HARPIES, female monsters in the form of birds, Abduction/Rape, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale
- HATHOR, Egyptian goddess, Birth/Childbirth, Dawn/Dawning, Toilet Scenes
- HECATE TRIVIA (HECATE TRIODITS, HECATE ENODIA), goddess protecting roads and fertility, Path/Road/Crossroads, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- HECTOR (HEKTOR), Trojan hero, son of Priam, husband of Andromache, killed in the Trojan War, Arms Raised, Death, Destruction of City, Grieving/Lamentation, Journey/Flight
- HECUBA, wife of Priam and queen of Troy, Adultery, Betrayal, Grieving/Lamentation, Nightmare, Sanctuary, Sleep/Sleeping
- HELEN, the wife of Menelaus, renowned for her beauty; her abduction by Paris caused the Trojan War, Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Imagination/Creativity, Judgment, Kiss/Kissing
- HELIUS (HELIO, HELIOS), the sun god before Apollo, Birth/Childbirth, Dawn/Dawning, Zodiac
- HEMERA, goddess of the day, Dawn/Dawning
- HEPHAESTUS (VULCAN), the lame god of fire and metalworking, Adultery, Artists/Art, Automata, Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Comic, Excess, Justice, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Laughter, Logos/Word, Misfortune, Pointing/Indicating, Virgin/Virginity, Zodiac
- HERA (JUNO), goddess and the jealous wife of Zeus, Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Bath/Bathing, Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Choice/Choosing, Comic, Excess, Expulsion, Honor/Honoring, Imagination/Creativity, Judgment, Love and Death, Luxury, Madness, Peace, Pregnancy, Sanctuary, Toilet Scenes, Virgin/Virginity, Whiteness, Zodiac
- HERACLES *see* HERCULES
- HERAEA, races in honor of Hera, Peace
- HERCULANEUM, ancient city buried by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, Adultery, Destruction of City, Evil Eye, Journey/Flight
- HERCULES (HERAKLES, HERACLES), one of the major Greek heroes with a diverse and complicated list of adventures, Abduction/Rape, Apotheosis/Deification, Beheading/Decapitation, Birth/Childbirth, Choice/Choosing, Comic, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Excess, Fortune, Journey/Flight, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Madness, Melancholy, Misfortune, Naked/Nude, Path/Road/Crossroads, Peace, Protestantism, Sacrifice, Upside Down, Virtue/Virtues
- HERMAPHRODITE/ANDROGYNE, beautiful son of Hermes and Aphrodite, loved by the nymph Salmacis, who prayed their bodies might be united, thus producing one body with both male and female characteristics, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Sleep/Sleeping
- HERMES (MERCURY), a half-brother of Apollo, he plays many varied roles in Greek mythology; he is best known as the messenger of the gods; he is recognized by his winged hat and sandals and the caduceus he carries, Abandonment, Arms Raised, Birth/Childbirth, Choice/Choosing, Envy, Fame, Gaze, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Imagination/Creativity, Love and Death, Masks/Personae, Reading, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Sleep/Sleeping, Virtue/Virtues, Zodiac
- HERO, a priestess of Aphrodite, beloved of Leander, Journey/Flight
- HERSE, beloved by Mercury, but hindered by her envious sister Aglauros, Envy
- HESPERIDES, nymphs who guarded the famous garden of golden apples, Choice/Choosing
- HESTIA (VESTA), goddess of the hearth, Birth/Childbirth, Virgin/Virginity, Zodiac
- HESYCHIA, personification of tranquility, Virtue/Virtues
- HILAERA, one of the daughters of Leucippus, abducted by the Dioscuri, Abduction/Rape
- HIPPODAMIA, abducted at her wedding to the King of the Lapiths, thus beginning the battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Marriage/Betrothal
- HIPPOLYTUS, cursed by his father Theseus when he was falsely accused of rape, and dragged to death by his horses, Hair/Haircutting
- HOMER, semi-legendary blind Greek poet, the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, *see* Index of Authors, Literary Texts, Composers, Filmmakers, and Folktales
- HORAE (DIKE, EIRENE EUNOMIA), or Seasons, Birth/Childbirth, Choice/Choosing, Dawn/Dawning, Seasons, Virtue/Virtues
- HORATIUS COCLES, Roman legendary hero, Virtue/Virtues
- HORMAKHU, Egyptian god, Dreams/Visions
- HORUS, Egyptian god, son of Isis and Osiris, personified by a hawk or falcon, Baptism, Devotion/Piety, Gaze, Judgment, Seasons, Whiteness, Zodiac
- HYACINTH, beautiful youth, first to be loved by another man, was accidentally killed by Apollo, Metamorphosis
- HYDRA OF LERNA, a monster with many heads, killed by Hercules, Beheading/Decapitation, Misfortune
- HYLAS, a beautiful youth, loved by Hercules and the water nymph Pagea, Abduction/Rape
- HYPNOS (SOMNUS), god of sleep, Love and Death, Pointing/Indicating, Sleep/Sleeping
- HYPOLIDIAN MODE, musical style that fills the soul with joy, Imagination/Creativity
- IAMBE, induced the goddess Demeter to smile during her grief over Persephone, Laughter
- ICELOS *see* PROBETOR
- IKHNATON *see* AKHENATON
- ILISSUS, a river near Athens, Abduction/Rape
- IMHOTEP, Egyptian god of healing; known to the Greeks as Imouthes, Dreams/Visions
- IMOUTHES *see* IMHOTEP

- INANNA, Sumerian queen of heaven and goddess of love,
Abduction/Rape, Damned Souls, Dance/Dancers/Dancing,
Journey/Flight, Metamorphosis
INCUBUS *see* EPHIALTES
INO, driven mad by Hera, destroyed her own son,
Melicertes, transformed into Leucothea, Madness
IO, fled Zeus in the form of a cow, but was eventually
seduced by him, Adultery, Ecstasy, Sublime
IOLAUS, charioteer and faithful companion of his uncle,
Hercules, Beheading/Decapitation
ION, the son of Creusa and Apollo, he was abandoned to
die in a grotto on the Acropolis by his mother who
feared the wrath of her father; Ion was rescued by
Hermes, at the request of Apollo, Abandonment
IONIC MODE, musical style representing dances,
bacchanals, and feasts, Imagination/Creativity
IPHIGENIA, daughter of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra,
was sacrificed by her father to gain advantage in the
Trojan War, Adultery, Arms Raised, Martyrdom, Sacrifice
IRIS, the rainbow, a messenger of the gods, Sleep/Sleeping
ISHTAR, Babylonian and Assyrian goddess of fertility,
Abduction/Rape, Damned Souls, Dance/Dancers/Dancing,
Journey/Flight
ISIS, nature goddess of ancient Egypt, Seasons, Toilet Scenes,
Virtue/Virtues
ISSUS, ancient town of Asia Minor, scene of three historic
battles, Dawn/Dawning
ITHACA, an island, the home of Odysseus, Journey/Flight,
Kiss/Kissing, Shipwreck
IUSTITIA *see* DIKE
IXION, punished for his excesses by Zeus, who chained him
to a winged fiery wheel, Excess, Misfortune

JANUS, the god of doors, gates, and beginnings, represented
as facing two ways, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Fortune,
Virtue/Virtues
JASON, the leader of the Argonauts in the quest for the
Golden Fleece, Betrayal, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale,
Journey/Flight, Witchcraft/Sorcery
JOCASTA, the mother and wife of Oedipus, Hanging
JULIAN the Apostate, Roman emperor A.D. 361–363,
Arms Raised
JULIUS CAESAR, Roman statesman and general,
Birth/Childbirth, Serpent's Bite
JUNO *see* HERA
JUPITER *see* ZEUS

KA, Egyptian spirit or personality, residing in the burial
statue after death, Gaze
KERASUND *see* CERASUS
KHAFRA (CHEPHREN) (flourished circa 2869 B.C.), king
of the Fourth Dynasty in Egypt, Sanctuary
KORE, a name for Persephone, indicating the seasonal
changes, Birth/Childbirth, Seasons, Toilet Scenes,
Virgin/Virginity
KRATES, Eumenes' librarian at Pergamon, Patronage
KRONUS *see* CRONUS

LAE LAPS, an infallible hound who always caught his prey,
Hunting/Hunter/Huntress

LAGYNOPHORIA, rustic Alexandrian festival,
Drunkenness/Intoxication
LAOCOÖN, Trojan priest who offended Apollo, who sent
serpents to kill him and his sons, Serpent's Bite
LAODOMIA, wife of Protesilaus, she mourned at his death
until she killed herself, Love and Death
LAPITHS, people from Thessaly famous for their battle
with the Centaurs, Abduction/Rape, Arms Raised,
Drunkenness/Intoxication, Excess
LATONA *see* LETO
LEANDER, drowned swimming the Hellespont to meet his
love Hero, Journey/Flight
LEARCHUS, killed by his father, Athamas, in a fit of
madness, Madness
LEDA, seduced by Zeus in the form of a swan, Adultery,
Birth/Childbirth, Light I, Pregnancy, Zodiac
LEONIDAS (died 480 B.C.), king of Sparta, defended the
pass at Thermopylea, Virtue/Virtues
LESBOS, island off the west coast of Asia Minor,
Beheading/Decapitation
LETHE, underworld river of forgetfulness,
Beheading/Decapitation
LETO (LATONA), mother of Apollo and Artemis,
Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
LEUCIPPUS, his daughters, Phoebe and Hilaera, were
abducted by the Dioscuri, Abduction/Rape
LEUCOTHEA, sea goddess, transformed from Ino, gave
her magic veil to Odysseus, Journey/Flight
LICINIUS (died A.D. 325), Roman emperor, Martyrdom
LOCRI, Greek colony in southern Italy, Judgment
LOTOS-EATERS (LOTOPHAGI), a vegetarian people who
eat the addictive lotus, Journey/Flight, Temptation
LUCIFER *see* EOSPHORUS
LUCIUS VERUS, co-ruler with Marcus Aurelius, A.D.
161–169, Virtue/Virtues
LUCRETIA, wife of Tarquinius Collatinus, raped by Sextus,
stabbed herself in disgrace, Abduction/Rape, Adultery,
Betrayal, Judgment, Serpent's Bite
LUCRETIUS *see* Index of Authors, Literary Texts,
Composers, Filmmakers, and Folktales
LUCULLUS (circa 110–56 B.C.), Roman general, who
defeated Mithridates, Fortune, Luxury, Virtue/Virtues
LUNA *see* SELENE
LYCAON, king of Arcadia, father of Callisto, Pregnancy
LYCIDIAS, a Virgilian shepherd, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
LYCURGUS (7th century B.C.), king of Sparta and reformer
of their constitution, Laughter, Madness
LYDIA, an area in western Asia Minor, Pointing/Indicating
LYDIAN MODE, musical style used for mournful subjects,
Imagination/Creativity
LYSIMACHOS of Magnesia (circa 355–281 B.C.),
Apotheosis/Deification

MACCUS, clownish yokel in Atellan farce, Comic
MAENADS, female votaries of the cult of Dionysus,
Abandonment, Bacchanalia/Orgy,
Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Drunkenness/Intoxication,
Ecstasy, Naked/Nude
MAISON, comic cook, symbol of gluttony in ancient
drama, Masks/Personae

- MANLIUS TORQUATUS, Roman general and consul, 4th century B.C., Judgment
- MARC ANTONY (circa 83–30 B.C.), Roman politician, soldier, and lover of Cleopatra, Excess, Serpent's Bite
- MARIKAS, clown character in ancient drama, Masks/Personae
- MARS *see* ARES
- MARSYAS, a satyr skilled at flute playing who entered a contest with Apollo, lost, and was flayed alive, Hanging, Honor/Honoring, Music
- MASSINISEA (circa 238–149 B.C.), king of Numidia, Dreams/Visions
- MAUSOLOS (circa 376–353 B.C.), satrap of Caria, whose wife Artemisia erected the famous Mausoleum of Hallicarnassus as his tomb, Luxury, Widowhood
- MAXENTIUS (died A.D. 312), Roman emperor, Dreams/Visions, Martyrdom, Sleep/Sleeping
- MEDEA, a sorceress, wife of Jason, Betrayal, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Journey/Flight, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- MEDES, inhabitants of the ancient country of Media in western Asia, Reading
- MEDIA, ancient country in western Asia, Journey/Flight
- MEDICASTE, one of the Trojan Women, Destruction of City
- MEDUSA, one of the three snake-headed gorgons, decapitated by Perseus, Beheading/Decapitation, Evil Eye, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Hair/Haircutting, Metamorphosis, Virtue/Virtues
- MEGARA, daughter of Creon and wife of Hercules, Madness
- MEIDAS PAINTER *see* Index of Artists and Works of Art
- MELAMPUS, one of the great Greek seers, Madness
- MELEAGER, one of the major Greek heroes who took part in the Argonauts' voyage and the Calydonian Boar Hunt, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Journey/Flight, Love and Death
- MELICERTES, killed by his mother, Ino, in a fit of madness, Madness
- MELIŠIPAK, Neo-Assyrian king, Devotion/Piety
- MELISSEUS, king of Crete, reputed to have nurtured the infant Zeus, Abundance
- MELITUS, ancient Greek seaport colony in Asia Minor, sacked by the Persians in 494 B.C., Destruction of City
- MENEDEMUS, character in New Comedy, Masks/Personae
- MENELAUS, king of Sparta and husband of Helen of Troy, Adultery, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Betrayal, Justice
- MENTUHOTEP II, Egyptian pharaoh, Devotion/Piety
- MERCURY *see* HERMES
- MERIT, wife of Sennofer, Baptism
- METIS, swallowed by Zeus, she still gave birth to Athena, Birth/Childbirth
- MIDAS, mythical king of Phrygia who, winning a favor from Apollo, asked for everything he touched to be turned to gold, Automata, Avarice, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Calumny, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Judgment, Luxury, Money, Penitence/Repentance
- MINERVA *see* ATHENA
- MINOS, king of Crete who ordered the building of the Labyrinth to contain the Minotaur, Adultery, Judgment, Labyrinth/Maze
- MINOTAUR, a monster with the body of a man and the head of a bull, he was imprisoned in the legendary Labyrinth of Crete; he exacted a yearly tribute of Athenian youth until he was killed by Theseus, aided by Ariadne, Abandonment, Arms Raised, Automata, Artists/Art, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Death, Journey/Flight, Labyrinth/Maze
- MITHRA(S), god of Persia and India, whose worship, as Mithraism, spread over the ancient world, Evil Eye, Gaze, Judgment, Sacrifice, Zodiac
- MITHRIDATES (circa 131–63 B.C.), king of Persia, Luxury
- MNEMOSYNE (MEMORY), a titaness and mother of the nine Muses, Imagination/Creativity
- MOIRAI (FATES, PARCAE), personifications of destiny (*see also* Atropos), Choice/Choosing, Love and Death, Night, Seasons, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- MOMUS, god of satire, mockery, and ridicule, Laughter, Vices/Deadly Sins
- MORMO, terrifying female character in ancient drama, Masks/Personae
- MORPHEUS, son of Somnus, appears in human form during dreams, Sleep/Sleeping
- MORS *see* THANATOS (MORS)
- MOTHER EARTH *see* GAIA (GE)
- MOTHER GODDESS *see* GREAT MOTHER GODDESS
- MOUNT HELICON, haunt of the Muses, Imagination/Creativity, Music
- MOUNT OLYMPUS, home of the gods, Abduction/Rape, Ascent/Descent, Envy, Excess, Fame, Journey/Flight, Months, Virgin/Virginity
- MOUNT PARNASSUS, site of the Delphic Oracle and favorite place of Apollo and the Muses, Imagination/Creativity, Music
- MUMMIUS, LUCIUS (2nd century B.C.), Roman statesman and general, Fortune, Virtue/Virtues
- MUSES, the nine daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne (Memory), they were the goddesses of epic poetry (Calliope), lyric poetry and flute playing (Euterpe), love poetry and lyre playing (Erato), sacred music and pantomime (Polyhymnia), tragedy (Melpomene), comedy (Thalia), history (Clio), dance (Terpsichore), and astronomy (Urania) (*see also* Individual Names), Apotheosis/Deification, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Fame, Honor/Honoring, Imagination/Creativity, Masks/Personae, Music, Self-Portraits I, Sleep/Sleeping
- MYNES, the husband of Briseis, killed by Achilles, Abduction/Rape
- MYRRHA, the mother of Adonis through her incestuous union with her father, Birth/Childbirth
- MYRSINE, murdered by the Athenian women for her beauty, Envy
- NAIADS, nymphs of lakes, brooks, and springs, Serpent's Bite
- NARCISSUS, handsome youth who fell in love with his own reflection in a pool, Comic, Gaze, Metamorphosis, Mirror/Reflection, Toilet Scenes, Voyeurism, Whiteness
- NARMER, early ruler in predynastic Egypt, Reading
- NAUPLION (NAUPLIA), a seaport near the gulf of Argolis on the east coast of the Peloponnesus, Virgin/Virginity

NAUSICAA, daughter of King Alcinous, aided Odysseus, Journey/Flight
 NAXOS, island in the Aegean off Greece, Sleep/Sleeping
 NEBUCHADNEZZAR (died 562 B.C.), king of Babylon, Excess
 NEFERTITI (14th century B.C.), wife of Akhenaton, Egyptian pharaoh, Eighteenth Dynasty, Light II
 NEMESIS, goddess of retribution for evil deeds or undeserved good fortune, Evil Eye, Fortune, Night, Virtue/Virtues
 NEOPTOLEMUS *see* PYRRHUS
 NEPTUNE *see* POSEIDON
 NEREIDS, sea nymphs, Naked/Nude, Sacrifice
 NERO (A.D. 37–68), Roman emperor, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Luxury, Martyrdom, Virtue/Virtues, Witchcraft/Sorcery
 NESSUS, a centaur killed by Hercules, Abduction/Rape
 NIKE, Greek goddess who presided over contests and wars, Apotheosis/Deification, Honor/Honoring, Reading
 NILE, major river of Egypt, Grieving/Lamentation, Luxury, Sanctuary, Zodiac
 NIMROD, mighty hunter and descendant of Cush, mentioned in Genesis, I Chronicles, Ascent/Descent
 NINEVEH, ancient Assyrian city, Destruction of City, Excess, Luxury
 NIOBE, inordinately proud mother, offended the gods, who killed her children, Plague/Pestilence
 NU, Egyptian name for primitive darkness, Light II
 NUMA POMPILIUS, second king of Rome, Birth/Childbirth, Months, Virtue/Virtues
 NUMITOR, king of Alba Longa, father of Rhea Silvia, Love and Death
 NUT, Egyptian sun goddess of heaven, Arms Raised, Dawn/Dawning, Zodiac
 NYMPHS, young and beautiful spirits of nature, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Bath/Bathing, Birth/Childbirth, Ecstasy, Expulsion, Love and Death, Metamorphosis, Nightmare, Sacrifice, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Sleep/Sleeping, Voyeurism, Whiteness
 NYMPHS of Nysa, nurtured the young Dionysus, Drunkenness/Intoxication
 OCEANIDS, the 3,000 daughters of Oceanus, Fortune
 OCEANUS, the god of the river Oceanus, Fortune, Love and Death, Pregnancy, Virtue/Virtues
 OCTAVIAN *see* AUGUSTUS
 ODYSSEUS (ULYSSES), the hero of Homer's *Odyssey*, Betrayal, Comic, Damned Souls, Destruction of City, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Hair/Haircutting, Journey/Flight, Kiss/Kissing, Light I, Madness, Metamorphosis, Shipwreck, Temptation
 OEDIPUS, in response to a prophecy was abandoned on a mountaintop, unknowingly returned to his home to kill his father and marry his mother; he became king of Thebes, but his secret was discovered when the plague attacked his city, Abandonment, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Hanging
 OENONE, a nymph, married to Paris, Adultery
 OLYMPIA, mother of Alexander the Great, Fame
 OLYMPIA, sanctuary, site of the Olympic Games, Sanctuary

OMPHALE, queen of Lydia, to whom Hercules was bound as a slave, Choice/Choosing, Comic
 ORESTES, son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra, avenged his father's murder, Adultery, Bath/Bathing, Hair/Haircutting, Madness
 ORION, a giant hunter with many adventures, changed by Zeus into the constellation bearing his name, Excess
 ORITHYIA, a daughter of Erechtheus, abducted by Boreas, the north wind, Abduction/Rape
 ORPHEUS, legendary musician and worshiper of Dionysus, most famous for his trip to the underworld to rescue his wife Eurydice, Automata, Beheading/Decapitation, Gaze, Journey/Flight, Light I, Love and Death, Music, Serpent's Bite, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
 ORPHISM, Greek mystic cult founded by Orpheus, Zodiac
 OSIRIS, the first-born of ancient gods, becomes ruler of Egypt, then of the underworld, Baptism, Devotion/Piety, Judgment, Seasons, Toilet Scenes, Virtue/Virtues
 OSTIA, ancient Roman city at the mouth of the Tiber, Evil Eye
 OTUS and EPHIALTES, twin giants who earned the anger of the gods by piling mountains on top of each other and other rambunctuous deeds, Ascent/Descent
 PALATINE, the central hill of ancient Rome, Luxury
 PALLAS, ancient goddess of wisdom, Justice, Peace, Virtue/Virtues
 PAN (FAUNUS), god of shepherds, half man, half goat, Artists/Art, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Ecstasy, Judgment, Laughter, Love and Death, Music, Voyeurism, Zodiac
 PANATHENAEA, festival honoring Athena, Patronage
 PANATHENAIIC PROCESSION, Devotion/Piety
 PANDAREOS, a king of Miletus, Abduction/Rape
 PANDORA, the first woman, opened a jar in her care, releasing evils onto the world, Order/Chaos
 PANTHEON, an altar or temple dedicated to all the gods, Sanctuary
 PAPPUS, priapic character in Atellan farce, Comic
 PARCAE (FATES) *see* MOIRAI
 PARIS, a Trojan prince abandoned at birth; was asked to choose between Aphrodite, Athena, and Hera; choosing Aphrodite he won Helen of Troy, the most beautiful woman in the world, as his wife, thereby starting the Trojan War, Abandonment, Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Choice/Choosing, Excess, Judgment, Nightmare, Path/Road/Crossroads, Sanctuary, Sleep/Sleeping, Voyeurism
 PARTHENON, temple on the Acropolis, Athens, dedicated to Athena, Ascent/Descent
 PASIPHAE, wife of King Minos, developed a passion for a bull, with whom she mated to produce the Minotaur, Automata
 PATROCLUS, Achilles' squire, beloved by him, Beheading/Decapitation, Funeral/Burial, Grieving/Lamentation, Pointing/Indicating, Sleep/Sleeping, Sport
 PAX ROMANA, the reign of peace established over much of Europe by Augustus in the 1st century A.D., Light I

- PEGASUS, winged horse, offspring of Poseidon and Medusa, Choice/Choosing, Fame, Metamorphosis, Path/Road/Crossroads
- PEIRITHOUS *see* PIRITHOUS
- PELEUS, besieged by misfortune, married Thetis and was the father of Achilles, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Choice/Choosing, Marriage/Betrothal
- PELIAS, Jason's uncle, who sent Jason in search of the Golden Fleece, Journey/Flight, Love and Death, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- PENEIUS, a river god of Thessaly, Metamorphosis
- PENELOPE, faithful wife of Odysseus, Journey/Flight, Kiss/Kissing
- PENTHESILEA, queen of the Amazons, fought on the side of the Trojans against the Greeks and was killed by Achilles, Gaze
- PENTHEUS, king of Thebes, denied the divinity of Dionysus, who lured him to spy on the Bacchantes, including his mother, who discovered him and tore him to pieces, Abandonment, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Ecstasy
- PERA, young mother who saved her father's life in prison by nursing him with her own milk, Virtue/Virtues
- PERGAMON (PERGAMUM), ancient Greek kingdom in Asia Minor, Patronage
- PERICLES (circa 495–429 B.C.), Athenian statesman, Patronage, Virtue/Virtues
- PERSEPHONE (PROSEPINE, PROSERPINA), daughter of Zeus and Demeter, spends winter in the underworld as the wife of Hades, Abduction/Rape, Dreams/Visions, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Journey/Flight, Love and Death, Music, Serpent's Bite, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- PERSEPNEI, Etruscan queen of the underworld, Damned Souls
- PERSEUS, the son of Zeus and Danaë, killed Medusa and rescued Andromeda, Adultery, Beheading/Decapitation, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Hair/Haircutting, Metamorphosis, Naked/Nude, Pregnancy, Sacrifice
- PERSIANS, ancient enemy of the Greeks against whom they waged war 500–449 B.C., Destruction of City, Luxury, Reading
- PHAETON, the son of Helios, destroyed by his wish to drive his father's chariot of the sun, Dawn/Dawning
- PHANES (AION), lord of Time in Orphism, Apotheosis/Deification, Zodiac
- PHANTASOS, son of Somnus, appears as inanimate objects during dreams, Sleep/Sleeping
- PHARAOH, title of ruler of Egypt, Destruction of City
- PHARAOH at Memphis, Apotheosis/Deification
- PHIDIAS (circa 500–circa 432 B.C.), Greek sculptor, considered the finest artist in the ancient world, *see* Index of Artists and Works of Art
- PHILIP, THE ARABIAN (MARCUS JULIUS PHILIPPUS) (A.D. 204?–249), Roman emperor, Offering
- PHOBETOR (ICELOS), son of Somnos, appears in beast forms during dreams, Sleep/Sleeping
- PHOCION, Greek hero executed as a traitor, Betrayal, Judgment
- PHOEBE, one of the daughters of Leucippus, abducted by the Dioscuri, Abduction/Rape
- PHOEBUS APOLLO *see* APOLLO
- PHOENICIANS, inhabitants of city-states along the eastern Mediterranean, Sacrifice
- PHRYGIAN MODE, musical style for vehemence, fury, and battles, Imagination/Creativity
- PHYLLIS, a Virgilian shepherdess, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- PINDAR (518–circa 438 B.C.), generally regarded as the greatest Greek lyric poet, *see* Index of Authors, Literary Texts, Composers, Filmmakers, and Folktales
- PIRITHOUS (PEIROTHOÛS), king of the Lapiths, whose wedding was the cause of the famous battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs, ended his days a prisoner of Hades in the underworld, Abduction/Rape, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Excess
- PITTACUS (circa 679–circa 650 B.C.), Greek statesman, poet, and military leader, Virtue/Virtues
- PLATO (427?–347? B.C.), Greek philosopher, *see* Index of Authors, Literary Texts, Composers, Filmmakers, and Folktales
- PLUTO *see* HADES
- PLUTUS, the god of wealth, Fortune
- POENA, personification of Retaliation, Virtue/Virtues
- POLLUX *see* DIOSCURI
- POLYCRATES (died circa 522 B.C.), Tyrant of Samos, Crucifixion, Fortune
- POLYDEKES, king of the island Seriphus, Beheading/Decapitation
- POLYDEUCES *see* DIOSCURI
- POLYPHEMUS, a Cyclops who imprisoned Odysseus, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Journey/Flight
- POLYXENA, daughter of Priam and Hecuba, sacrificed on Achilles tomb after the Trojan War, Destruction of City
- POMPEII, ancient Roman city destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius, Adultery, Choice/Choosing, Comic, Destruction of City, Evil Eye, Logos/Word, Luxury, Misfortune, Seasons, Serpent's Bite, Voyeurism
- PONTIFEX, highly placed representative of Roman religious structure, Devotion/Piety
- POSEIDON (NEPTUNE), god of earthquakes, water, and the sea, Abandonment, Abduction/Rape, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Birth/Childbirth, Damned Souls, Fame, Hair/Haircutting, Sacrifice, Shipwreck, Zodiac
- PRAENESTE, ancient Roman city on the present-day site of Palestrina, Virtue/Virtues
- PRAEDICAE, goddess, extractor of justice, Justice
- PRIAM, king of Troy during the Trojan War, Adultery, Arms Raised, Destruction of City, Judgment, Sanctuary
- PRIAPUS, originally a fertility god, he ruled over plants and animals as well as childbearing women; his main attribute was a very large penis, Abundance, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Evil Eye
- PROCRIS, mistakenly killed by her husband, Cephalus, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Love and Death
- PROËTUS, king of Tiryn, Madness
- PROMETHEUS, a Titan who championed mankind against the gods, Artists/Art, Automata, Misfortune
- PROSEPINE (PROSERPINA) *see* PERSEPHONE
- PROTESILAUS, knowing it would cause his death, he led the first attack on Troy, thus leaving his mourning wife, Laodamia, to die, Love and Death

PSYCHE, a beautiful young maiden of whom Aphrodite was jealous, and Cupid beloved; she broke Cupid's command to look at him, and embarked on a brave and dangerous journey to effect a reconciliation with him, Abandonment, Abduction/Rape, Betrayal, Journey/Flight, Luxury, Penitence/Repentance, Sleep/Sleeping
 PTAH, an Egyptian sun god, Light II
 PTOLEMY I (died 283 B.C.), first king of Macedonian dynasty ruling Egypt, Calumny
 PTOLEMY II (circa 308–246 B.C.), king of Egypt, reformer and patron of the arts, Apotheosis/Deification, Excess
 PTOLEMY (CLAUDIUS PTOLEMAEUS) (flourished A.D. 127–141/151), Greco-Roman mathematician, astronomer, and geographer in Alexandria, Egypt, Zodiac
 PURRHUS (NEOPTOLOMUS), Achilles' son, Destruction of City
 PYGMALION, king of Cyprus, sculpted his ideal woman and fell in love with her, Artists/Art, Automata, Metamorphosis, Naked/Nude, Self-Portraits II
 PYRAMUS, courted Thisbe through a wall, and killed himself, through a mistake, at their first meeting, Love and Death
 PYRRHIC DANCE, Dance/Dancers/Dancing
 PYRRHUS (NEOPTOLEMUS), son of Achilles, Sanctuary
 PYTHAGORAS (circa 582–507 B.C.), Greek philosopher, Music, Path/Road/Crossroads

 QUINTUS FABIVS MAXIMUS (died 623 B.C.), opponent of Hannibal, Virtue/Virtues

 RA/RE, the Egyptian sun god, Birth/Childbirth, Devotion/Piety, Funeral/Burial, Light II, Sanctuary, Zodiac
 RAMOSE, Egyptian vizier, Thebes, Baptism
 RAMSES, Egyptian pharaoh, Devotion/Piety
 REMUS *see* ROMULUS AND REMUS
 RHADAMANTHUS, a Cretan lawgiver who was made a judge of the dead in Hades, Damned Souls, Judgment
 RHEA, a Titan, wife of Cronus, and mother of the gods, Abundance, Dawn/Dawning
 RHEA SILVIA, a Vestal Virgin seduced by Ares; she gave birth to Romulus and Remus, Abundance, Love and Death
 RITHO, Egyptian goddess, Birth/Childbirth
 ROMA, tutelary goddess of the city of Rome, Apotheosis/Deification
 ROMAN EMPIRE, Sin/Sinning
 ROMANS, Destruction of City
 ROME, major city of the Roman Empire, Abundance, Comic, Destruction of City, Fame, Honor/Honoring, Journey/Flight, Love and Death, Luxury, Temptation, Virtue/Virtues, Witchcraft/Sorcery
 ROMULUS AND REMUS, abandoned by their mother, they were brought up by a wolf and lived to become the founders of Rome, Abandonment, Abundance, Birth/Childbirth, Destruction of City, Love and Death

 SABINA, empress, wife of Hadrian, Apotheosis/Deification
 SABINE WOMEN, invited to a festival by Romulus and abducted by the young men of Rome, Abduction/Rape

SAGARITIS, beloved by Attis, Madness
 SALMACIS, nymph who loved Hermaphroditus, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne
 SALONINA, wife of Caecina, envied for her dress, Envy
 SAPPHO (early 6th century B.C.), the greatest of the early lyric poets, Imagination/Creativity
 SARDANAPALUS, Assyrian monarch at the fall of Ninevah, Destruction of City, Excess, Luxury, Virtue/Virtues
 SARGON (flourished circa 2800 B.C.), king of Accede in Mesopotamia, the dynasty he founded lasted two centuries and controlled much of the ancient Near East, Abandonment, Gaze
 SARPEDON, Zeus's son, whose body is removed from the battleground of Troy by Hypnos and Thanatos, Pointing/Indicating, Sleep/Sleeping
 SATURN *see* CRONUS
 SATURNALIA, Roman festival with obscene singing and dancing celebrated in December, Fools/Folly
 SATYR (FAUN), spirit of wildness and licentiousness, companions of Dionysus, Abduction/Rape, Automata, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Birth/Childbirth, Comic, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Ecstasy, Evil Eye, Gaze, Music, Peasantry, Voyeurism, Witchcraft/Sorcery
 SCIPIO AFRICANUS (234–183 B.C.), Roman general in the Punic Wars, Virtue/Virtues
 SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS, a monster and a whirlpool on each side of a narrow passage in the Strait of Messina, Journey/Flight, Shipwreck
 SEA NYMPHS *see* NYMPHS
 SELENE (LUNA), goddess of the moon, Dawn/Dawning, Night, Sleep/Sleeping
 SELEUCUS *see* ZALEUCUS
 SEM, Egyptian priest involved with burial rites, Funeral/Burial
 SEMELE, seduced by Zeus, she became the mother of Dionysus, Abduction/Rape, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Birth/Childbirth, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Madness
 SENECA (circa 35 B.C.–A.D. 65), Roman philosopher, dramatist and statesman, *see* Index of Authors, Literary Texts, Composers, Filmmakers, and Folktales
 SENNOFER (15th century B.C.), mayor of Thebes, Baptism
 SERAPIS, Egyptian god connected with Apis, the Bull, Arms Raised
 SERVIUS TULLIUS (578–534 B.C.), sixth legendary king of Rome, Fortune, Virtue/Virtues
 SET, Egyptian god of chaos and confusion, Baptism, Zodiac
 SHAMASH, Babylonian sun god, Arms Raised, Devotion/Piety, Gaze, Justice
 SICINNIUS, an exemplar of fortitude, Virtue/Virtues
 SILENS, half-human, half-beast creatures symbolizing drunkenness and lust, Drunkenness/Intoxication
 SILENUS, old and wise companion of Dionysus, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Drunkenness/Intoxication
 SILVANUS, ancient pastoral god of fertility, Apotheosis/Deification, Honor/Honoring
 SIRENS, bird-women who lured sailors with their songs, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Journey/Flight, Music, Naked/Nude

- SISAMNES, corrupt judge flayed by Cambyzes, Judgment
- SISYPHUS, condemned to Hades, where he eternally rolled a huge stone up to the top of a hill, only to have it roll down again, Ascent/Descent, Damned Souls, Misfortune
- SMILAX, beloved of Crocus, Metamorphosis
- SOCRATES (469–399 B.C.), Greek philosopher, Artists/Art, Choice/Choosing, Death, Excess, Melancholy, Self-Portraits I, Virtue/Virtues, Whiteness
- SOL INVICTUR, Syrian sun god, Arms Raised
- OLON (circa 639–559 B.C.), early Athenian poet and statesman, known as a reformer and law-giver, Abundance, Grieving/Lamentation, Pointing/Indicating, Virtue/Virtues
- SOMNUS *see* HYPNOS
- SOPHOCLES *see* Index of Authors, Literary Texts, Composers, Filmmakers, and Folktales
- SPARTACUS (died 71 B.C.), leader of a slave revolt, Crucifixion
- SPHINX, in Egypt, a symbol of vigilance with a lion's body and a human head; in Greece, a symbol of wisdom with the head and breasts of a woman, Dreams/Visions, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Sanctuary
- STABIAE, favorite resort of the Romans, buried by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, Seasons
- STOICISM, Greek school of philosophy founded by Zeno or Critium in 3rd century B.C., Artists/Art, Death, Logos/Word, Widowhood, Zodiac
- STYX, river leading to the underworld, Bath/Bathing, Light I, Order/Chaos, Penitence/Repentance, Upside Down
- TAMMUZ, beloved of Inanna, Damned Souls, Seasons
- TANTALUS, immersed in a pool in Hades where the water receded when he tried to slake his thirst and the fruit was just out of reach above his head, Damned Souls, Misfortune
- TANUATH-AMEN, Ethiopian conqueror of Egypt, Dreams/Visions
- TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS, husband of Lucretia, Adultery
- TARQUINIUS SEXTUS, son of Tarquinius Superbus and raper of Lucretia, Adultery, Judgment, Betrayal
- TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS, last king of Rome, Adultery, Judgment
- TARTARUS, the dark underworld, the part of Hades where the worst punishments took place, and the personification of it, Damned Souls
- TA-URT/TAWERET/THOERUS, Egyptian goddess protecting women in childbirth, Pregnancy
- TAURUS, a peninsula on the coast of the Black Sea, now called Crimea, Sacrifice
- TELAMONS, sculptured male figures supporting an entablature, Luxury
- TELEPHUS, exposed on a mountain top by his grandfather, was rescued by a shepherd and suckled by a doe; he eventually became a hero in the Trojan War, Abandonment
- TELLUS (TERRA) *see* GAIA
- TERMINUS, god of boundaries, Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- TERRA *see* GAIA
- TETHYS, a Titan, mother of the Oceanids, Fortune, Pregnancy, Virtue/Virtues
- TEUKROS, a warrior shown in some versions of the sacrifice of Iphigenia, Sacrifice
- THALIA, the muse of comedy, Laughter
- THALIA *see* GRACES
- THANATOS (MORS), death, or the personification of death, Love and Death, Pointing/Indicating, Sacrifice, Sleep/Sleeping
- THEANO, Antenor's wife, and priestess of Athena, Betrayal
- THEBES, Egyptian city, Destruction of City
- THEIODAMAS, king of Dryopes, father of Hylas, killed by Hercules for his son, Abduction/Rape
- THEMIS, goddess of law and order, second wife of Zeus, Justice, Virtue/Virtues
- THEODOSIUS I, THE GREAT (A.D. 346?–395), Roman emperor of the East, Martyrdom
- THEOPANE, changed into a ewe by her abductor Poseidon, Abduction/Rape
- THESEUS, the great hero of Athens, slew the Minotaur, fleeing with Ariadne whom he abandoned on Naxos; he battled the Amazons and married their queen Hippolyta; he was also involved with the battle of the Lapiths and the Centaurs, as well as other adventures, Abandonment, Abduction/Rape, Arms Raised, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Excess, Journey/Flight, Labyrinth/Maze
- THETIS, a Nereid, was fated to bear a son that would become more powerful than his father; Zeus, although attracted to her, ordained she should marry a mortal, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Bath/Bathing, Choice/Choosing, Fame, Journey/Flight, Justice, Marriage/Betrothal, Upside Down
- THISBE, courted through a wall by Pyramus, killed herself at finding Pyramus dead, Love and Death
- THOTH, Egyptian scribe to the gods, Pointing/Indicating
- THUTMOSE IV, king of Egypt, reigned circa 1420–circa 1411 B.C., Dreams/Visions
- THYRSIS, a Virgilian shepherd, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- TIBER, river in central Italy, flowing past Rome, Virgin/Virginity
- TIBERIUS (42 B.C.–A.D. 37), second Roman emperor; although he made financial reforms, he was very unpopular, Apotheosis/Deification
- TIBERIUS, son of Brutus, killed by him, Judgment
- TIGRIS, river flowing through Mesopotamia, now Iraq, into the Euphrates, Journey/Flight
- TIRESIAS, the blind seer of Thebes, who had lived as both a man and a woman, Journey/Flight, Metamorphosis
- TISIPHONE, one of the Erinyes, Madness
- TITANS, ancient dieties, ruled by Cronus, the father of Zeus, Abduction/Rape, Order/Chaos
- TITHONUS, beloved of Eos, Dawn/Dawning
- TITUS (circa A.D. 40–81), Roman emperor, Honor/Honoring, Virtue/Virtues
- TITUS, son of Brutus, killed by him, Judgment
- TITYUS, a giant, exiled to Hades, where a snake or a vulture daily ate his liver, Damned Souls, Gaze, Misfortune

- TMOLUS, a mountain god who judged the contest between Pan and Apollo, Judgment
- TOMYRIS, queen who overcame Cyrus the Great, Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Fame, Justice
- TRAJAN (A.D. 53–114), Roman emperor, Devotion/Piety, Honor/Honoring, Justice, Virtue/Virtues
- TRITONS, minor sea gods with monstrous attributes, Fame, Light I, Serpent's Bite
- TROEZENIAN WOMEN, who cut off their hair before marriage, dedicating it to Hippolytus, Hair/Haircutting
- TROILUS, son of Hecuba and Priam or Apollo, killed in the Trojan War, Beheading/Decapitation, Destruction of City
- TROJAN HORSE, the hollow horse, filled with Greek warriors, by which entrance was gained into Troy, Automata
- TROJAN WAR, described in the *Iliad* and waged between the Greek cities and Troy over the abduction of Helen by Paris, Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Bath/Bathing, Beheading/Decapitation, Choice/Choosing, Destruction of City, Honor/Honoring, Journey/Flight, Judgment, Madness, Sanctuary
- TROY (ILIUM), a Phrygian city, destroyed in the Trojan War, Adultery, Destruction of City, Expulsion, Journey/Flight, Judgment, Labyrinth/Maze, Nightmare, Sacrifice, Sanctuary, Shipwreck, Sleep/Sleeping
- TUCCIA, Vestal Virgin who proved her chastity by carrying water in a sieve, Virgin/Virginity
- TUTANKHAMUN (flourished circa 1355 B.C.), pharaoh of the Eighteenth Dynasty in Egypt, Funeral/Burial, Light II
- TYCHE/FORTUNA/FATE, the goddess of luck or fortune, Abundance, Fortune, Virtue/Virtues, Widowhood
- TYNDAREUS, king of Sparta and husband of Leda, Adultery, Birth/Childbirth, Pointing/Indicating
- TYRE, ancient city of Phoenicia, Destruction of City
- TYRRHENIAN PIRATES, Etruscans, Drunkenness/Intoxication
- ULYSSES *see* ODYSSEUS
- UNDERWORLD *see* HADES
- UR OF THE CHALDEES, ancient city of Sumer in Mesopotamia, Sacrifice
- URANIA, the Muse of Astronomy, Zodiac
- URANUS, god of the sky, Birth/Childbirth, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Hair/Haircutting
- VEII, ancient city of Vitruvia, north of Rome, Luxury
- VENUS *see* APHRODITE
- VESPASIAN (A.D. 9–79), Roman emperor, founder of the Flavian dynasty, Luxury
- VESTA *see* HESTIA
- VESTAL VIRGINS, priestesses of Hestia, the goddess of the hearth, Honor/Honoring, Virgin/Virginity
- VESUVIUS, ancient volcano that destroyed the cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum in A.D. 79, Destruction of City, Evil Eye
- VETURIA, the mother of Coriolanus, who persuaded him not to march into Rome, Betrayal
- VIRGIL *see* Index of Authors, Literary Texts, Composers, Filmmakers, and Folktales
- VIRGILLUS, Abduction/Rape
- VIRGINIA, daughter of Virgilinius, killed by her father to save her honor, Betrayal, Judgment
- VIRGINIUS, Roman centurion, killed his daughter to save her honor, Judgment
- VULCAN *see* HEPHAESTUS
- XENOPHON *see* Index of Authors, Literary Texts, Composers, Filmmakers, and Folktales
- XERXES (circa 465–419 B.C.), king of Persia, Luxury
- ZALEUCUS, lawgiver in Locris, had his own eye plucked out to satisfy his judgment against his son, Judgment, Justice
- ZEPHYR, god of the west wind, Abduction/Rape, Birth/Childbirth
- ZEUS (JUPITER), the most powerful of the Olympian gods, particularly known for his sexual exploits, Abduction/Rape, Abundance, Adultery, Apotheosis/Deification, Arms Raised, Ascent/Descent, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Comic, Dawn/Dawning, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Destruction of City, Devotion/Piety, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Ecstasy, Evil Eye, Expulsion, Fame, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Imagination/Creativity, Justice, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Love and Death, Madness, Marriage/Betrothal, Misfortune, Money, Order/Chaos, Peace, Pointing/Indicating, Pregnancy, Sanctuary, Serpent's Bite, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Sleep/Sleeping, Sublime, Temptation, Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues, Voyeurism, Zodiac
- ZEUXIS *see* Index of Artists and Works of Art
- ZIUSUDRA, Sumerian king who built a boat to escape a deluge, Journey/Flight
- ZODIAC, originating with the Babylonians, is a band across the sky formed by the orbits of the sun, moon, and five planets known to the ancients; it contains the 12 constellations, *see* Index of Other Names and Terms
- ZOROASTER, religious teacher of ancient Persia, Abandonment, Order/Chaos
- ZOZER, second king of the Third Dynasty of Egypt, Gaze

INDEX OF JUDEO-CHRISTIAN PERSONAGES, PLACES, AND CONCEPTS

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 ABBOT(S), Dreams/Visions
 ABEL, Communion, Envy, Expulsion, Fortune, Harvesting,
 Offering, Order/Chaos, Sacrifice, Sin/Sinning
 ABIGAIL, Abduction/Rape, Judgment
 ABRA, Drunkenness/Intoxication
 ABRAHAM, Abduction/Rape, Annunciation,
 Ascent/Descent, Beheading/Decapitation, Communion,
 Expulsion, Journey/Flight, Judaism, Laughter,
 Martyrdom, Music, Naked/Nude, Offering,
 Order/Chaos, Peace, Pointing/Indicating, Sacrifice,
 Serpent's Bite, Virtue/Virtues, Visiting/Visitation
 ABSALOM, Hair/Haircutting
 ADAM, Ascent/Descent, Automata, Beheading/Decapitation,
 Communion, Crucifixion, Expulsion, Fame,
 Journey/Flight, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Melancholy,
 Naked/Nude, Order/Chaos, Penitence/Repentance,
 Pointing/Indicating, Sanctuary, Serpent's Bite,
 Sleep/Sleeping, Temptation
 ADAM AND EVE, Betrayal, Choice/Choosing, Damned
 Souls, Expulsion, Fortune, Journey/Flight, Justice,
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 Marriage/Betrothal, Naked/Nude, Order/Chaos,
 Pointing/Indicating, Sin/Sinning, Temptation,
 Vices/Deadly Sins
 ADORATION OF THE CHILD, Pointing/Indicating,
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ADORATION OF THE LAMB, Apocalypse
 ADORATION OF THE MAGI (KINGS), Dawn/Dawning,
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 ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS, Devotion/Piety,
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 AHADAB, Penitence/Repentance
 AHASVERUS (WANDERING JEW), Journey/Flight,
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 AHINOAM, Abduction/Rape
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 Devotion/Piety, Ecstasy, Expulsion, Funeral/Burial,
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 Imagination/Creativity, Journey/Flight, Judaism,
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Vices/Deadly Sins, Virtue/Virtues, Visiting/Visitation,
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ANGELIC MISSION, Pregnancy
ANGELIC SALUTATION, Annunciation, Pregnancy
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ANNA, Annunciation, Birth/Childbirth, Kiss/Kissing,
Reading, Sacrifice
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APOSTLES CREED, Ascent/Descent, Damned Souls
APOSTOLIC FATHERS, Devotion/Piety
ARCHANGELS, Order/Chaos
GABRIEL, Annunciation, Ascent/Descent,
Birth/Childbirth, Justice, Offering,
Pointing/Indicating, Pregnancy, Visiting/Visitation
MICHAEL, Birth/Childbirth, Damned Souls, Fame,
Journey/Flight, Justice, Plague/Pestilence,
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ASPERGILLUM, Funeral/Burial
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BELISARIUS, Patronage
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Dreams/Visions, Penitence/Repentance
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BRAZEN SERPENT, Serpent's Bite
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BURNING BUSH, Judaism

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CAIN, Envy, Expulsion, Fortune, Harvesting,
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CAMILLIANS (nursing order), Plague/Pestilence
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CHRIST AS JUDGE, Choice/Choosing, Judgment,
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CONSTANTIUS II, Gaze
CORNELIUS THE CENTURIAN, Baptism, Crucifixion
COUNCIL OF EPHESUS (431), Virgin/Virginity
COUNCIL OF NICAIA (325), Virgin/Virginity
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COUNCIL OF TRENT (1562–1563), Abduction/Rape,
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Penitence/Repentance, Plague/Pestilence, Serpent's Bite,
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Communion, Crucifixion, Devotion/Piety, Ecstasy,
Funeral/Burial, Honor/Honoring, Justice, Martyrdom,
Music, Naked/Nude, Penitence/Repentance,
Protestantism, Serpent's Bite, Shepherds/Shepherdesses,
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ESAU, Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
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ETIMASIA (HETOIMASIA), Judgment
EUCHARIST, Baptism, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Communion,
Crucifixion, Ecstasy, Fame, Harvesting, Honor/Honoring,
Light I, Margins/Outsiders, Marriage/Betrothal,
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FEAST OF THE ANNUNCIATION, Annunciation

FEAST OF THE EPIPHANY, Peace

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FIERY FURNACE, Martyrdom

FLIGHT INTO EGYPT, Expulsion, Journey/Flight, Path/Road/Crossroads, Pointing/Indicating

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FOUR HORSEMEN, Apocalypse, Order/Chaos

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GATE OF THE LORD, Judaism

GATH, KING OF, Madness

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Misfortune
- DANDRIDGE, BARTHOLOMEW (British painter,
1691–circa 1754), Whiteness
- DANTON, FERDINAND, JR. (American artist, 19th
century), Money
- DANUBE SCHOOL, Penitence/Repentance
- D'ARCANGELO, ALAN (American painter, born 1930),
Path/Road/Crossroads
- DARIUS PAINTER (Greek vase painter, late 4th century
B.C.), Funeral/Burial
- DAUMIER, HONORÉ (French painter, printmaker,
sculptor, 1808–1879), Abandonment, Abduction/Rape,
Avarice, Bath/Bathing, Caricature/Cartoon, Comic, Death,
Drunkenness/Intoxication, Grieving/Lamentation,
Labor/Trades/Occupations, Laughter, Margins/Outsiders,
Masks/Personae, Metamorphosis, Misfortune,
Order/Chaos, Pointing/Indicating, Pregnancy
- DAVID, GERARD (Early Netherlandish painter, circa
1450/60–1523), Expulsion, Journey/Flight, Judgment,
Justice, Light II
- DAVID, JACQUES-LOUIS (French artist, 1748–1825),
Abandonment, Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Arms Raised,
Bath/Bathing, Calumny, Comic, Death, Funeral/Burial,
Grieving/Lamentation, Journey/Flight, Judgment,
Naked/Nude, Path/Road/Crossroads, Plague/Pestilence,
Pointing/Indicating, Whiteness, Widowhood
- DAVIE, ALAN (British painter, born 1920), Sacrifice
- DAVIES, ARTHUR BOWEN (American painter,
1862–1928), Abduction/Rape, Serpent's Bite
- DAYBREAK PAINTER (Greek vase painter, late 6th century
B.C.), Witchcraft/Sorcery
- DE ANDREA, JOHN LOUIS (American sculptor, born
1941), Hair/Haircutting, Naked/Nude
- DEBUCOURT, PHILIBERT-LOUIS (French painter,
printmaker, 1755–1832), Seasons
- DECAMP (French artisan, 20th century), Automata
- DECAMPS, ALEXANDRE-GABRIEL (French painter,
printmaker, 1803–1860), Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- DEGAS, EDGAR (French painter, sculptor, 1769–1825),
Abduction/Rape, Bath/Bathing, Dance/Dancers/Dancing,
Death, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Female Beauty and
Adornment, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Madness,
Masks/Personae, Mirror/Reflection, Naked/Nude,
Reading, Toilet Scenes, Visiting/Visitation, Voyeurism
- DELACROIX, EUGÈNE (French painter, 1798–1863),
Abduction/Rape, Arms Raised, Artists/Art, Bath/Bathing,
Crucifixion, Damned Souls, Dawn/Dawning, Death,
Destruction of City, Excess, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale,
Female Beauty and Adornment, Grieving/Lamentation,
Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Imagination/Creativity,
Journey/Flight, Love and Death, Luxury,
Marriage/Betrothal, Order/Chaos, Reading, Sacrifice,
Shipwreck, Sleep/Sleeping, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- DELAROCHE, PAUL (French painter, 1797–1856),
Beheading/Decapitation, Martyrdom
- DELAUNAY, JULES-ELIE (French painter, 1828–1891),
Misfortune, Plague/Pestilence
- DELAUNAY, NICOLAS, THE ELDER (French printmaker,
1739–1792), Drunkenness/Intoxication
- DELLA BELLA, STEFANO (Italian printmaker, 1610–1664),
Destruction of City
- DELLA QUERCIA, JACOPO (Italian sculptor, circa
1372–1438), Drunkenness/Intoxication,
Labor/Trades/Occupations, Temptation
- DELLA ROBBIA, ANDREA (Italian sculptor, ceramist,
1435–1525/28), Abandonment
- DELLA ROBBIA, LUCA (Italian sculptor, ceramist, painter,
1400–1482), Mirror/Reflection, Reading
- DELVAUX, PAUL (Belgian painter, printmaker, illustrator,
born 1897), Arms Raised, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne,
Metamorphosis, Naked/Nude, Night, Sleep/Sleeping
- DELVILLE, JEAN (Belgian painter, 1867–1953),
Beheading/Decapitation, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne,
Nightmare
- DE MORGAN, EVELYN (British artist, 1850/55–1919),
Abandonment, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale
- DENIS, MAURICE (French painter, author, 1870–1943),
Annunciation, Crucifixion, Dawn/Dawning,
Devotion/Piety, Visiting/Visitation, Whiteness
- DERAIN, ANDRÉ (French painter, sculptor, printmaker,
1880–1954), Bacchanalia/Orgy, Bath/Bathing,
Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Masks/Personae

- DERUTA, CASTEL (Italian majolica designer, active circa 1530), Love and Death
- DESBOUTIN, MARCELLIN-GILBERT (French painter, 1823–1902), Drunkenness/Intoxication
- DES GRANGES, DAVID (English miniaturist, printmaker, painter, circa 1611–circa 1675), Birth/Childbirth
- DESIDEREO DE SETTIGNANO (Italian sculptor, 1428–1464), Honor/Honoring
- DESMARÉES, GEORG (Swedish painter, 1697–1776), Self-Portraits I
- DESNOS, FERDINAND (French artist, active circa 1934), Devotion/Piety
- DÉSORIA, JEAN-BAPTISTE-FRANÇOIS (French painter, 1758–1832), Whiteness
- DEVERELL, WALTER HOWELL (British painter, 1827–1854), Expulsion
- DEVÉRIA, ACHILLE (French painter, printmaker, draftsman, 1800–1857), Sleep/Sleeping
- DEVÉRIA, EUGÈNE-FRANÇOIS-MARIE-JOSEPH (French artist, 1805–1865), Birth/Childbirth
- DEVIS, ARTHUR (British painter, circa 1708–1787), Whiteness
- DE WINT, PETER (British painter, 1784–1849), Harvesting
- DICKINSON, WILLIAM (British artist, 1746–1823), Madness
- DIDIER, JULES (French artist, 1831–after 1880), Caricature/Cartoon
- DIEPRAEM, ABRAHAM (Dutch painter, 1622–1670), Laughter
- DIRCK, PHILIPPE VAN (Netherlandish painter, 17th century), Music
- DIX, OTTO (German painter, printmaker, 1891–1969), Madness, Melancholy, Night, Order/Chaos, Pregnancy, Sin/Sinning
- DIXON, ALFRED (British artist, 1842–1919), Abandonment
- DIZIANI, GASPARE (Italian painter, 1689–1767), Abduction/Rape
- DOKIMASIA PAINTER (Greek vase painter, 500–475 B.C.), Bath/Bathing
- DOLCI, CARLO (Italian painter, 1616–1686), Bath/Bathing, Imagination/Creativity
- DOMENICHINO (DOMENICO ZAMPIERI) (Italian painter, 1481–1641), Betrayal, Communion, Crucifixion, Devotion/Piety, Envy, Journey/Flight, Judgment, Martyrdom, Sacrifice, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- DOMENICO FIORENTINO (DOMENICO RICOVERI) (Italian sculptor, stucco artist, painter, printmaker in France, circa 1506–1570/75), Fame
- DOMENICO VENEZIANO (DOMENICO DI BARTOLOMEO DA VENEZIA) (Italian painter, circa 1400–1461), Apotheosis/Deification, Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Hanging, Path/Road/Crossroads
- DONATELLO (DONATO DI NICCOLÒ DI BETTO BARDI) (Italian sculptor, circa 1386–1466), Arms Raised, Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Death, Devotion/Piety, Hair/Haircutting, Honor/Honoring, Martyrdom, Mirror/Reflection, Naked/Nude, Penitence/Repentance
- DONGEN, KEES VAN (Dutch painter, 1877–1968), Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- DONNER, GEORG RAPHAEL (Austrian sculptor, 1693–1741), Judgment
- DORÉ, GUSTAVE (French artist, 1832–1883), Adultery, Ascent/Descent, Damned Souls, Journey/Flight, Judgment, Margins/Outsiders, Martyrdom, Seasons
- DORNSEIF, FRANK (German painter, sculptor, 20th century), Hermaphrodite/Androgyne
- DOSSI, DOSSO (GIOVANNI DE LUTERO) (Italian painter, circa 1490–1541), Bacchanalia/Orgy, Fame, Journey/Flight, Labyrinth/Maze, Laughter
- DOU, GERRIT (Dutch painter, 1613–1675), Betrayal, Music, Penitence/Repentance, Vanity/Vanitas
- DOVE, ARTHUR GARFIELD (American painter, 1880–1946), Night
- DRAPER, HERBERT JAMES (British artist, 1963/64–1920), Abandonment
- DRESDEN SCHOOL, Devotion/Piety
- DROST, WILLEM (Dutch painter, 1630–1688), Temptation
- DROUAIS, FRANÇOIS-HUBERT (French painter, 1727–1775), Imagination/Creativity
- DRYANDER, JOHANNES (JOHANN FRIEDRICH) (German painter, 1756–1812), Pregnancy
- DUBREUIL, TOUSSAINT (French painter, 1561–1602), Toilet Scenes
- DUBREUIL, VICTOR (American artist, active 1888–1900), Money
- DUBUFFET, JEAN (French painter, sculptor, printmaker, 1901–1985), Madness
- DUCCIO DI BUONINSEGNA (Italian painter, circa 1225–before 1319), Abandonment, Annunciation, Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Crucifixion, Damned Souls, Death, Grieving/Lamentation, Honor/Honoring, Journey/Flight, Metamorphosis, Order/Chaos, Temptation, Virgin/Virginity
- DUCHAMP, MARCEL (French artist, 1887–1968), Artists/Art, Comic, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Order/Chaos
- DUCHAMP-VILLON, RAYMOND (French sculptor, 1876–1918), Metamorphosis
- DUKE, LODOVICO (Italian printmaker, 16th century), Pregnancy
- DUMON, PIERRE (French tapestry weaver, 17th century), Journey/Flight
- DUNTHORN, JAMES (British painter, 18th century), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
- DUPAIN, MAX (Australian artist, 20th century), Night
- DUQUESNOY, JERÔME (Flemish sculptor, circa 1570–1641), Penitence/Repentance
- DURAMEAU, LOUIS-JEAN-JACQUES (French painter, 1733–1796), Virtue/Virtues
- DURAND, ASHER BROWN (American painter, printmaker, 1796–1886), Ecstasy
- DURANTE, CASTEL (Italian painter of majolica, 16th century), Love and Death
- DÜRER, ALBRECHT (German painter, printmaker, 1471–1520), Adultery, Abduction/Rape, Apocalypse, Artists/Art, Ascent/Descent, Automata, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Bath/Bathing, Choice/Choosing, Comic, Crucifixion, Damned Souls, Dawn/Dawning, Devotion/Piety, Dreams/Visions, Expulsion, Journey/Flight, Funeral/Burial, Gaze,

- Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Imagination/Creativity, Journey/Flight, Kiss/Kissing, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Melancholy, Mirror/Reflection, Music, Naked/Nude, Nightmare, Order/Chaos, Path/Road/Crossroads, Peasantry, Penitence/Repentance, Physiognomy, Plague/Pestilence, Pointing/Indicating, Pregnancy, Protestantism, Reading, Self-Portraits I, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Shipwreck, Sin/Sinning, Temptation, Visiting/Visitation, Voyeurism, Witchcraft/Sorcery, Zodiac
- DUSART, CORNELIS (Dutch painter, printmaker, 1660–1704), Harvesting, Months
- DUVENECK, FRANK (American painter, printmaker, 1848–1919), Laughter
- DUVET, JEAN (French printmaker, goldsmith, 1485–1570?), Apocalypse
- DYCE, WILLIAM (British painter, 1806–1864), Artists/Art, Reading
- DYCK, ANTHONY VAN (Flemish artist, 1599–1641), Adultery, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Bath/Bathing, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Hair/Haircutting, Honor/Honoring, Humors, Melancholy, Plague/Pestilence, Self-Portraits I, Serpent's Bite, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Virgin/Virginity
- EADWINE (English scribe, 12th century), Labor/Trades/Occupations
- EAKINS, THOMAS (American painter, sculptor, 1844–1916), Labor/Trades/Occupations, Naked/Nude, Sleep/Sleeping
- EASTLAKE, CHARLES LOCK (British painter, art historian, 1793–1865), Journey/Flight
- EECKHOUT, GERBRAND VAN DEN (Dutch painter, printmaker, 1621–1674), Calumny, Sacrifice
- EGG, AUGUSTUS LEOPOLD (British painter, 1816–1863), Adultery, Mirror/Reflection
- EHRENSTRAHL, DAVID KLÖCKER (Swedish painter, art historian, 1628–1698), Self-Portraits I
- EISEN, CHARLES-JOSEPH-DOMINIQUE (French painter, printmaker, 1720–1778), Seasons
- ELHAFEN, IGNAZ (German ivory carver, 1685–1725), Abduction/Rape
- ELKAN, BENNO (German sculptor, painter, author, 1877–1960), Judaism
- ELLENRIEDER, MARIE (German painter, 1791–1863, Baptism
- ELSHEIMER, ADAM (German painter, 1578–1610), Destruction of City, Journey/Flight, Love and Death, Martyrdom
- EMBRIACHI WORKSHOP (Family of Italian carvers, 15th century), Judgment
- EMPOLI, JACOPO DA *see* JACOPO DA EMPOLI (JACOPO CHIMENTI)
- EMS, RUDOLF VON (Austrian illuminator, circa 1200–1254), Ascent/Descent
- ENDE, HANS AM *see* AM ENDE, HANS
- ENGEL, JOSEF (Hungarian sculptor, 1815–1891), Journey/Flight
- ENSOR, JAMES (Belgium painter, printmaker, 1860–1949), Death, Hanging, Masks/Personae, Nightmare, Path/Road/Crossroads
- ERETRIA PAINTER (Greek vase painter, 450–420 B.C.), Ecstasy
- ERNST, MAX (German painter, collagist, author, 1891–1976), Arms Raised, Ascent/Descent, Bath/Bathing, Dreams/Visions, Journey/Flight, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Imagination/Creativity, Night, Sanctuary, Self-Portraits I, Shipwreck, Temptation, Voyeurism, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- ESCHER, MAURITS CORNELIS (Dutch printmaker, 1898–1972), Ascent/Descent, Expulsion, Order/Chaos, Upside Down
- ESCOULA, JEAN (French sculptor, 1851–1911), Love and Death
- ESTES, RICHARD (American painter, born 1932), Mirror/Reflection
- ESTIENNE, CHARLES (French artist, 16th century), Pregnancy
- ETTY, WILLIAM (British painter, 1787–1849), Fortune, Journey/Flight, Voyeurism
- EUPHRONIUS (Greek vase painter, active circa 510–490 B.C.), Labor/Trades/Occupations, Pointing/Indicating
- EUTHYMIDES (Greek vase painter, 530–500 B.C.), Abduction/Rape
- EUTYCHIDES OF SICYON (Greek sculptor, active circa 318 B.C.), Fortune, Virtue/Virtues
- EVERDINGEN, CAESAR BOETIUS VAN (Dutch painter, 1606–1678), Female Beauty and Adornment, Harvesting
- EVERGOOD, PHILIP (American painter, printmaker, 1901–1973), Laughter
- EWANOKI, MARY (American embroiderer, 20th century), Pregnancy
- EXEKIAS (Greek vase painter, circa 545–530 B.C.), Drunkenness/Intoxication, Madness
- EYCK, JAN VAN (Netherlandish painter, circa 1390–1441), Betrayal, Communion, Damned Souls, Devotion/Piety, Funeral/Burial, Gaze, Judgment, Justice, Marriage/Betrothal, Martyrdom, Mirror/Reflection, Music, Naked/Nude, Offering, Patronage, Pregnancy, Sacrifice, Self-Portraits I, Sin/Sinning, Toilet Scenes, Upside Down, Virgin/Virginity, Whiteness
- EYCK, HUBERT (Early Netherlandish painter, 1366–1426), Communion, Damned Souls, Devotion/Piety, Martyrdom, Naked/Nude, Offering, Peace, Sacrifice, Sanctuary, Whiteness
- FABRITIUS, CAREL (Dutch painter, 1622–1654), Beheading/Decapitation
- FAED, THOMAS (British painter, 1826–1900), Expulsion, Virtue/Virtues
- FALCK, JEREMIAS (Dutch printmaker, circa 1619–1677), Months, Seasons
- FALCONET, ETIENNE-MAURICE (French sculptor, 1716–1791), Naked/Nude
- FAMULUS *see* AMULIUS
- FANTIN-LATOURE, HENRI (French painter, printmaker, 1836–1904), Apotheosis/Deification, Dawn/Dawning, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Imagination/Creativity, Judgment, Night, Self-Portraits I
- FAVRAY, ANTOINE DE (French painter, 1706–circa 1791), Pointing/Indicating

- FEDI, PIO (Italian sculptor, 1816–1892), Madness
- FEDOTOV, PAVEL ANDREEVIC (Russian painter, poet, 1815–1852), Widowhood
- FENTON, ROGER (British photographer, 1819–1869), Sacrifice
- FERNANDEZ, EGAI (Philippine artist, 20th century), Order/Chaos
- FERRARI, GAUDENZIO (Italian painter, sculptor, 1470/80–1546), Annunciation
- FERRARI, GIOVANNI ANDREA DE (Italian painter, 1598–1669), Betrayal
- FERRATA, ERCOLE (Italian sculptor, 1610–1686), Martyrdom
- FERRI, CIRO (Italian painter, sculptor, 1634–1689), Communion
- FERRISS, HUGH (American artist, architect, 1889–1962), Dreams/Visions
- FERRUCCI, ROMOLO DI FRANCESCO (Italian sculptor, died 1621), Madness
- FETTI, DOMENICO (Italian painter, circa 1589–1624), Beheading/Decapitation, Melancholy
- FEUERBACH, ANSELF FREDERICK (German painter, 1829–1880), Imagination/Creativity
- FICHERELLI, FELICE (FELICE RIPOSO) (Italian painter, 1605–1669?), Protestantism
- FILARETE (ANTONIO AVERLINO) (Italian sculptor, architect, draftsman, circa 1400–1469), Abduction/Rape, Fame, Journey/Flight, Love and Death
- FILDES, LUKE (British painter, 1844–1927), Margins/Outsiders, Virtue/Virtues, Visiting/Visitation
- FINI, LÉONOR (Italian painter, scenographer in France, born 1908), Nightmare
- FINIGUERRA, MASO (Italian goldsmith, sculptor, printmaker, 1426–1464), Labyrinth/Maze
- FINLEY, KAREN (American performance artist, active 1990s), Naked/Nude
- FISCHL, ERIC (American artist, born 1948), Naked/Nude
- FLAGG, JAMES MONTGOMERY (American illustrator, painter, author, 1877–1960), Pointing/Indicating
- FLAMAND, PIERRE LA (French metalworker), Adultery
- FLANDRIN, HIPPOLYTE-JEAN (French painter, 1809–1864), Crucifixion, Virgin/Virginity
- FLAVIN, DAN (American artist, author, born 1933), Light II
- FLAXMAN, JOHN (British sculptor, designer, 1755–1826), Damned Souls, Death, Dreams/Visions, Journey/Flight, Kiss/Kissing, Madness, Reading
- FLEISHNER, RICHARD (American artist, 20th century), Labyrinth/Maze
- FLEMISH SCHOOL, Martyrdom
- FLETCHER, WILLIAM TEULON BLANFORD (British painter, 1858–1936), Expulsion
- FLINCK, GOVAERT (Dutch painter, 1615–1660), Betrayal, Sacrifice
- FLORIS, FRANS, THE ELDER (Early Netherlandish painter, printmaker, circa 1519–1570), Betrayal, Expulsion, Judgment, Music, Self-Portraits I, Serpent's Bite
- FOGEL, SEYMOUR (American painter, sculptor, born 1911), Labor/Trades/Occupations
- FOGOLINO, MARCELLO (Italian painter, printmaker, active 1519–1548), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
- FONTAINEBLEAU, SCHOOL OF, Female Beauty and Adornment, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Toilet Scenes
- FONTANA, LAVINIA (Italian painter, 1552–1614), Self-Portraits II, Serpent's Bite, Toilet Scenes, Visiting/Visitation
- FORBES, STANHOPE ALEXANDER (British painter, 1857–1947), Marriage/Betrothal
- FORD, HENRY JUSTICE (British artist, 1860–1941), Abduction/Rape, Laughter
- FORSTER, JOSEPH WILSON (British artist, active 1889–1916), Seasons
- FOUNDRY PAINTER (Greek vase painter, circa 500–475 B.C.), Abandonment, Drunkenness/Intoxication
- FOUQUET, JEAN (French painter, illuminator, circa 1420–circa 1480), Birth/Childbirth, Fools/Folly, Funeral/Burial, Night, Sanctuary
- FRAGONARD, JEAN-HONRÉ (French painter, 1737–1806), Bacchanalia/Orgy, Betrayal, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Kiss/Kissing, Marriage/Betrothal, Naked/Nude, Reading, Sleep/Sleeping, Toilet Scenes, Voyeurism, Whiteness
- FRANCESCHINI, MARCANTONIO (Italian painter, 1648–1729), Birth/Childbirth
- FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO MARTINI (Italian architect, sculptor, painter, theorist, 1439–1501), Penitence/Repentance, Temptation
- FRANCIA, FRANCESCO (FRANCESCO RAIBOLINI) (Italian goldsmith, medalist, painter, circa 1450–1517), Crucifixion
- FRANCIABIGIO (FRANCESCO DI CRISTOFANO) (Italian artist, 1482/83–1525), Adultery
- FRANCKEN, FRANS, THE YOUNGER (Flemish painter, 1581–1642), Avarice, Judgment, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- FRANCKEN, HIERONYMOUS III (Flemish painter, born 1611), Money
- FRANCO, GIACOMO (Italian printmaker, publisher, 1550–1620), Toilet Scenes
- FRANQUE, JOSEPH (French painter, 1774–1833), Misfortune
- FRATELLINI, GIOVANNI (Italian painter, 1666–1731), Self-Portraits II
- FREUD, LUCIEN (British painter, born 1922), Naked/Nude
- FRIEDRICH, CASPAR DAVID (German painter, 1774–1840), Crucifixion, Dawn/Dawning, Devotion/Piety, Funeral/Burial, Margins/Outsiders, Melancholy, Mirror/Reflection, Night, Protestantism, Shipwreck, Sublime
- FRIEDRICH, OTTO (German artist, 1862–1937), Penitence/Repentance
- FRISIUS, SIMON WYNOUTS *see* VRIES, SIMON WYNHOUTSZ.
- FRITH, WILLIAM POWELL (British painter, 1819–1909), Avarice, Margins/Outsiders, Physiognomy
- FÜGER, HEINRICH (German painter, 1751–1818), Death
- FUJIWARA NOBUZANE (Japanese scroll painter, 13th century), Damned Souls
- FULLER, GEORGE (American painter, 1822–1884), Witchcraft/Sorcery
- FUNGAI, BERNARDINO (Italian painter, 1460–1516), Choice/Choosing

- FURINI, FRANCESCO (Italian painter, poet, 1603–1646), Abduction/Rape
- FURTENAGEL, LAUX/LUKAS (German painter, 1505–circa 1546), Mirror/Reflection
- FURTMEYER, BERTHOLD (German illuminator, circa 1435/40–after 1501), Sin/Sinning
- FUSELI, HENRY (Swiss painter in Great Britain, 1741–1825), Dreams/Visions, Madness, Night, Nightmare, Pointing/Indicating, Shipwreck, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- FYT, JAN (Flemish painter, 1611–1661), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
- GADDI, AGNOLO (Italian painter, died 1396), Sacrifice, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- GADDI, TADDEO (Italian painter, circa 1300–1366), Arms Raised, Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Crucifixion, Devotion/Piety, Night, Sacrifice, Visiting/Visitation
- GAINSBOROUGH, THOMAS (British painter, 1727–1788), Artists/Art, Marriage/Betrothal, Patronage, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Whiteness
- GALIZIA, FEDE (Italian painter, 1578–circa 1638), Beheading/Decapitation
- GALLE, PHILIP (Netherlandish printmaker, 1537–1612), Journey/Flight, Penitence/Repentance, Seasons, Sin/Sinning, Sleep/Sleeping
- GALLE, THEODOR (Flemish printmaker, 1571–1633), Imagination/Creativity
- GAMBELLO, ANTONIO (Italian architect, sculptor, died circa 1481), Justice
- GARGIULO, DOMENICO (MICCO SPADARO) (Italian painter, 1612–1675), Plague/Pestilence, Temptation
- GAROFALO, BENVENUTO TISI DA (Italian painter, 1481–1559), Misfortune
- GASSEL, LUCAS (Netherlandish painter, active 1538–1568), Journey/Flight, Labyrinth/Maze
- GAST, JOHN (American painter, 19th century), Dreams/Visions
- GAUDÍ Y CORNET, ANTONIO (Spanish architect, 1852–1926), Light II
- GAUFFIER, LOUIS (French painter, 1761–1801), Virtue/Virtues
- GAUQUIN, PAUL (French painter, sculptor, printmaker, 1848–1903), Artists/Art, Birth/Childbirth, Choice/Choosing, Crucifixion, Dawn/Dawning, Death, Dreams/Visions, Expulsion, Naked/Nude, Nightmare, Peasantry, Self-Portraits I, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Upside Down
- GAULLI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA (BACCICCO) (Italian painter, 1639–1709), Devotion/Piety, Sin/Sinning
- GEBHARDT, EDUARD KARL FRANZ VON (German painter, 1838–1925), Devotion/Piety, Penitence/Repentance, Protestantism
- GEERAERTS, MARCUS THE YOUNGER *see* GHEERAERTS, MARCUS, THE YOUNGER
- GEERTGEN TOT SINT JANS (Netherlandish painter, circa 1465–circa 1495), Light II, Melancholy, Music, Night
- GELDER, AERT DE (Dutch artist, draftsman, 1645–1727), Laughter, Visiting/Visitation
- GELTON, TOUSSAINT (Dutch painter, circa 1630–1680), Love and Death
- GENELLI, BONAVENTURA (German painter, 1798–1868), Madness
- GENTILE DA FABRIANO (GENTILE DI NICCOLÒ DE GIOVANNI MASSI) (Italian painter, 1370–1427), Annunciation, Birth/Childbirth, Devotion/Piety, Journey/Flight, Kiss/Kissing, Light II, Margins/Outsiders, Night, Path/Road/Crossroads
- GENTILESCHI, ARTEMISIA (Italian painter, 1593–after 1651), Adultery, Artists/Art, Bath/Bathing, Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Calumny, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Hair/Haircutting, Imagination/Creativity, Judaism, Naked/Nude, Night, Penitence/Repentance, Self-Portraits II, Temptation, Toilet Scenes, Voyeurism
- GENTILESCHI, ORAZIO (Italian painter, 1563–1639), Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Imagination/Creativity, Money, Naked/Nude
- GÉRARD, FRANÇOIS-PASCAL-SIMON (French painter, 1770–1837), Love and Death, Naked/Nude
- GÉRICAUT, JEAN-LOUIS-ANDRÉ-THÉODORE (French painter, sculptor, 1791–1824), Arms Raised, Death, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Fools/Folly, Hanging, Journey/Flight, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Madness, Margins/Outsiders, Melancholy, Misfortune, Physiognomy, Pointing/Indicating, Self-Portraits I, Shipwreck
- GÉRÔME, JEAN-LÉON (French painter, sculptor, 1824–1904), Bacchanalia/Orgy, Death, Luxury, Metamorphosis, Plague/Pestilence, Sport, Voyeurism
- GERUNG, MATTHIAS (German painter, printmaker, tapestry designer, circa 1500–1568/70), Melancholy
- GERVEX, HENRI (French painter, 1852–1929), Sleep/Sleeping
- GHEERAERTS, MARCUS, THE YOUNGER (Flemish painter, 1561–1635), Whiteness
- GHEYN, GUILLAUME DE (Dutch artist, 1610–circa 1650), Seasons
- GHEYN, JACOB I DE (Early Netherlandish painter, glass painter, printmaker, circa 1537–1581), Humors, Toilet Scenes, Vanity/Vanitas
- GHEYN, JACOB II DE (Dutch painter, printmaker, 1565–1629), Money, Vanity/Vanitas, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- GHEZZI, PIER LEONE (Italian painter, 1674–1755), Caricature/Cartoon
- GHIBERTI, LORENZO (Italian sculptor, theorist, circa 1381–1455), Artists/Art, Baptism, Betrayal, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Expulsion, Judaism, Marriage/Betrothal, Naked/Nude, Patronage, Sacrifice, Self-Portraits I, Sleep/Sleeping
- GHIRLANDAIO, DOMENICO (DOMENICO BIGARDI) (Italian painter, 1449–1494), Annunciation, Bath/Bathing, Betrayal, Devotion/Piety, Marriage/Betrothal, Sacrifice, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Visiting/Visitation
- GHISI, LUCA (Italian printmaker, 1520–1582), Dreams/Visions
- GIACOMETTI, ALBERTO (Swiss painter, sculptor, printmaker, 1901–1966), Crucifixion
- GIAMBOLOGNA (JEAN BOULOGNE) (Flemish sculptor in Italy, 1529–1608), Abduction/Rape, Honor/Honoring, Journey/Flight, Melancholy, Virtue/Virtues

- GIANI, FELICE (Italian painter, illustrator, 1758–1823),
 Journey/Flight
 GIBB, ROBERT II (British artist, 1845–1932), Journey/Flight
 GIBSON, JOHN (British sculptor, 1790–1866),
 Abduction/Rape
 GIGOLI, LUDOVICO (Italian artist, 16th century),
 Honor/Honoring
 GILL, ERIC (British stone carver, engraver, typographer,
 author, 1882–1940), Ecstasy, Sport
 GILLOT, CLAUDE (French painter, printmaker,
 1673–1722), Masks/Personae
 GILLRAY, JAMES (British caricaturist, 1757–1815),
 Caricature/Cartoon, Comic, Money, Sin/Sinning
 GINNER, CHARLES (British painter, 1878–1952),
 Labor/Trades/Occupations
 GIORDANO, LUCA (Italian painter, printmaker,
 1632–1705), Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Ascent/Descent,
 Avarice, Damned Souls, Expulsion, Imagination/
 Creativity, Journey/Flight, Judgment, Laughter, Love and
 Death, Plague/Pestilence, Self-Portraits I
 GIORGIONE (GIORGIO DA CASTELFRANCO) (Italian
 painter, 1477/78–1510), Beheading/Decapitation,
 Judgment, Naked/Nude, Nightmare, Pointing/Indicating,
 Self-Portraits I, Serpent's Bite, Shepherds/Shepherdesses,
 Sleep/Sleeping
 GIOTTO DI BONDONE (Italian painter, architect, circa
 1266–1337), Annunciation, Apotheosis/Deification, Arms
 Raised, Artists/Art, Betrayal, Choice/Choosing, Comic,
 Communion, Crucifixion, Damned Souls, Death, Devotion/
 Piety, Dreams/Visions, Fame, Fools/Folly, Funeral/Burial,
 Grieving/Lamentation, Hanging, Journey/Flight, Judgment,
 Justice, Kiss/Kissing, Labor/Trades/Occupations,
 Marriage/Betrothal, Path/Road/Crossroads, Reading,
 Sacrifice, Sin/Sinning, Vices/Deadly Sins, Virgin/Virginity,
 Virtue/Virtues, Visiting/Visitation, Zodiac
 GIOVANNI ANTONIO DA BRESCIA (Italian printmaker,
 active 1490–circa 1528), Drunkenness/Intoxication
 GIOVANNI DA MILANO (Italian painter, active
 1346–1369), Birth/Childbirth
 GIOVANNI DI PAOLO (Italian painter, illuminator,
 1403–1482), Abduction/Rape, Ascent/Descent,
 Dawn/Dawning, Journey/Flight, Margins/Outsiders,
 Path/Road/Crossroads, Sacrifice, Shipwreck,
 Virgin/Virginity, Zodiac
 GIOVANNINI, GIACOMO MARIA (Italian painter,
 printmaker, 1667–1717), Madness
 GIRARDON, FRANÇOIS (French sculptor, 1628–1715),
 Bath/Bathing, Seasons
 GIRODET-TRIOSON, ANNE-LOUIS (French painter,
 printmaker, 1767–1824), Abduction/Rape, Envy,
 Funeral/Burial, Grieving/Lamentation, Judgment, Love
 and Death, Money, Naked/Nude, Sleep/Sleeping
 GIROLAMO DA CARPI (Italian painter, architect,
 1501–1556), Penitence/Repentance, Virgin/Virginity
 GISLEBERTUS (French sculpture, 12th century), Judgment,
 Order/Chaos, Sin/Sinning, Temptation
 GIULIO ROMANO (GIULIO PIPPI) (Italian painter,
 architect, 1491/99–1546), Bath/Bathing, Comic,
 Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Fame,
 Journey/Flight, Love and Death, Luxury, Metamorphosis,
 Nightmare, Penitence/Repentance, Pregnancy,
 Sleep/Sleeping, Virtue/Virtues
 GLACKENS, WILLIAM (American painter, 1870–1938),
 Bath/Bathing
 GLEIZES, ALBERT (French painter, author, 1881–1953),
 Sport
 GLEYRE, CHARLES (Swiss painter, 1806–1874),
 Abandonment, Bacchanalia/Orgy
 GODET, HENRI (French sculptor, 1863–1937),
 Abduction/Rape
 GÖDING, HEINRICH (German painter, printmaker,
 1531–1606), Communion
 GOES, HUGO VAN DER (Early Netherlandish painter, circa
 1440–1482), Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Choice/Choosing,
 Devotion/Piety, Dreams/Visions, Expulsion, Martyrdom,
 Shepherds/Shepherdesses
 GOGH, VINCENT VAN (Dutch artist, 1853–1890),
 Artists/Art, Communion, Dawn/Dawning, Death, Ecstasy,
 Grieving/Lamentation, Harvesting, Labor/Trades/
 Occupations, Madness, Melancholy, Night, Order/Chaos,
 Path/Road/Crossroads, Peasantry, Physiognomy,
 Pregnancy, Reading, Self-Portraits I, Sin/Sinning
 GOINGS, RALPH LADELL (American painter, born 1928),
 Mirror/Reflection
 GOLTZIUS, HENDRIK (Dutch painter, printmaker,
 1558–1617), Adultery, Annunciation, Envy,
 Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Humors, Laughter, Love and
 Death, Luxury, Money, Penitence/Repentance,
 Pointing/Indicating, Seasons, Serpent's Bite, Vanity/Vanitas
 GOLTZIUS, JULIUS (Dutch printmaker, active circa
 1575–1595), Months
 GONJOU, JEAN (French sculptor, architect, printmaker,
 active 1540, died circa 1568), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
 GONZALÈS, EVA (French painter and pastellist,
 1849–1883), Whiteness
 GOODALL, FREDERICK (British painter, 1822–1904),
 Expulsion
 GORKY, ARSHILE (VOSDANIG MANOOG ADOIAN)
 (American painter, 1904–1948), Martyrdom, Night
 GORNIK, APRIL (American painter, born 1953), Night
 GOSSAERT, JAN (MABUSE) (Early Netherlandish painter,
 circa 1472–1533), Adultery, Betrayal,
 Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Money
 GOTCH, THOMAS COOPER (British painter, printmaker,
 1854–1931), Hermaphrodite/Androgyne
 GOTTLIEB, ADOLPH (American painter, 1903–1974),
 Abduction/Rape, Journey/Flight, Night
 GÖTZ, GOTTFRIED BERNHARD (German painter,
 printmaker, 1708–1774), Pregnancy
 GOUJON, JEAN (French architect, printmaker, sculptor,
 active 1548, died 1564/68), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
 GOW, ANDREW CARRICK (British artist, 1848–1920),
 Journey/Flight
 GOYA, FRANCISCO DE (Spanish painter, 1746–1828),
 Artists/Art, Beheading/Decapitation, Calumny,
 Caricature/Cartoon, Comic, Dreams/Visions,
 Fools/Folly, Gaze, Grieving/Lamentation, Hanging,
 Labor/Trades/Occupations, Laughter, Madness,
 Margins/Outsiders, Melancholy, Misfortune,
 Naked/Nude, Night, Nightmare, Order/Chaos,

- Path/Road/Crossroads, Penitence/Repentance, Self-Portraits I, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- GOZ, GOTTFRIED BERNHARD *see* GÖTZ, GOTTFRIED BERNHARD
- GOZZOLI, BENOZZO (Italian painter, 1420–1497), Abduction/Rape, Birth/Childbirth, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Journey/Flight, Path/Road/Crossroads, Sacrifice, Visiting/Visitation
- GRAEFLE, ALBERT (British painter, 1807–1889), Widowhood
- GRAF, URS, THE ELDER (Swiss painter, printmaker, goldsmith, circa 1485–1527/29), Hanging
- GRAMMATICA, ANTIVEDUTO (Italian painter, 1571–1626), Betrayal
- GRANDPIERRE-DEVERZY, ADRIENNE-MARIE-LOUISE (French painter, 1798–1855), Self-Portraits II
- GRANDVILLE (JEAN-IGNACE-ISIDORE GÉRARD) (French illustrator, cartoonist, printmaker, 1803–1847), Automata, Caricature/Cartoon, Nightmare, Seasons
- GRECO, EL (DOMENICO THEOTOCOPULI) (Greek painter in Spain, 1541–1614), Arms Raised, Crucifixion, Dreams/Visions, Ecstasy, Funeral/Burial, Grieving/Lamentation, Martyrdom, Money, Night, Path/Road/Crossroads, Penitence/Repentance, Pointing/Indicating, Serpent's Bite, Virgin/Virginity
- GREUZE, JEAN-BAPTISTE (French painter, 1725–1805), Death, Mirror/Reflection, Penitence/Repentance, Widowhood
- GRIBELIN, SIMON II (British printmaker, 1661–1733), Choice/Choosing
- GRIEN, HANS BALDUNG *see* BALDUNG, HANS
- GRIMSHAW, JOHN ATKINSON (British painter, 1836–1893), Night
- GRIS, JUAN (Spanish painter, 1887–1924), Artists/Art
- GROS, ANTOINE-JEAN, BARON (French painter, 1771–1835), Death, Plague/Pestilence, Pointing/Indicating
- GROSZ, GEORGE (German painter, printmaker, 1893–1958), Caricature/Cartoon, Dreams/Visions, Funeral/Burial, Order/Chaos
- GROUX, HENRI DE (Belgium painter, sculptor, printmaker, 1867–1930), Apocalypse
- GRÜNEWALD, MATTHIAS (German painter, circa 1480–1520), Annunciation, Ascent/Descent, Crucifixion, Dawn/Dawning, Death, Grieving/Lamentation, Light II, Madness, Nightmare, Pointing/Indicating, Sacrifice, Temptation
- GU, HWAN YOUNG *see* HWAN YOUNG GU
- GUARDI, GIOVANNI ANTONIO (Italian painter, 1699–1760), Artists/Art
- GUARIENTO (Italian painter, circa 1310–circa 1370), Fame
- GUERCINO (GIOVANNI FRANCESCO BARBIERI) (Italian painter, 1591–1666), Adultery, Calumny, Dawn/Dawning, Funeral/Burial, Journey/Flight, Love and Death, Melancholy, Peace, Penitence/Repentance, Protestantism, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Sleep/Sleeping, Virtue/Virtues
- GUIARD, LAURENT (French sculptor, 1723–1788), Journey/Flight
- GUISE MASTER *see* MASTER OF THE GUISE HOURS
- GUMP, JOHANNES BAPTISTE, THE ELDER (German artist, 1651–1728), Self-Portraits I
- GUSTON, PHILIP (American painter, 1913–1980), Hanging, Labor/Trades/Occupations
- GUTHRIE, JAMES (British painter, 1859–1930), Whiteness
- GUTTOSO, RENATO (Italian painter, author, 1912–1987), Martyrdom
- HAARLEM, CORNELIS VAN *see* CORNELISZ. VAN HAARLEM, CORNELIS
- HAAS, ERNST (American photographer, born 1921), Order/Chaos
- HAAS, PHILIP (American photographer, active 1839–1857), Money
- HABERLE, JOHN (American painter, 1856–1933), Money
- HAECHT, WILLEM II VAN (Flemish painter, printmaker, 1599–1637), Imagination/Creativity
- HAGESANDROS *see* AGESANDROS OF RHODES
- HALLÉ, NOËL (French painter, printmaker, 1856–after 1908), Virtue/Virtues
- HALPRIN, ANN (artist, 20th century), Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- HALS, FRANS (Dutch painter, 1581/85–1666), Laughter, Luxury, Vanity/Vanitas
- HAMILTON, GAVIN (British painter, antiquary, 1723–1798), Death, Whiteness
- HAMILTON, JAMES (American painter, 1819–1878), Sublime
- HAMILTON, RICHARD (British artist, born 1922), Comic
- HAMILTON, WILLIAM (British painter, 1751–1801), Seasons
- HAN KAN (Chinese painter, active 2nd and 3rd quarters of 8th century), Luxury
- HARNETT, WILLIAM (American painter, 1848–1892), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Money
- HART, SOLOMON ALEXANDER (British painter, 1806–1881), Judaism
- HARTLEY, MARSDEN (American painter, poet, 1877–1943), Imagination/Creativity
- HARUNOBU, SUZUKI (Japanese printmaker, circa 1725–1770), Seasons
- HARVEY, ELISABETH (British artist, active 1802–1812), Widowhood
- HASENCLEVER, JOHANN PETER (German painter, 1810–1853), Artists/Art
- HASSAM, CHILDE (American painter, printmaker, 1859–1935), Night
- HAUDEBOURT-LESCOT, ANTOINETTE-CÉCILE-HORTENSE (French painter, 1784–1845), Self-Portraits II
- HAUSMANN, RAOUL (Austrian painter, sculptor, author, 1886–1971), Automata
- HAYDON, BENJAMIN ROBERT (British painter, author, 1786–1846), Artists/Art
- HAYEZ, FRANCESCO (Italian artist, 1791–1881), Adultery, Kiss/Kissing
- HAYMAN, FRANCIS (British painter, 1700–1776), Abandonment, Whiteness
- HEADE, MARTIN JOHNSON (American painter, 1819–1904), Light II, Night
- HEARTFIELD, JOHN (German painter, printmaker, filmmaker, journalist, 1891–1968), Hanging, Money
- HEATH, WILLIAM (British artist, 1795–1848), Hanging

- HECKEL, ERICH (German painter, printmaker, 1883–1970), Bath/Bathing, Madness
- HEDA, WILLEM CLAESZ. (Dutch painter, 1594–1680/82), Vanity/Vanitas
- HEEM, JAN DAVIDSZ. DE (Dutch painter, 1606–circa 1684), Abundance, Vanity/Vanitas
- HEEMSKERCK, MAERTEN VAN (Early Netherlandish painter, printmaker, 1498–1574), Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Betrayal, Humors, Imagination/Creativity, Journey/Flight, Music, Peasantry, Sacrifice, Seasons, Self-Portraits I, Serpent's Bite
- HEINTZ, JOSEPH, THE ELDER (Swiss painter, architect, 1564–1609), Abandonment, Abduction/Rape
- HEMESSEN, JAN VAN (Early Netherlandish painter, circa 1500–1575), Journey/Flight
- HEMESSEN, KATHARINA VAN (Netherlandish painter, 1527/28–circa 1587), Self-Portraits II
- HENFENFELD, MARTIN PFINZING VON (German painter, 1521–1572), Misfortune
- HENRI, ROBERT (American painter, 1865–1929), Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Laughter
- HERACLITUS (Roman copyist, 2nd century), Comic
- HERDMAN, ROBERT (British painter, 1829–1888), Beheading/Decapitation, Expulsion, Journey/Flight
- HERING, LOY (German sculptor, circa 1484–after 1554), Betrayal
- HERKOMER, HUBERT VON (British painter, printmaker, 1849–1914), Margins/Outsiders, Virtue/Virtues
- HERNEISEN, ANDREAS (German painter, 1538–1610), Protestantism
- HERRAD VON LANDSBERG (German abbess, author, illuminator, active 1168, died 1195), Ascent/Descent, Fortune
- HERRI MET DE BLES (Early Netherlandish painter, circa 1510–circa 1550), Labor/Trades/Occupations
- HERRING, JOHN FREDERICK, I (British painter, 1795–1865), Harvesting
- HESDIN, JACQUEMART DE (French illuminator, active 1380–1411), Fools/Folly, Funeral/Burial, Journey/Flight
- HEY, JEAN *see* MASTER OF MOULINS
- HEYDEN, PIETER VAN DER (Netherlandish printmaker, circa 1530–circa 1575), Seasons
- HICKS, EDWARD (American painter, 1780–1849), Order/Chaos, Peace
- HICKS, GEORGE ELGAR (British painter, 1824–1914), Abandonment
- HIERON (Greek vase painter, circa 400 B.C.), Adultery
- HIGHMORE, JOSEPH (British painter, 1692–1780), Abandonment, Whiteness
- HILDEBERT (German illuminator, 12th century), Labor/Trades/Occupations
- HILDEGARD VON BINGEN (German illuminator, author, active 1142–1152), Birth/Childbirth
- HILDENBRAND, ADOLF (German painter, printmaker, enamelist, 1881–1944), Self-Portraits I
- HILLIARD, NICOLAS (British painter, 1547?–1619), Melancholy, Widowhood, Virgin/Virginity
- HIROSHIGE (Japanese printmaker, 1797–1858), Path/Road/Crossroads, Seasons
- HIRSCH, JOSEPH (American painter, 1910–1981), Hanging
- HIRSCHFELD, AL (American cartoonist, 20th century), Caricature/Cartoon
- HOBBEEMA, MEINDERT (Dutch painter, draftsman, 1638–1709), Path/Road/Crossroads
- HOCH, HANNAH (German artist, 1889–1978), Hermaphrodite/Androgyne
- HOCKNEY, DAVID (British painter, printmaker, photographer, collagist, sceneographer, born 1937), Bath/Bathing
- HODLER, FERDINAND (Swiss painter, 1853–1918), Dawn/Dawning, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Night, Nightmare, Protestantism
- HOERLE, HEINRICH (German painter, 1895–1936), Dreams/Visions
- HOFFMAN, MALVINA (American sculptor, 1887–1966), Kiss/Kissing
- HOFMANN, HANS (German painter in the United States, 1880–1956), Bacchanalia/Orgy
- HOGARTH, WILLIAM (British painter, 1697–1764), Abandonment, Adultery, Artists/Art, Caricature/Cartoon, Comic, Death, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Laughter, Madness, Margins/Outsiders, Marriage/Betrothal, Money, Order/Chaos, Self-Portraits I, Sin/Sinning, Whiteness, Widowhood, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- HOGENBERG, FRANS (Early Netherlandish painter, printmaker, and publisher, before 1540–1590?), Fools/Folly
- HOIN, CLAUDE-JEAN-BAPTISTE (French painter, pastel, printmaker, 1750–1817), Whiteness
- HOKUSAI, KATSUSHIKA (Japanese printmaker, 1760–1849), Dawn/Dawning, Sport
- HOLBEIN, HANS, THE YOUNGER (German painter, printmaker, circa 1492–1543), Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Death, Fools/Folly, Luxury, Money, Music, Plague/Pestilence, Protestantism, Sin/Sinning, Vanity/Vanitas
- HOLIDAY, HENRY (British artist, 1839–1927), Hair/Haircutting
- HOLL, FRANK (British painter, 1845–1888), Abandonment
- HOLLAR, WENCESLAS (Bohemian printmaker, 1607–1677), Destruction of City, Seasons, Self-Portraits I
- HOLZER, ELIZABETH (American artist, 20th century), Grieving/Lamentation
- HOMER, WINSLOW (American painter, 1836–1910), Harvesting, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Night, Reading, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Shipwreck
- HONDIUS, HENDRIK II (Dutch artist, active circa 1597), Seasons, Vanity/Vanitas
- HONTHORST, GERRIT VAN (Dutch painter, 1590–1656), Adultery, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Laughter, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- HOOGE, ROMEYN DE (Dutch painter, sculptor, printmaker, 1645–1708), Funeral/Burial
- HOOGSTRATEN, SAMUEL VAN (Dutch painter, printmaker, poet, 1627–1678), Betrayal, Pregnancy
- HOOKE, ROBERT (British scientist, architect, inventor, 1635–1703), Destruction of City
- HOPPER, EDWARD (American painter, 1882–1967), Bath/Bathing, Light II, Melancholy, Night, Order/Chaos

- HOSMER, HARRIET GOODHUE (American sculptor in Italy, 1830–1908), Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Hair/Haircutting
- HOUBRAKEN, ARNOLD (Dutch art historian, painter, printmaker, 1660–1719), Self-Portraits I
- HOWARD, MICHAEL (British sculptor, 20th century), Automata
- HOWE, OSCAR (American Sioux painter, 20th century), Ecstasy
- HUBER, WOLF (German painter, printmaker, 1485/90–1553), Hanging
- HUGHES, ARTHUR (British painter, 1832–1915), Death, Marriage/Betrothal
- HUGO, JEAN (French painter, designer, 1894–1984), Music
- HUGO, VICTOR (French author, draftsman, 1802–1885), Hanging
- HUMBELOT, JEAN-BAPTISTE (French printmaker, active 1635–1642), Female Beauty and Adornment
- HUNT, RICHARD MORRIS (American architect, 1827–1895), Luxury
- HUNT, WILLIAM HOLMAN (British painter, 1827–1910), Death, Funeral/Burial, Hair/Haircutting, Light I, Margins/Outsiders, Mirror/Reflection, Sacrifice, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Temptation
- HUTINOT, PIERRE (French sculptor, 1616–1679), Seasons
- HUYS, PIETER (Early Netherlandish painter, printmaker, circa 1519–1584), Witchcraft/Sorcery
- HWAN YOUNG GU (artist, 20th century), Sin/Sinning
- IBBETSON, JULIUS CAESAR (British painter, printmaker, 1759–1817), Labor/Trades/Occupations
- INGRES, JEAN-AUGUSTE-DOMINIQUE (French painter, 1780–1867), Apotheosis/Deification, Artists/Art, Bath/Bathing, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Honor/Honoring, Kiss/Kissing, Luxury, Naked/Nude, Reading
- INNESS, GEORGE (American painter, 1825–1894), Harvesting, Night, Sublime
- INOUE, BUKICHI (Japanese architect, 20th century), Labyrinth/Maze
- IPOUSTÉGUY, JEAN-ROBERT (French sculptor, painter, born 1920), Bath/Bathing
- ISABEY, EUGÈNE (French painter, printmaker, 1803–1886), Journey/Flight
- ISIDORUS OF MILETUS (Carian architect, 6th century), Sanctuary
- ISRAËLS, JOZEF (Dutch painter, 1824–1911), Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- JACOBELLO DEL FIORE (Italian painter, 1370–1439), Justice
- JACOBSZ., DIRK (Early Netherlandish painter, 1497–1567), Vanity/Vanitas
- JACOPO DA EMPOLI (JACOPO CHIMENTI) (Italian painter, 1554–1648), Toilet Scenes
- JACQUE, CHARLES-ÉMILE (French painter, printmaker, 1813–1894), Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- JACQUET-DROZ FAMILY (French artists, metalworkers, 16th–17th century), Automata
- JANCO, MARCEL (Romanian painter, architect, born 1895), Order/Chaos
- JANSSENS, ABRAHAM (Flemish painter, 1575–1632), Abundance
- JE Aurat, ETIENNE (French painter, printmaker, 1699–1789), Female Beauty and Adornment
- JEGHER, JAN CHRISTOFFEL (Flemish printmaker, 1618–1667), Humors
- JERVAS, CHARLES (British painter, printmaker, circa 1675–1739), Whiteness
- JEWETT, WILLIAM SMITH (American painter, 1812–1873), Dreams/Visions
- JIGOKU ZOSHI (Japanese scroll painter, 12th century), Sin/Sinning
- JOEST, JAN (Netherlandish painter, circa 1450–1519), Night
- JOHANNOT, TONY (French painter, printmaker, 1803–1852), Nightmare
- JOHN, AUGUSTUS EDWIN (British painter, 1878–1961), Serpent's Bite
- JOHN, GWEN (British painter, 1876–1939), Artists/Art, Reading, Self-Portraits II
- JOHNS, JASPER (American painter, printmaker, born 1930), Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Grieving/Lamentation, Mirror/Reflection, Patronage
- JOHNSON, EASTMAN (American painter, 1824–1906), Labor/Trades/Occupations
- JOHNSON, WILLIAM HENRY (American painter, printmaker, 1901–1970), Crucifixion
- JONES, ALLEN (British painter, sculptor, printmaker, born 1937), Upside Down
- JONES, LOIS MAILOU (American painter, designer, born 1905), Martyrdom
- JONES, THOMAS (British painter, 1742–1803), Sublime
- JOOS VAN GENT or GHENT (JOOS VAN WASSENHOVE) (Early Netherlandish painter, draftsman, active 1460–1475), Betrayal, Communion, Fame
- JORDAENS, JACOB (Flemish painter, 1593–1678), Abduction/Rape, Abundance, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Comic, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Expulsion, Journey/Flight, Judgment, Laughter, Madness, Protestantism, Serpent's Bite
- JOSEPH, SCRIBE OF PONTARLIER (French?, active circa 1300), Judaism
- JUAN DE FLANDES (Netherlandish painter in Spain, active 1496–1519), Annunciation, Baptism, Dawn/Dawning, Virgin/Virginity
- JUANES, JUAN DE (VICENTE JUAN MACIP) (Spanish painter, circa 1523–1579), Communion
- JULIEN DE PARME, JEAN-ANTOINE (French painter, 1736–1799), Abduction/Rape
- JURYSTA, GARY (American artist, 20th century), Communion
- JUSTUS VAN GHENT *see* JOOS VAN GENT
- KAHLO, FRIDA (Mexican painter, 1907–1954), Artists/Art, Birth/Childbirth, Death, Dreams/Visions, Hair/Haircutting, Nightmare, Self-Portraits II
- KALATES (Greek painter, 4th century B.C.), Comic
- KALE, WILLEM (Dutch painter, 1619–1693), Abundance
- KALKAR, JAN JOEST VAN *see* JOEST, JAN
- KANDINSKY, VASILIJ (Russian painter, 1866–1944), Dreams/Visions, Night, Order/Chaos, Upside Down

- KANGAKU SHINSUHITSU (Japanese screen painter, 16th century), Seasons
- KAPROW, ALLAN (American artist, born 1927), Funeral/Burial
- KATZ, ALEX (American painter, printmaker, born 1927), Mirror/Reflection, Night
- KAUFFMANN, ANGELICA (Swiss painter, printmaker in Italy and Britain, 1741–1807), Abandonment, Artists/Art, Choice/Choosing, Death, Journey/Flight, Light II, Love and Death, Melancholy, Path/Road/Crossroads, Self-Portraits II
- KAUFMANN, ISADOR (Hungarian painter, 1853–1921), Judaism
- KAULBACH, WILHELM VON (German architect, painter, illustrator, 1805–1874), Madness, Protestantism
- KAYE, OTIS (American artist, 1885–1974), Money
- KEION, SUMIYOSHI (Japanese painter, 13th century), Destruction of City
- KELLER, ALBERT VON (Swiss painter, 1844–1920), Devotion/Piety
- KELLY, MARY (American artist, born 1954), Birth/Childbirth
- KENT, WILLIAM (British painter, architect, landscape gardener, 1684–1748), Seasons
- KETEL, CORNELIS (Dutch painter, architect, 1548–1616), Vanity/Vanitas
- KEYSER, NICAISE DE (Belgian painter, 1813–1887), Imagination/Creativity
- KEYSER, THOMAS DE (Dutch painter, architect, 1596/97–1667), Vanity/Vanitas
- KHNOPFF, FERNAND (Belgian painter, sculptor, designer, author, 1854–1921), Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Temptation, Whiteness
- KIEFER, ANSELM (German painter, born 1945), Apocalypse
- KIESLER, FREDERICK JOHN (Austrian architect, sculptor, painter, in the United States, circa 1890–1965), Judgment
- KING, EMMA BROWNLOW *see* BROWNLOW, EMMA B.
- KING, FRANK (FRANCIS SCOTT) (American painter, sculptor, printmaker, illustrator, 1850–1913), Marriage/Betrothal
- KIRCHNER, ERNST LUDWIG (German painter, printmaker, 1880–1938), Artists/Art, Bath/Bathing, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Masks/Personae, Naked/Nude, Sacrifice
- KIYONAGA, TORII (Japanese printmaker, 1752–1815), Bath/Bathing, Naked/Nude
- KLEE, PAUL (Swiss painter, printmaker, 1879–1940), Avarice, Birth/Childbirth, Caricature/Cartoon, Fame, Madness, Night, Upside Down
- KLEITIAS (Greek vase painter, 575–560 B.C.), Beheading/Decapitation, Sport
- KLEOPHRADES PAINTER (EPIKTETOS II) (Greek vase painter, 500–475 B.C.), Destruction of City, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Ecstasy
- KLIMT, GUSTAV (Austrian painter, 1862–1918), Beheading/Decapitation, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Kiss/Kissing, Naked/Nude, Pregnancy, Sin/Sinning
- KLINGER, MAX (German painter, sculptor, printmaker, 1857–1920), Abduction/Rape, Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Journey/Flight, Madness, Misfortune, Nightmare, Plague/Pestilence, Pointing/Indicating
- KLÖCKER-EHRENSTRAHL, DAVID *see* EHRENSTRAHL, DAVID KLÖCKER
- KLUMPKE, ANNA ELIZABETH (American painter, 1856–1942), Artists/Art
- KLUTSIS, GUSTAV GUSTAVOVIC (Russian artist, 1895–1944), Sport
- KNUPFER, NIKOLAUS (Dutch painter, 1603–1665), Marriage/Betrothal
- KOCH, JOSEPH ANTON (Austrian painter, printmaker, 1768–1839), Sublime
- KOCHERGIN, N. M. (Soviet poster artist, active circa 1920), Peasantry
- KOEHLER, ROBERT (German painter, printmaker, in the United States, 1815–1917), Margins/Outsiders
- KOKOSCHKA, OSKAR (Austrian painter, printmaker, 1886–1980), Ascent/Descent, Ecstasy, Madness, Misfortune, Temptation
- KOLLWITZ, KÄTHE (German printmaker, sculptor, 1867–1945), Abduction/Rape, Artists/Art, Death, Grieving/Lamentation, Peasantry, Pregnancy, Sacrifice, Self-Portraits II, Visiting/Visitation
- KOLOSOV, AUDREY (artist, active circa 1990), Sin/Sinning
- KONINCK, SOLOMON (Dutch painter, printmaker, 1609–1656), Sacrifice
- KOSUT, TIVADAR (Yugoslav artist, 20th century), Devotion/Piety
- KRAEZYNA, SWIETLAN (artist, 20th century), Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- KRAEMER, DIETER (artist, active circa 1970), Melancholy
- KRASNER, LEE (American painter, 1908–1984), Self-Portraits II
- KRATINOS (Greek sculptor, active 484–448 B.C.), Comic
- KRUGAR, BARBARA (American conceptual artist, film critic, born 1945), Naked/Nude
- KTESILOCHOS (Greek painter, 4th century B.C.), Comic
- KUBIN, ALFRED (Austrian painter, illustrator, author, 1877–1959), Madness, Nightmare
- LABILLE-GUIARD, ADÉLAÏDE (French artist, 1749–1803), Artists/Art, Self-Portraits II
- LACHAISE, GASTON (French sculptor, 1882–1935), Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Imagination/Creativity, Upside Down
- LACOMBE, GEORGES (French painter, sculptor, 1868–1916), Birth/Childbirth, Crucifixion
- LACOUR, PIERRE (French painter, printmaker, 1745–1814), Love and Death
- LAER, PIETER VAN (Dutch painter, printmaker, 1599–circa 1642), Path/Road/Crossroads, Peasantry, Penitence/Repentance
- LA FARGE, JOHN (American painter, author, 1835–1910), Journey/Flight, Light II
- LAFITTE, LOUIS (French sculptor, 1770–1828), Months
- LAGRENÉE, LOUIS-JEAN-FRANÇOIS (French painter, 1725–1805), Abduction/Rape, Envy

- LAGUERRE, LOUIS (French painter in Great Britain, 1663–1721), Honor/Honoring
- LA HYRE, LAURENT DE (French painter, printmaker, 1606–1656), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Music
- LAIRESSE, GERARD DE (Flemish painter, printmaker, theorist, 1640–1711), Serpent's Bite, Temptation, Upside Down
- LALA OF KYZIKOS (Roman painter from Asia Minor, 1st century B.C.), Mirror/Reflection
- LAMA, GIULIA (Italian painter, active 1728), Self-Portraits II
- LANCRET, NICOLAS (French painter, 1690–1743), Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Female Beauty and Adornment, Masks/Personae
- LANDRIANI, PAOLO CAMILLO (Italian painter, 1560/70–1618/19), Plague/Pestilence
- LANDSEER, EDWIN (British painter, 1802–1873), Marriage/Betrothal, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Shipwreck
- LANE, FITZ HUGH (American painter, printmaker, 1804–1865), Light II
- LANFRANCO, GIOVANNI (Italian painter, 1582–1647), Betrayal, Envy, Sublime
- LANG, FRITZ (German filmmaker, 20th century), Automata
- LANGE, DORTHEA (American photographer, 1895–1965), Dreams/Visions
- LANOUE, FÉLIX-HIPPOLYTE (French painter, 1812–1872), Expulsion
- LARGILLIERRE, NICOLAS DE (French painter, 1656–1746), Female Beauty and Adornment
- LASSALLE-BORDES, GUSTAVE (French artist, 1814–after 1868), Serpent's Bite
- LASTMAN, PIETER PIETERSZ. (Dutch painter, 1583–1633), Annunciation, Journey/Flight, Sacrifice, Visiting/Visitation
- LA TOUR, ETIENNE DE (French painter, 1621–1692), Reading
- LA TOUR, GEORGES DE (French painter, 1593–1652), Comic, Fortune, Light II, Martyrdom, Mirror/Reflection, Money, Night, Penitence/Repentance
- LAURANA, FRANCESCO (Italian sculptor, architect, and medalist, circa 1420–circa 1582), Fools/Folly, Peace
- LAURENCIN, MARIE (French painter, printmaker, 1885–1956), Artists/Art
- LAVILLE-LEROUX, MARIE *see* BENOIST, MARIE
- GUILHELMINE (née DE LAVILLE-LEROUX)
- LAWRENCE, JACOB (American painter, draftsman, born 1917), Journey/Flight
- LAWRENCE, THOMAS (British painter, 1765–1830), Whiteness
- LAWSON, ERNEST (American painter, 1873–1939), Night
- LEAR, EDWARD (British painter, printmaker, author, 1812–1888), Upside Down
- LE BRUN, CHARLES (French painter, designer, 1619–1690), Abduction/Rape, Humors, Mirror/Reflection, Penitence/Repentance, Seasons, Self-Portraits I
- LECLERC, JEAN (French painter, printmaker, 1596–1625), Death
- LECOMTE DU NOÛY, JULES-JEAN-ANTOINE (French painter, sculptor, 1842–1923?), Luxury
- LEFEVRE, RAOUL, Choice/Choosing
- LÉGER, FERNAND (French painter, 1881–1955), Labor/Trades/Occupations, Mirror/Reflection
- LEGROS, ALPHONSE (French painter, sculptor, printmaker, 1837–1922), Devotion/Piety
- LE GROS, PIERRE, THE YOUNGER (French sculptor, architect, 1666–1719), Protestantism
- LEHMBERGER, GEORG (German artist, 16th century), Protestantism
- LEIBL, WILHELM MARIA HUBERTUS (German painter, printmaker, 1844–1900), Devotion/Piety
- LEIGH, WILLIAM ROBINSON (American painter, 1866–1955), Dreams/Visions
- LEIGHTON, FREDERIC, BARON (British painter, sculptor, 1830–1896), Abandonment, Artists/Art, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Bath/Bathing, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Journey/Flight, Judgment, Love and Death, Peace, Sacrifice
- LE LORRAINE, LOUIS-JOSEPH (French painter, printmaker, 1715–1759), Dawn/Dawning
- LEMOINE, MARIE-VICTORIE (French painter, 1754–1820), Self-Portraits II
- LE MOYNE, FRANÇOIS (French painter, 1688–1737), Abduction/Rape, Apotheosis/Deification, Journey/Flight, Metamorphosis, Naked/Nude
- LE NAIN, LOUIS (French painter, 1593–1648), Communion, Margins/Outsiders, Peasantry
- LENINGRAD PAINTER (Attic vase painter, circa 475–450 B.C.), Self-Portraits II
- LE NÔTRE, ANDRÉ (French landscape architect, 1613–1700), Path/Road/Crossroads
- LENZ, PETER (DESIDERIUS) (German sculptor, painter, architect, 1832–1928), Protestantism
- LÉON, FRÉDÉRIC, Peasantry
- LEONARDO DA VINCI (Italian painter, sculptor, architect, author, engineer, 1452–1519), Annunciation, Apotheosis/Deification, Arms Raised, Artists/Art, Baptism, Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Caricature/Cartoon, Comic, Communion, Devotion/Piety, Evil Eye, Excess, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Hanging, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Imagination/Creativity, Mirror/Reflection, Naked/Nude, Penitence/Repentance, Pointing/Indicating, Pregnancy, Protestantism, Sacrifice, Sublime, Zodiac
- LE PAUTRE, PIERRE (French sculptor, printmaker, 1660–1744), Journey/Flight
- LÉPICÉ, NICOLAS-BERNARD (French painter, 1735–1784), Adultery
- LESLIE, ALFRED (American painter, born 1927), Mirror/Reflection
- LESSING, CARL FRIEDRICH (German painter, 1808–1880), Devotion/Piety, Protestantism
- LE SUEUR, EUSTACHE (French painter, 1531–1606), Communion, Sacrifice
- LEUTZE, EMMANUEL GOTTLIEB (German painter in the United States, 1816–1868), Journey/Flight, Path/Road/Crossroads
- LE VAU, LOUIS (French architect, 1612?–1670), Luxury
- LEVINE, JACK (American painter, born 1915), Caricature/Cartoon, Funeral/Burial
- LEVY, ALPHONSE-JACQUES (French artist, 1843–1918), Pregnancy
- LEVY, EMILE (French painter, 1826–1890), Abandonment

- LÉVY-DHURMEN, LUCIEN (French painter, sculptor, 1865–1953), Dreams/Visions, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale
- LEWIS, GEORGE ROBERT (British painter, 1782–1872), Labor/Trades/Occupations
- LEWIS, WYNDHAM (British painter, author, 1882–1957), Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- LEWIS PAINTER (POLYGNOTOS II) (Greek vase painter, circa 475–450 B.C.), Abandonment
- LEYS, HENDRIK, BARON (Belgian painter, printmaker, 1815–1869), Protestantism
- LEYSTER, JUDITH (Dutch painter, 1609/10–1660), Artists/Art, Laughter, Self-Portraits II, Vanity/Vanitas
- LHERMITTE, LÉON-AUGUSTIN (French painter, printmaker, 1844–1925), Peasantry
- LHOTE, ANDRÉ (French painter, illustrator, critic, 1885–1962), Pregnancy
- LICHTENSTEIN, ROY (American painter, sculptor, printmaker, 1923–1997), Caricature/Cartoon, Grieving/Lamentation, Madness, Marriage/Betrothal, Night, Patronage, Pointing/Indicating
- LIEBERMANN, MAX (German painter, printmaker, 1847–1935), Labor/Trades/Occupations
- LIMBOURG BROTHERS (Flemish illuminators, active 1400–1416), Damned Souls, Expulsion, Harvesting, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Months, Night, Order/Chaos, Path/Road/Crossroads, Patronage, Penitence/Repentance, Sacrifice, Upside Down, Zodiac
- LIN, MAYA YING (American sculptor, born 1959), Grieving/Lamentation
- LINDNER, RICHARD (American painter, 1901–1978), Mirror/Reflection
- LINGELBACH, JOHANNES (Dutch painter, 1622–1674), Plague/Pestilence
- LIPCHITZ, JACQUES (French sculptor, 1891–1973), Abduction/Rape, Penitence/Repentance
- LIPPI, FILIPPINO (Italian painter, draftsman, circa 1457–1504), Dreams/Visions, Journey/Flight, Music, Reading, Whiteness
- LIPPI, FRA FILIPPO (Italian painter, circa 1406–1469), Annunciation, Artists/Art, Dawn/Dawning, Devotion/Piety, Pointing/Indicating, Pregnancy, Reading, Virgin/Virginity
- LOCHNER, STEFAN (German painter, circa 1410–1451), Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- LODGE, JUDITH (American painter in Canada, born 1941), Sin/Sinning
- LOMAZZO, GIOVANNI PAOLO (Italian painter, poet, theorist, 1538–1600), Imagination/Creativity
- LOMI, AURELIO (Italian painter, 1556–1622), Bath/Bathing
- LONG, RICHARD (British sculptor, born 1945), Path/Road/Crossroads
- LONGHI, PIETRO (Italian painter, 1702–1785), Masks/Personae
- LONGUEIL, JOSEPH DE (French printmaker, 1730–1792), Seasons
- LORENZETTI, AMBROGIO (Italian painter, died circa 1348), Hanging, Harvesting, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Justice, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Path/Road/Crossroads, Virtue/Virtues
- LORENZETTI, PIETRO (Italian painter, illuminator, active before 1307–1348?), Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Death, Grieving/Lamentation, Honor/Honoring, Martyrdom, Night, Virtue/Virtues
- LORENZI, BATTISTA (Italian sculptor, 1527/28–1594), Abduction/Rape
- LORENZO D'ALESSANDRO DA SAN SEVERINO (Italian painter, active 1462, died 1503), Annunciation, Visiting/Visitation
- LORENZO MONACO (Italian painter, circa 1370–1425), Birth/Childbirth, Crucifixion, Dawn/Dawning, Light II, Night
- L'ORME, PHILIBERT DE (French architect, circa 1515–1570), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
- LOTH, JOHANN CARL (CARLOTTO) (German painter, printmaker in Italy, 1632–1698), Abandonment
- LOTTO, LORENZO (Italian painter, circa 1480–1556), Adultery, Annunciation, Bath/Bathing, Dreams/Visions
- LOUTHERBOURG, PHILIP-JAMES DE (French painter, scenographer in Great Britain, 1740–1812), Sublime
- LOZOWICK, LOUIS (American painter, printmaker, 1892–1973), Dreams/Visions
- LUCAS VAN LEYDEN (Early Netherlandish painter, printmaker, 1494–1533), Betrayal, Calumny, Crucifixion, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Fools/Folly, Hair/Haircutting, Martyrdom, Money, Virtue/Virtues
- LÜCKE, JOHANN CHRISTIAN LUDWIG (German sculptor, ivory carver, circa 1703–1780), Laughter
- LUINI, BERNARDINO (Italian painter, circa 1480–1532?), Drunkenness/Intoxication, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Love and Death, Sacrifice
- LUKS, GEORGE BENJAMIN (American painter, printmaker, 1866/67–1933), Night, Sport
- LU KUANG (Chinese painter, active 2nd quarter of the 14th century), Seasons
- LUTI, BENEDETTO (Italian painter, printmaker, 1666–1724), Plague/Pestilence
- LYSIPPUS (Greek sculptor, circa 390–after 310 B.C.), Fortune, Naked/Nude, Sport
- MACDONALD, MARGARET (Scottish designer, painter, wife of Charles Rennie Mackintosh, 1865–1933), Pregnancy
- MACDOWELL, PATRICK (Irish sculptor, 1799–1870), Love and Death
- MACKINTOSH, MARGARET MACDONALD *see* MACDONALD, MARGARET
- MACMONNIES, FREDERICK WILLIAM (American sculptor, 1863–1937), Bacchanalia/Orgy, Martyrdom, Sacrifice
- MACRINO D'ALBA (Italian painter, c.1465–c.1528), Annunciation
- MADERNO, STEFANO (Italian sculptor, circa 1576–1636), Martyrdom
- MADRAZO Y AGNUDO JOSÉ DE (Spanish painter, printmaker, 1781–1859), Death
- MAES, NICOLAES (Dutch painter, 1634–1693), Melancholy, Protestantism, Sleep/Sleeping, Temptation
- MAGDALEN MASTER (Italian painter, 13th century), Hair/Haircutting, Penitence/Repentance

- MAGNASCO, ALESSANDRO (LISSANDRINO) (Italian painter, 1667–1749), Sin/Sinning, Temptation
- MAGNIER, PHILIPPE (French sculptor, 1647–1715), Seasons
- MAGRITTE, RENÉ (Belgian painter, 1898–1967), Comic, Melancholy, Mirror/Reflection, Naked/Nude, Night, Order/Chaos
- MAHU, CORNELIUS (Flemish painter, 1613–1689), Margins/Outsiders
- MAITANI, LORENZO (Italian sculptor, architect, circa 1275–1330), Damned Souls, Order/Chaos
- MAKART, HANS (Austrian painter, 1840–1884), Plague/Pestilence, Sin/Sinning
- MAKRON (Greek vase painter, circa 500–475 B.C.), Bacchanalia/Orgy
- MALEVICH, KAZIMIR SEVERINOVIC (Russian painter, writer, 1878–1935), Dreams/Visions, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Order/Chaos
- MANARA, BALDASSARE (Italian artist, active 1526–1547), Love and Death
- MANET, ÉDOUARD (French painter, 1832–1883), Apotheosis/Deification, Choice/Choosing, Death, Destruction of City, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Funeral/Burial, Gaze, Journey/Flight, Masks/Personae, Melancholy, Mirror/Reflection, Naked/Nude, Order/Chaos, Pregnancy, Seasons, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Whiteness
- MANETTI, RUTILIO DI LORENZO (Italian painter, 1571–1639), Madness
- MANFREDI, BARTOLOMEO (Italian painter, 1582–circa 1628), Money
- MANSHIP, PAUL (American sculptor, 1885–1966), Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Journey/Flight
- MANTEGAZZA, CHISTOFORO (Italian sculptor, goldsmith, active 1470–1495), Expulsion
- MANTEGNA, ANDREA (Italian painter, sculptor, printmaker, 1431–1505), Abundance, Apotheosis/Deification, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Beheading/Decapitation, Choice/Choosing, Crucifixion, Damned Souls, Death, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Envy, Evil Eye, Excess, Fame, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Funeral/Burial, Honor/Honoring, Imagination/Creativity, Journey/Flight, Justice, Love and Death, Martyrdom, Path/Road/Crossroads, Sacrifice, Sleep/Sleeping, Vices/Deadly Sins
- MANUEL, NIKLAS (NIKOLAUS DEUTSCH) (Swiss painter, circa 1454–1530), Imagination/Creativity
- MANZÙ, GIACOMO (Italian sculptor, born 1908), Hanging
- MAPPLETHORP, ROBERT (American photographer, 20th century), Naked/Nude
- MARC, FRANZ (German painter, printmaker, 1880–1916), Dreams/Visions, Light II
- MARCANTONIO *see* RAIMONDI, MARCANTONIO
- MARCHANT, GUYOT (French artist, active circa 1485), Death, Money
- MARCHI, VIRGILIO (Italian architect, 1895–1960), Dreams/Visions
- MARCIA (MARISA; TAMARA), Imagination/Creativity, Mirror/Reflection, Self-Portraits II
- MARCO DEL BUONO GIAMBERTI (Italian painter, 1402–1489), Honor/Honoring, Love and Death
- MARÉES, HANS VON (German painter, 1837–1887), Abduction/Rape
- MARIANI, CARLO MARIA (Italian painter, printmaker, born 1931), Abduction/Rape
- MARIETTE, JEAN (French painter, 1660–1742), Months
- MARINETTI, EMILIO (Italian artist, active 1919), Dreams/Visions
- MARINI, MARINO (Italian sculptor, painter, printmaker, 1901–1980), Arms Raised
- MARISA *see* MARCIA
- MARISOL (MARISOL ESCOBAR) (American sculptor, born 1930), Self-Portraits II
- MARLAY PAINTER (Greek vase painter, circa 450–420 B.C.), Marriage/Betrothal
- MARMION, SIMON (Flemish painter, illuminator, circa 1425–1489), Journey/Flight, Martyrdom, Whiteness
- MARSH, REGINALD (American painter, printmaker, 1898–1954), Bath/Bathing, Hair/Haircutting, Hanging
- MARTIN, JOHN (British painter, 1789–1854), Destruction of City, Expulsion, Journey/Flight, Judgment, Order/Chaos, Reading, Sublime
- MARTINEAU, ROBERT BRAITHWAITE (British painter, 1826–1869), Reading
- MARTINO DI BARTOLOMEO (Italian painter, active 1389–1434/35), Dreams/Visions, Light II, Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues
- MARY MAGDALEN MASTER *see* MAGDALEN MASTER
- MASACCIO (TOMMASO DI SER GIOVANNI DI MONE GUIDE) (Italian painter, 1401–circa 1428), Ascent/Descent, Birth/Childbirth, Choice/Choosing, Crucifixion, Death, Devotion/Piety, Expulsion, Margins/Outsiders, Naked/Nude, Patronage, Peace, Pointing/Indicating, Sin/Sinning, Upside Down
- MASKELYNE, JOHN NEVIL, Automata
- MASOLINO DA PANICALE (TOMMASO FINI) (Italian painter, 1383–1447?), Melancholy, Sin/Sinning, Temptation
- MASRELIEZ, LOUIS-ADRIEN (French painter, architect, 1748–1810), Love and Death
- MASSON, ANDRÉ (French painter, author, 1896–1987), Abduction/Rape, Dreams/Visions, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Imagination/Creativity, Journey/Flight, Metamorphosis
- MASSYS, CORNELIS (Early Netherlandish painter, printmaker, 1510/11–1556–57), Annunciation
- MASSYS, JAN (Early Netherlandish painter, 1509–1575), Adultery, Betrayal, Comic
- MASSYS, QUENTIN (Early Netherlandish painter, 1465/66–1530), Comic, Fools/Folly, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Mirror/Reflection, Money, Sin/Sinning
- MASTER BERTRAM *see* BERTRAM VON MINDEN
- MASTER E. S. (German printmaker, goldsmith, active 1450–circa 1467), Money, Visiting/Visitation
- MASTER F. B. (German printmaker, active circa 1550–1563), Melancholy
- MASTER FRANCKE (German painter, active 1424–1435), Birth/Childbirth

- MASTER HUGO (English illuminator, sculptor, active 1135–1150), Ascent/Descent
- MASTER I. B. WITH THE BIRD *see* PALUMBA, GIOVANNI BATTISTA
- MASTER I. D. C. (Belgian or French enamelist, active 1580–1600), Abduction/Rape
- MASTER OF 1515 (Italian printmaker, 16th century), Drunkenness/Intoxication
- MASTER OF FLEMALLE *see* CAMPIN, ROBERT
- MASTER OF FRANKFURT (Early Netherlandish painter, 1460–circa 1533), Fools/Folly
- MASTER OF MOULINS (HEY, JEAN) (French painter, active circa 1478–1510), Apocalypse
- MASTER OF SAINT GILLES (Early Netherlandish painter, active circa 1500), Baptism
- MASTER OF SAINT VERONICA (German painter, active circa 1395–1415), Beheading/Decapitation, Crucifixion
- MASTER OF THE APOLLO AND DAPHNE LEGEND (Italian painter, active circa 1480–1510), Calumny
- MASTER OF THE BARBARA LEGEND (Early Netherlandish painter, active 1470–1500), Betrayal
- MASTER OF THE BARBARINI PANELS (Italian painter, architect, active 1445–1485), Pregnancy
- MASTER OF THE BOUCICAUT HOURS *see* BOUCICAUT MASTER
- MASTER OF THE DUKE OF BEDFORD (French illuminator, 15th century), Months
- MASTER OF THE FIRST PRAYER BOOK OF MAXIMILIAN I (Early Netherlandish illuminator, active 1470–1488), Martyrdom
- MASTER OF THE GOLD SCROLLS (Netherlandish illuminator, active circa 1425–1450), Journey/Flight
- MASTER OF THE GRISELDA LEGEND (Italian painter, active late 15th–early 16th century), Virgin/Virginity
- MASTER OF THE GUISE HOURS (French illuminator, active circa 1410–1440), Journey/Flight
- MASTER OF THE HARVARD HANNIBAL (French illuminator, active circa 1410–1438), Whiteness
- MASTER OF THE LAZZARONI MADONNA (Italian painter, active 1395–1400), Justice
- MASTER OF THE LEGEND OF ST. LUCY (Early Netherlandish painter, active circa 1500), Music, Virgin/Virginity
- MASTER OF THE MAGDALEN LEGEND *see* MAGDALEN MASTER
- MASTER OF THE MANSI MAGDALEN (Netherlandish painter, draftsman, circa 1510–1525), Beheading/Decapitation
- MASTER OF THE PLANET (printmaker, active circa 1460–65), Imagination/Creativity
- MASTER OF THE PRAYER BOOK (Flemish manuscript illuminator, flourished circa 1500), Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- MASTER OF THE ROHAN HOURS (French illuminator, active 1420–1440), Death
- MASTER S. I. (Netherlandish printmaker, 15th century), Vanity/Vanitas
- MASTER WILIGELMUS *see* WILIGELMO DA MODENA
- MATHAM, JACOB (Dutch printmaker, 1571–1631), Humors, Money, Months, Pointing/Indicating, Seasons
- MATISSE, HENRI (French painter, sculptor, printmaker, 1869–1954), Arms Raised, Bath/Bathing, Crucifixion, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Hair/Haircutting, Journey/Flight, Imagination/Creativity, Luxury, Mirror/Reflection, Path/Road/Crossroads, Patronage, Reading, Self-Portraits I, Sleep/Sleeping
- MATTA (ROBERTO SEBASTIAN ANTONIO ECHAURREN MATTA) (Chilean painter, printmaker, born 1911), Apocalypse, Night
- MATTEIS, PAOLO DE (Italian painter, 1662–1728), Choice/Choosing, Pointing/Indicating
- MATTEO DI GIOVANETTI (Italian artist, active 1343–1366), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
- MAULBERTSCH, FRANZ ANTON (Austrian painter, draftsman, printmaker, 1724–1796), Abduction/Rape, Calumny, Journey/Flight, Love and Death
- MAXIMOV, VASIL MAXIMOVICH (Russian painter, printmaker, 1844–1911), Marriage/Betrothal
- MAY, ERNST WILHELM (German painter, printmaker, 1901–1968), Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale
- MCTAGGERT, WILLIAM (English painter, 1835–1910), Seasons
- MECKENEM, ISRAHEL VAN, THE YOUNGER (German painter, printmaker, goldsmith, circa 1450–1503), Comic
- MEIDIAS PAINTER (Greek vase painter, circa 420–390 B.C.), Abduction/Rape, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Drunkenness/Intoxication
- MEIDNER, LUDWIG (German painter, printmaker, 1884–1966), Apocalypse, Dreams/Visions
- MEISSONIER, JEAN-LOUIS-ERNST (French painter, printmaker, sculptor, 1815–1891), Journey/Flight, Laughter
- MEIT, CONRAD (German sculptor, circa 1480–circa 1550), Betrayal
- MELLAN, CLAUDE (French painter, printmaker, 1598–1688), Honor/Honoring
- MELLERY, XAVIER (Belgian painter, 1845–1921), Imagination/Creativity
- MEMLINC, HANS *see* MEMLING, HANS
- MEMLING, HANS (Early Netherlandish painter, draftsman, circa 1433–1494), Baptism, Beheading/Decapitation, Choice/Choosing, Funeral/Burial, Journey/Flight, Luxury, Music, Nightmare, Path/Road/Crossroads, Widowhood
- MÉNAGEOT, FRANÇOIS-GUILLAUME (French painter, 1744–1816), Death
- MENGES, ANTON RAPHAEL (German painter, critic, 1728–1779), Apotheosis/Deification, Self-Portraits I
- MENZEL, ADOLPH FRIEDRICH ERDMANN VON (German painter, printmaker, 1815–1905), Funeral/Burial
- MERCURIO, SCIPIONE (printmaker, active circa 1596), Pregnancy
- MERENGO, ARRIGO (Flemish sculptor in Italy, died 1723), Ascent/Descent
- MERIAN, MATTÄUS, THE ELDER (Swiss printmaker, 1593–1650), Expulsion
- MERRILD, KNUD (Danish painter in the United States, 1894–1954), Hermaphrodite/Androgyne
- MERYON, CHARLES (French printmaker, 1821–1868), Avarice, Margins/Outsiders

- MESSerschmidt, FRANZ XAVER (German sculptor, 1736–1783), Madness, Physiognomy
- METSU, GABRIEL (Dutch artist, 1629–1667), Adultery, Betrayal, Female Beauty and Adornment
- METSYS, QUENTIN *see* MASSYS, QUENTIN
- MEURER, F. (artist, active circa 1970), Path/Road/Crossroads
- MEYER, CONRAD (Swiss painter, printmaker, 1618–1689), Sleep/Sleeping
- MEYRING, HEINRICH *see* MERENGO, ARRIGO
- MICCO SPADARO *see* GARGIULO, DOMENICO (MICCO SPADARO)
- MICHALS, DUANE (American photographer, born 1932), Voyeurism
- MICHEL, JEAN (French sculptor, active circa 1450), Funeral/Burial
- MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI (Italian sculptor, painter, architect, poet, 1475–1564), Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Arms Raised, Artists/Art, Ascent/Descent, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Bath/Bathing, Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Caricature/Cartoon, Choice/Choosing, Communion, Crucifixion, Damned Souls, Dawn/Dawning, Death, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Envy, Expulsion, Fame, Funeral/Burial, Grieving/Lamentation, Hair/Haircutting, Harvesting, Honor/Honoring, Imagination/Creativity, Judgment, Judaism, Luxury, Masks/Personae, Melancholy, Mirror/Reflection, Naked/Nude, Night, Order/Chaos, Patronage, Peace, Pointing/Indicating, Pregnancy, Protestantism, Reading, Sacrifice, Self-Portraits I, Serpent's Bite, Sin/Sinning, Sleep/Sleeping, Sublime, Temptation, Upside Down, Virtue/Virtues
- MICHELE DA VERONA (Italian painter, circa 1147–1536/44), Marriage/Betrothal
- MICKER, JAN CHRISTIAENSZ. (Dutch artist, 1598–1664), Path/Road/Crossroads
- MIEREVELD, MICHIEL JANSZ. VAN (Dutch painter, 1567–1641), Pointing/Indicating
- MIERIS, FRANS VAN, THE ELDER (Dutch painter, 1635–1681), Artists/Art, Betrayal, Female Beauty and Adornment, Mirror/Reflection, Music, Sleep/Sleeping, Toilet Scenes
- MIGNARD, NICHOLAS (MIGNARD D'AVIGNON) (French painter, printmaker, 1606–1668), Journey/Flight
- MIGNARD, PIERRE I (French painter, 1612–1695), Imagination/Creativity, Plague/Pestilence, Self-Portraits I, Serpent's Bite
- MIGNON, JEAN (French painter, printmaker, 1537–1552), Serpent's Bite
- MILLAIS, JOHN EVERETT (British painter, 1829–1896), Artists/Art, Communion, Death, Hair/Haircutting, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Madness, Martyrdom, Naked/Nude, Offering, Sacrifice, Seasons, Virtue/Virtues, Widowhood
- MILLER, BRENDA (American artist, born 1941), Money
- MILLES, CARL (American sculptor, 1875–1955), Abduction/Rape
- MILLET, JEAN-FRANÇOIS I (FRANCISQUE MILLET) (Flemish painter, printmaker, 1642–1679), Plague/Pestilence
- MILLET, JEAN-FRANÇOIS (French painter, 1814–1875), Abandonment, Abduction/Rape, Devotion/Piety, Harvesting, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Night, Peasantry, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- MIRÓ, JOAN (Spanish painter, printmaker, sculptor, ceramist, 1893–1983), Ascent/Descent, Dreams/Visions, Mirror/Reflection, Night, Peasantry
- MOCETTO, GIROLAMO (Italian painter, printmaker, circa 1448–1531), Melancholy
- MODERSOHN-BECKER, PAULA (German painter, printmaker, 1876–1907), Artists/Art, Naked/Nude, Pregnancy, Self-Portraits II
- MOHOLY-NAGY, LÁSZLÓ (Hungarian painter, sculptor, printmaker, designer, 1895–1946), Dreams/Visions
- MOLA, PIER FRANCESCO (Italian painter, 1612–1666), Humors
- MOLENAER, JAN MIENSE (Dutch painter, printmaker, 1610–1668), Female Beauty and Adornment, Imagination/Creativity, Laughter, Music, Vanity/Vanitas
- MOMPER, BARTHOLOMAUS DE (Early Netherlandish painter, printmaker, publisher, 1535–circa 1589), Witchcraft/Sorcery
- MOMPER, JOOS DE, THE YOUNGER (Flemish painter, printmaker, 1564–1635), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
- MONDRIAN, PIET (Dutch painter, 1872–1944), Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Dreams/Visions, Night, Order/Chaos
- MONET, CLAUDE (French painter, 1849–1926), Apotheosis/Deification, Caricature/Cartoon, Dawn/Dawning, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Light II, Whiteness
- MONNIER, HENRY BONAVENTURE (French artist, caricaturist, author, actor, 1805–1877), Caricature/Cartoon
- MONSIEL, EDMUND (Polish artist, 20th century), Devotion/Piety
- MONTICELLI, ADOLPHE-JOSEPH-THOMAS (French painter, 1824–1886), Abduction/Rape, Offering
- MOORE, HENRY SPENCER (British sculptor, 1898–1986), Order/Chaos
- MOR, ANTHONIS (Early Netherlandish painter, 1512/20–1575/77), Fools/Folly, Self-Portraits I
- MORANDINI, FRANCESCO (IL POPPI) (Italian painter, 1544–1597), Virtue/Virtues
- MORBELLI, ANGELO (Italian painter, 1853–1919), Peasantry
- MOREAU, GUSTAVE (French painter, 1826–1898), Abandonment, Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Beheading/Decapitation, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Music, Nightmare
- MOREELSE, PAULUS (Dutch painter, architect, 1571–1635), Female Beauty and Adornment, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- MORGAN, BARBARA (American photographer, born 1900), Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- MORGAN, EVELYN DE (British painter, 1855–1919), Abandonment
- MORGAN, FREDERICK (British painter, 1856–1927), Harvesting
- MORGAN, GERTRUDE (American artist, 20th century), Devotion/Piety

- MORISOT, BERTHE (French painter, 1841–1895), Female Beauty and Adornment, Pregnancy, Reading, Seasons, Self-Portraits II, Sleep/Sleeping, Whiteness
- MORLAND, GEORGE (British painter, 1763–1804), Money, Penitence/Repentance, Shipwreck
- MORONOBU, HISHIKAWA (Japanese printmaker, 1625–1695), Voyeurism
- MOROT, AIMÉ-NICOLAS (French painter, 1850–1913), Crucifixion
- MORRIS, ROBERT (American sculptor, born 1931), Apocalypse, Money
- MORRIS, WILLIAM (British designer, author, 1834–1896), Adultery, Death, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Mirror/Reflection, Sacrifice
- MOUNT, WILLIAM SIDNEY (American painter, 1807–1868), Harvesting, Labor/Trades/Occupations
- MUKHINA, VERA (Russian sculptor, 1889–1953), Peasantry
- MULLER, HERMAN JANSZ. (Dutch printmaker, circa 1548–1617), Betrayal, Humors
- MULLER, JAN HARMENSZ. (Dutch printmaker, 1571–1628), Pointing/Indicating
- MÜLLER, OTTO (Swiss sculptor, born 1905), Bath/Bathing
- MULREADY, WILLIAM (British painter, 1786–1863), Marriage/Betrothal
- MULTSCHER, HANS (German painter, sculptor, circa 1400–1467), Communion
- MUNCH, EDVARD (Norwegian painter, printmaker, 1863–1944), Bath/Bathing, Choice/Choosing, Crucifixion, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Dawn/Dawning, Death, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Gaze, Grieving/Lamentation, Hair/Haircutting, Journey/Flight, Kiss/Kissing, Madness, Melancholy, Naked/Nude, Night
- MUNNINGS, ALFRED JAMES (British painter, 1815–1959), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
- MUNRO, ALEXANDER (British sculptor, 1825–1871), Reading
- MURER, CHRISTOPH (Swiss painter, glazier, printmaker, 1558–1614), Path/Road/Crossroads
- MURILLO, BARTOLOMÉ ESTEBAN (Spanish painter, 1617–1682), Apocalypse, Ascent/Descent, Devotion/Piety, Ecstasy, Laughter, Penitence/Repentance, Sacrifice, Virgin/Virginity
- MURPHY, CATHERINE E. (American painter, born 1946), Self-Portraits II
- MURRAY, ELIZABETH (American painter, born 1940), Drunkenness/Intoxication
- MUSI, AGOSTINO (AGOSTINO VENEZIANO) (Italian printmaker, 1490–1548), Imagination/Creativity
- MUSIC, ZORAN (Yugoslav artist, born 1909), Hanging
- MUYBRIDGE, EADWEARD (British photographer in the United States, 1830–1904), Automata, Naked/Nude
- MYRON (Greek sculptor, active circa 450 B.C.), Sport
- NADELMAN, ELIE (American sculptor, 1882–1946), Hermaphrodite/Androgyny
- NAGEL, JAN (Dutch painter, born 1616), Misfortune
- NAKIAN, REUBEN (American sculptor, 1897–1986), Abduction/Rape, Choice/Choosing, Destruction of City, Ecstasy
- NANNI DI BANCO (NANNI D'ANTONIO DI BANCO) (Italian sculptor, circa 1373–1421), Apotheosis/Deification, Martyrdom
- NARDO DI CIONI (Italian painter, active circa 1365, died 1365/66), Damned Souls, Journey/Flight
- NASH, PAUL (British painter, 1889–1946), Honor/Honoring
- NASON, PIETER (Dutch painter, circa 1612–1688/90), Vanity/Vanitas
- NAST, THOMAS (American cartoonist, illustrator, 1840–1902), Caricature/Cartoon, Money
- NATOIRE, CHARLES-JOSEPH (French painter, 1700–1777), Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Bacchanalia/Orgy
- NATTIER, JEAN-MARC (French painter, 1685–1766), Female Beauty and Adornment, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
- NAUMAN, BRUCE (American sculptor, born 1941), Hanging, Light II
- NECK, JAN VAN (Dutch painter, 1635–1714), Metamorphosis
- NEEL, ALICE (American painter, 1900–1984), Artists/Art, Naked/Nude, Pregnancy, Self-Portraits II
- NEGRI, PIETRO (Italian painter, 1628–1679), Plague/Pestilence
- NEROCCIO DI BARTOLOMEO DE' LANDI (Italian painter, sculptor, designer, 1447–1550), Virgin/Virginity
- NETTI, FRANCESCO (Italian painter, 1832–1894), Death
- NEWMAN, BARNETT (American painter, 1905–1970), Crucifixion, Grieving/Lamentation, Path/Road/Crossroads
- NEWMAN, ROBERT LOFTIN (American painter, 1827–1912), Reading
- NICCOLÒ (Italian sculptor, 12th century), Labor/Trades/Occupations
- NICCOLO FIORENTINO (Italian painter, 1404–1471), Fortune
- NICHOLAS OF VERDUN (Early Netherlandish goldsmith, enamelist, 12th–13th century), Annunciation, Baptism, Communion, Funeral/Burial, Honor/Honoring, Shipwreck
- NICOL, ERSKINE (British painter, 1825–1904), Expulsion
- NICOL, JOHN WATSON (British painter, 1856–1926), Expulsion
- NICOLÒ DA BOLOGNE (Italian illuminator, active 1351–1404), Virtue/Virtues
- NIEULANDT, ADRIAEN IVAN (Dutch painter, 1587–1658), Vanity/Vanitas
- NOBLE, MATTHEW (British sculptor, 1818–1876), Fame
- NOGUCHI, ISAMU (American sculptor, designer, 1904–1988), Hanging
- NOLDE, EMILE (German painter, printmaker, 1867–1956), Betrayal, Communion, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Devotion/Piety, Masks/Personae, Path/Road/Crossroads, Penitence/Repentance, Sin/Sinning
- NONETTE, DONATIEN (DONOT) (French artist, 1708–1785), Whiteness
- NORTH NETHERLANDISH MASTER (Netherlandish painter, late 15th century), Dreams/Visions
- OCHTERVELT, JACOB (Dutch painter, 1634–1682), Music
- OEHME, ERNST FERDINAND (German painter, 1797–1855), Night
- O'KEEFFE, GEORGIA (American painter, 1887–1986), Ecstasy, Night

- OLDENBURG, CLAES THURE (American artist, born 1929), Comic
- OLTOS (Greek vase painter, 525–500 B.C.), Abduction/Rape
- O'NEIL, HENRY NELSON (British artist, 1817–1880), Journey/Flight
- O'NEILL, GEORGE BERNARD (British painter, 1828–1917), Expulsion
- ORCAGNA (ANDREA DI CIONE) (Italian painter, sculptor, architect, active 1343–1368), Birth/Childbirth
- OOST, JACOB VAN, LE JEUNE (Flemish painter, 1673–1713), Plague/Pestilence
- OOSTSAANEN, JACOB CORNELISZ VAN *see* CORNELISZ. VAN OOSTSANEN, JACOB
- ORCHARD PAINTER (Greek vase painter, circa 475–450 B.C.), Ecstasy, Journey/Flight
- ORCHARDSON, WILLIAM QUILLER (British painter, 1832–1910), Journey/Flight, Marriage/Betrothal
- ORLEY, BERNART VAN (Netherlandish painter, draftsman, circa 1492–1541/42), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Judgment, Months
- ORLEY, RICHARD VAN (Flemish artist, 1663–1732), Serpent's Bite
- ORMANI, SISTER MARIA (illuminator, 15th century), Self-Portraits II
- OROZCO, JOSÉ CLEMENTE (Mexican painter, printmaker, 1883–1949), Caricature/Cartoon, Order/Chaos
- ORSI, LELIO (LELIO DA NOVELLARA) (Italian painter, architect, 1511–1587), Path/Road/Crossroads
- OSTADE, ADRIAEN VAN (Dutch painter, printmaker, 1610–1684), Drunkenness/Intoxication, Laughter, Money, Peasantry, Sleep/Sleeping
- O'SULLIVAN, TIMOTHY H. (American photographer, 1840–1882), Sacrifice
- OTIS, BASS (American painter, printmaker, 1784–1861), Labor/Trades/Occupations
- OTTERN, THOMAS (American painter, active circa 1860), Path/Road/Crossroads
- OU DEHUA (MIAO) (Chinese painter, 20th century), Peasantry
- OUDRY, JEAN-BAPTISTE (French painter, 1686–1755), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
- OVERBECK, JOHANN FRIEDRICH (German painter, 1789–1869), Betrayal, Devotion/Piety, Kiss/Kissing, Melancholy
- PACHECO, FRANCESCO (Spanish painter, author, 1564–1644), Crucifixion
- PACHER, MICHAEL (Austrian sculptor, printmaker, 1430/35–1498), Expulsion
- PACINO DI BONAGUIDA (Italian illuminator and painter, active circa 1303–1330s), Ascent/Descent
- PADOVANINO (ALESSANDRO VAROTARI) (Italian painter, 1588–1648), Love and Death
- PAIK, NAM JUNE (American artist, born 1932), Light II
- PAINTER OF RUVO (Apulian vase painter, circa 410–400 B.C.), Beheading/Decapitation
- PAJOU, AUGUSTINE (French sculptor, 1730–1809), Abandonment, Seasons
- PALMA, JACOPO IL VECCHIO (Italian painter, 1480–1528), Sacrifice, Visiting/Visitation
- PALMA GIOVANE (JACOPO NEGRETTI) (Italian painter, 1548–1628), Choice/Choosing, Penitence/Repentance
- PALMA VECCHIO *see* PALMA, JACOPO IL VECCHIO
- PALMER, FRANCES FLORA BOND (American painter, printmaker, 1812–1876), Harvesting
- PALMER, SAMUEL (British painter, 1805–1881), Night, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- PALUMBA, GIOVANNI BATTISTA (Italian engraver, printmaker, circa 1425/1515–circa 1525/1615), Mirror/Reflection
- PAMPHILOS (Greek painter, 4th century B.C.), Artists/Art
- PAN PAINTER (Greek vase painter, 475–450 B.C.), Bath/Bathing, Metamorphosis
- PANNINI, GIOVANNI PAOLO (Italian painter, 1691–1765), Judgment, Serpent's Bite
- PAOLINI, GIULIO (Italian artist, author, born 1940), Hermaphrodite/Androgyne
- PAOLO DI GIOVANNI FEI (Italian painter, 1372–1411), Virgin/Virginity
- PARMIGIANINO (FRANCESCO MAZZOLA) (Italian painter, 1503–1540), Artists/Art, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Martyrdom, Mirror/Reflection, Reading, Self-Portraits I, Sleep/Sleeping, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- PARRHASIUS (Greek painter, flourished circa 400 B.C.), Artists/Art
- PARROCEL, JACQUES-IGNACE (French painter, printmaker, 1667–1722), Journey/Flight
- PASSE, CRISPIJN II DE (Dutch printmaker, 1597–circa 1670), Abduction/Rape, Months, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Vanity/Vanitas, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- PASSIGNANO *see* CRESTI, DOMENICO (PASSIGNANO)
- PATEL, PIERRE I (French painter, 1648–1707), Abandonment
- PATEL, PIERRE-ANTOINE II (French painter, 1648–1707), Months
- PATER, JEAN-BAPTISTE-JOSEPH (French painter, 1695–1736), Seasons
- PATINIR, JOACHIM (Early Netherlandish painter, draftsman, circa 1455–1524), Journey/Flight, Path/Road/Crossroads
- PAUSON (Greek painter, 5th century B.C.), Comic
- PEALE, CHARLES WILLSON (American painter, 1741–1827), Journey/Flight, Self-Portraits I
- PEALE, JAMES (American painter, 1747–1831), Whiteness
- PEALE, SARAH MIRIAM (American painter, 1800–1885), Self-Portraits II
- PEARLSTEIN, PHILIP (American painter, printmaker, born 1924), Naked/Nude
- PECHSTEIN, MAX (German painter, printmaker, 1881–1955), Naked/Nude
- PEETERS, BONAVENTURA (Flemish painter, printmaker, 1614–1652), Sublime
- PEETERS, CLARA (Dutch painter, circa 1590–after 1657), Abundance, Self-Portraits II
- PELLEGRINI, GIOVANNI ANTONIO (Italian painter, 1675–1741), Abduction/Rape
- PENNI, LUCA (Italian painter, died 1556), Dreams/Visions
- PENSIONANTE DEL SARACENI (Italian painter, active 1615–1620), Betrayal

- PENTHESILIA PAINTER (Greek vase painter, 5th century B.C.), Gaze
- PENCZ, GEORG (German painter, printmaker, circa 1500–1550), Melancholy
- PEPLOE, SAMUEL JOHN (British painter, 1871–1935), Laughter
- PERINO DEL VAGA (PIETRO BUONACCORSI) (Italian painter, 1500/01–1547), Fame, Judgment, Love and Death, Peace, Penitence/Repentance, Virtue/Virtues
- PERMEKE, CONSTANT (Belgian painter, printmaker, sculptor, 1886–1952), Peasantry
- PERSEPHONE PAINTER, Greek vase painter, circa 450–420 B.C.), Damned Souls
- PERUGINI, CHARLES EDWARD (CARLO) (British painter, 1839–1918), Widowhood
- PERUGINO (PIETRO DI CRISTOFORO VANNUCCI) (Italian painter, illuminator, circa 1450–1523), Crucifixion, Death, Devotion/Piety, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Journey/Flight, Vices/Deadly Sins, Visiting/Visitation
- PERUZZI, BALDASSARE (Italian painter, architect, 1481–1536), Beheading/Decapitation, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Virtue/Virtues
- PESELLINO, FRANCESCO (FRANCESCO DI STEFANO) (Italian painter, 1422–1457), Hair/Haircutting, Sacrifice, Virtue/Virtues
- PETIT, GILLES-EDMÉ (French designer and printmaker, 1694–1760), Female Beauty and Adornment
- PETO, JOHN FREDERICK (American painter, 1854–1907), Money
- PETRINI, GIUSEPPE ANTONIO (Swiss painter, 1677–circa 1758), Seasons
- PEYRON, JEAN-FRANÇOIS-PIERRE (French painter, printmaker, 1744–1814), Love and Death, Sacrifice
- PHIDIAS (Ancient Greek sculptor, architect, active circa 450–430 B.C.), Apotheosis/Deification, Artists/Art, Dawn/Dawning, Excess, Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues, Whiteness
- PHILIPON, CHARLES (French publisher, journalist, printmaker, caricaturist, 1806–1862), Caricature/Cartoon
- PIATTOLI, ANNA BACHERINI (Italian painter, 1720–1788), Self-Portraits II
- PICABIA, FRANCIS (French painter, 1879–1953), Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- PICASSO, PABLO (Spanish painter, printmaker, sculptor, ceramist, 1881–1973), Abduction/Rape, Apocalypse, Arms Raised, Artists/Art, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Bath/Bathing, Caricature/Cartoon, Comic, Communion, Crucifixion, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Death, Destruction of City, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Fools/Folly, Funeral/Burial, Grieving/Lamentation, Hair/Haircutting, Imagination/Creativity, Judaism, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Love and Death, Masks/Personae, Mirror/Reflection, Music, Naked/Nude, Night, Order/Chaos, Patronage, Peace, Pregnancy, Reading, Self-Portraits I, Serpent's Bite, Sleep/Sleeping, Toilet Scenes, Visiting/Visitation
- PIERO DELLA FRANCESCA (Italian painter, circa 1420–1492), Baptism, Birth/Childbirth, Comic, Dawn/Dawning, Death, Dreams/Visions, Devotion/Piety, Fame, Justice, Marriage/Betrothal, Night, Pregnancy, Sleep/Sleeping, Virgin/Virginity, Visiting/Visitation
- PIERO DI COSIMO (Italian painter, 1462–1521), Adultery, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Love and Death, Sleep/Sleeping, Visiting/Visitation
- PIERRE LE FLAMAND (Flemish metalworker, active late 15th–early 16th century), Adultery
- PIETRO DA CORTONA (PIETRO BERRETTINI) (Italian painter, architect, 1596–1669), Abduction/Rape, Judgment, Penitence/Repentance, Plague/Pestilence
- PIETRO DI EBOLI (Italian illuminator, active circa 1200), Labor/Trades/Occupations
- PIETRO DI PUCCIO (Italian painter, active 1364–1394), Drunkenness/Intoxication
- PILS, ISIDORE-ALEXANDRE-AUGUSTIN (French painter, 1813–1975), Devotion/Piety
- PINE, ROBERT EDGE (British painter, 1730?–1788), Madness
- PINTURICCHIO (BENARDINO DI BRETTO) (Italian painter, circa 1454–1513), Annunciation, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Journey/Flight
- PIOT, RENÉ (French painter, 1869–1934), Martyrdom
- PIRANESI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA (Italian printmaker, architect, 1720–1778), Labyrinth/Maze
- PISANELLO (ANTONIO PISANO) (Italian painter, draftsman, medallist, sculptor, circa 1395–1455), Excess, Hanging, Honor/Honoring, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
- PISANO, ANDREA (Italian sculptor, architect, circa 1290–circa 1348), Artists/Art, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Baptism, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Virtue/Virtues
- PISANO, GIOVANNI (Italian sculptor, architect, circa 1240–circa 1320), Bath/Bathing, Fame, Naked/Nude, Virtue/Virtues
- PISANO, NICOLA (Italian sculptor, active 1258–1278), Baptism, Bath/Bathing, Birth/Childbirth, Choice/Choosing, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Fame, Judgment, Naked/Nude, Virtue/Virtues
- PISSARRO, CAMILLE (French painter, 1830–1903), Dawn/Dawning, Night, Peasantry, Sleep/Sleeping
- PITATI, BONIFACIO *see* BONIFACIO VERONESE
- PITTONI, FRANCESCO (Italian painter, circa 1654–before 1735), Serpent's Bite, Visiting/Visitation
- PLASTOV, ARKADY ALEKSANDROVICH (Russian artist, born 1893), Peasantry
- PLATZER, JOHANN GEORG (Austrian painter, 1704–1761), Abduction/Rape
- PLÜDDEMANN, HERMANN FREIHOLO (German painter, 1809–1868), Penitence/Repentance
- POIRTERS, ADRIAEN (Netherlandish printmaker, 16th century), Vanity/Vanitas
- POLENOV, VASILIJ DMITRIEVIC (Russian artist, 1844–1927), Sin/Sinning
- POLICORO PAINTER (South Italian vase painter, 4th century B.C.), Betrayal
- POLIDORO DA CARAVAGGIO (POLIDORO CALDARA) (Italian painter, 1495/1500–circa 1543), Fame
- POLLAIUOLO, ANTONIO DEL (Italian painter, sculptor, printmaker, goldsmith, 1431/32–1498), Abduction/Rape, Fame, Martyrdom, Metamorphosis, Naked/Nude, Virtue/Virtues

- POLLAIUOLO, PIERO DEL (Italian painter, sculptor, 1443–1496), Justice, Mirror/Reflection
- POLLOCK, JACKSON (American painter, 1912–1956), Abduction/Rape, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Imagination/Creativity, Order/Chaos
- POLYCLETUS (gem carver, post 86/ante 47 B.C.–post 20 B.C./ante A.D. 14), Artists/Art
- POLYDORUS OF RHODES (Greek sculptor, late 1st/early 2nd century B.C.), Journey/Flight
- POLYGNOTOS (Greek painter, active 469–447 B.C.), Comic, Destruction of City
- PONTORMO (JACOPO CARRUCCI) (Italian painter, 1494–1557), Adultery, Crucifixion, Death, Grieving/Lamentation, Mirror/Reflection, Pregnancy, Visiting/Visitation
- POORTER, WILLEM DE (Dutch painter, 1608–after 1648), Sacrifice
- POPPI, FRANCESCO MORANDI *see* MORANDINI, FRANCESCO (IL POPPI)
- POPOVA, LJUBOV SERGEERNA (Russian painter, 1889–1924), Journey/Flight
- PORTA, GIUSEPPE (GIUSEPPE SALVIATI) (Italian painter, circa 1520–1575), Abduction/Rape
- POST, FRANS JANSZ. (Dutch painter, 1612–1618), Sacrifice
- POT, HENDRIK GERRITSZ. (Dutch painter, circa 1585–1657), Avarice, Drunkenness/Intoxication
- POUSSIN, NICOLAS (French painter, 1594–1665), Abandonment, Abduction/Rape, Abundance, Apotheosis/Deification, Artists/Art, Ascent/Descent, Avarice, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Betrayal, Choice/Choosing, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Dawn/Dawning, Death, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Envy, Funeral/Burial, Grieving/Lamentation, Honor/Honoring, Imagination/Creativity, Journey/Flight, Judaism, Judgment, Madness, Metamorphosis, Music, Night, Penitence/Repentance, Plague/Pestilence, Pointing/Indicating, Seasons, Self-Portraits I, Self-Portraits II, Serpent's Bite, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Sublime, Virgin/Virginity
- POYNTER, EDWARD JOHN (British painter, 1836–1919), Fortune, Mirror/Reflection, Sacrifice
- POZZO, ANDREA DEL (Italian architect, painter, 1642–1709), Devotion/Piety
- PRATO, FRANCESCO ORTENSIO DI GIROLAMO DAL (Italian artist, 1512–1562), Peace
- PRATT, HENRY CHEEVER (American painter, 1803–1880), Ascent/Descent, Sublime
- PRAXITELES (Greek sculptor, active circa 370–330 B.C.), Bath/Bathing, Female Beauty and Adornment, Gaze, Naked/Nude, Voyeurism
- PRÉAULT, AUGUSTE (French sculptor, 1809–1879), Crucifixion
- PRELL, HERMANN (German artist, 1854–1922), Justice
- PRELLER, FRIEDRICH, THE ELDER (German painter, printmaker, 1804–1878), Journey/Flight
- PRETI, MATTIA (CAVALIER CALABRESE) (Italian painter, 1613–1699), Beheading/Decapitation, Madness, Martyrdom
- PRIEUR, BARTHÉLEMY (French sculptor, 1536–1611), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
- PRIMATICCIO, FRANCESCO (Italian artist, 1504–1570), Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Destruction of City, Imagination/Creativity, Pregnancy
- PRUD'HON, PIERRE-PAUL (French painter, 1758–1823), Abduction/Rape, Crucifixion, Justice, Night, Whiteness
- PUCELLE, JEAN (French artist, illuminator, active 1320), Betrayal, Communion, Funeral/Burial, Harvesting, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Music, Virtue/Virtues
- PUGET, PIERRE (French sculptor, painter, architect, 1620–1694), Abduction/Rape
- PUKIREV, VASIL VILADIMIROVICH (Russian painter, 1832–1890), Marriage/Betrothal
- PULSA GROUP (American artists group, 20th century), Light II
- PUVIS DE CHAVANNES, PIERRE (French painter, 1824–1898), Dreams/Visions, Imagination/Creativity, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Martyrdom, Penitence/Repentance, Seasons, Whiteness
- QUARTON, ENGUERRAND (French painter, illuminator, circa 1410–after 1466), Death, Grieving/Lamentation
- QUELLINUS, ARTUS, THE ELDER (Flemish sculptor, 1609–1668), Madness
- QUELLINUS, ERASMUS II (Flemish painter, printmaker, 1607–1678), Serpent's Bite
- QUIDOR, JOHN (American painter, 1800/01–1881), Dreams/Visions, Expulsion, Night
- RADZIWIŁ, FRANZ (German painter, 1895–1983), Misfortune
- RAE, HENRIETTA (British artist, 1859–1928), Abandonment
- RAIMONDI, MARCANTONIO (Italian printmaker, circa 1480–circa 1534), Bath/Bathing, Betrayal, Love and Death, Naked/Nude, Night, Nightmare, Sin/Sinning, Virtue/Virtues, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- RAINALDI, CARLO (Italian architect, 1611–1691), Martyrdom
- RAINALDI, GIROLAMO (Italian architect, 1570–1655), Martyrdom
- RAINER, ARNULF (Austrian artist, born 1929), Madness
- RAMBERG, JOHANN HEINRICH (German painter, printmaker, 1763–1840), Comic
- RANKLEY, ALFRED (British artist, 1819–1872), Visiting/Visitation
- RAOUX, JEAN (French painter, 1677–1734), Female Beauty and Adornment
- RAPHAEL (RAFFAELLO SANZIO) (Italian painter, architect, 1483–1528), Apotheosis/Deification, Artists/Art, Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Caricature/Cartoon, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Destruction of City, Expulsion, Fame, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Honor/Honoring, Imagination/Creativity, Journey/Flight, Justice, Light II, Love and Death, Marriage/Betrothal, Martyrdom, Masks/Personae, Melancholy, Metamorphosis, Music, Naked/Nude, Night, Nightmare, Order/Chaos, Path/Road/Crossroads, Patronage, Peace, Penitence/Repentance, Plague/Pestilence, Pregnancy, Protestantism, Sanctuary, Seasons, Self-Portraits I, Sin/Sinning, Sleep/Sleeping, Upside Down, Virtue/Virtues, Visiting/Visitation, Zodiac

- RATTNER, ABRAHAM (American painter, printmaker, designer, 1895–1978), Hanging
- RAUCHMILLER, MATTHIAS (German sculptor, draftsman, painter, ivory carver, architect in Austria, 1645–1686), Abduction/Rape
- RAUSCHENBERG, ROBERT (American painter, photographer, born 1925), Damned Souls, Journey/Flight, Mirror/Reflection, Patronage, Reading
- RAY, MAN (American painter, photographer, sculptor in France, 1890–1976), Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne
- RAYSKI, FERDINAND VON (German painter, 1806–1898), Hanging
- REDGRAVE, RICHARD (British painter, author, educator, 1804–1888), Expulsion, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Widowhood
- REDON, ODILON (French painter, printmaker, 1840–1916), Apocalypse, Birth/Childbirth, Dreams/Visions, Journey/Flight, Melancholy, Night, Nightmare, Sleep/Sleeping, Temptation
- REGNAUDIN, THOMAS (French sculptor, 1622–1706), Abduction/Rape, Seasons
- REGNAULT, HENRI (French painter, 1843–1871), Beheading/Decapitation
- REGNAULT, JEAN-BAPTISTE, BARON (French painter, printmaker, 1754–1829), Abduction/Rape, Journey/Flight
- REICHLICH, MARX (Austrian or German painter, active 1494–1508), Visiting/Visitation
- REID, JOHN ROBERTSON (British artist, 1851–1926), Harvesting
- REID, ROBERT (American painter, 1862–1929), Whiteness
- REMBRANDT HARMENSZ VAN RIJN (Dutch painter, printmaker, 1606–1669), Abandonment, Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Annunciation, Artists/Art, Ascent/Descent, Bath/Bathing, Betrayal, Calumny, Comic, Crucifixion, Devotion/Piety, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Fools/Folly, Grieving/Lamentation, Hair/Haircutting, Hanging, Humors, Imagination/Creativity, Journey/Flight, Judgment, Kiss/Kissing, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Laughter, Light II, Madness, Marriage/Betrothal, Martyrdom, Melancholy, Music, Naked/Nude, Night, Penitence/Repentance, Pregnancy, Protestantism, Reading, Sacrifice, Self-Portraits I, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Shipwreck, Sin/Sinning, Temptation, Toilet Scenes, Visiting/Visitation
- REMINGTON, FREDERIC (American painter, sculptor, 1861–1909), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
- REMP, FRANZ CARL (German or Austrian painter, 1674–1718), Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- RENI, GUIDO (Italian painter, 1575–1642), Abduction/Rape, Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Dawn/Dawning, Devotion/Piety, Journey/Flight, Path/Road/Crossroads, Penitence/Repentance, Plague/Pestilence, Sacrifice, Serpent's Bite, Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues
- RENIER DE HUY (Early Netherlandish goldsmith, active 1107–1144), Baptism
- RENOIR, PIERRE-AUGUSTE (French painter, sculptor, 1841–1919), Apotheosis/Deification, Bath/Bathing, Choice/Choosing, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Female Beauty and Adornment, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Marriage/Betrothal, Naked/Nude, Sleep/Sleeping, Whiteness
- RESTOUT, JEAN II (French painter, 1692–1768), Journey/Flight, Love and Death
- REVERDY, GEORGES (GEORGES REVERDINO) (Italian printmaker in France, active 1531–1564/70), Betrayal
- REYMERWAELE, MARINUS VAN (Netherlandish painter, circa 1493–circa 1567), Money
- REYNOLDS, JOSHUA (British painter, writer, 1723–1792), Artists/Art, Choice/Choosing, Fortune, Path/Road/Crossroads, Sacrifice, Whiteness
- RIBERA, JUSEPE DE (LO SPANGNOLETO) (Spanish painter, printmaker in Italy, circa 1590–1632), Ascent/Descent, Communion, Damned Souls, Devotion/Piety, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Grieving/Lamentation, Laughter, Music
- RICCI, SEBASTIANO (Italian painter, 1654–1734), Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Judgment, Plague/Pestilence
- RICCIO, ANDREA (ANDREA BRIOSCO) (Italian sculptor, architect, goldsmith, medalist, 1470–1532), Love and Death
- RICHER, GERMAINE (French sculptor, 1904–1959), Crucifixion
- RICHMOND, GEORGE (British painter, printmaker, 1809–1896), Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- RICHMOND, WILLIAM BLAKE (British painter, 1842–1921), Abandonment, Bath/Bathing
- RICKERT, PAUL (artist, 20th century), Night
- RICKETTS, CHARLES DE SOUSY (British painter, designer, author, 1866–1931), Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale
- RIGGS, ROBERT (American printmaker, 1896–1970), Madness
- RIJCKAERT, DAVID III *see* RYCKAERT, DAVID III
- RIMINALDI, ORAZIO (Italian painter, 1593–1630), Honor/Honoring
- RIPA, CESARE, *see* Index of Authors, Literary Texts, Composers, Filmmakers, and Folktales
- RIPPER, RUDOLPH CHARLES VON (Austrian painter, printmaker, 1904–1960), Hanging
- RIVERA, DIEGO (Mexican painter, 1886–1957), Artists/Art, Birth/Childbirth, Caricature/Cartoon, Death, Dreams/Visions, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Peasantry, Pregnancy, Self-Portraits II
- RIVERS, LARRY (American painter, sculptor, born 1923), Comic, Hanging, Mirror/Reflection
- RIVIÈRE, THÉODORE (French sculptor, 1857–1912), Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- RIVUS, GUALTHER HERMENTIUS (author, engraver, circa 1500–mid 16th century), Pregnancy
- RIXENS, JEAN-ANDRE (French painter, 1846–1924), Serpent's Bite
- ROBERT, LOUIS-LÉOPOLD (French painter, printmaker, 1794–1835), Peasantry
- ROBERTI, ERCOLE DI (Italian painter, circa 1456–1496), Judgment
- ROBERTS, WILLIAM PATRICK (British painter, 1895–1980), Dance/Dancers/Dancing

- ROBETTA, CRISTOFANO (Italian printmaker, goldsmith, 1462–after 1522), Choice/Choosing, Envy
- ROBUS, HUGO (American sculptor, painter, 1885–1964), Hair/Haircutting
- ROBUSTI, MARIETTA *see* TINTORETTO, MARIETTA (MARIETTA ROBUSTI)
- ROCKWELL, NORMAN (American illustrator, 1894–1978), Order/Chaos, Self-Portraits I
- RODIN, AUGUST (French sculptor, 1848–1917), Arms Raised, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Choice/Choosing, Damned Souls, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Destruction of City, Imagination/Creativity, Journey/Flight, Kiss/Kissing, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Love and Death, Melancholy, Order/Chaos, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Sin/Sinning
- ROGERS, JOHN (American sculptor, 1829–1904), Marriage/Betrothal
- ROHAN MASTER *see* MASTER OF THE ROHAN HOURS
- ROMANELLI, GIOVANNI FRANCESCO (Italian painter, 1610–1662), Abduction/Rape
- ROMANINO (GIROLAMO DI ROMANO) (Italian painter, 1484/87–1562), Bath/Bathing, Hair/Haircutting, Judgment
- ROMANO, GIULIO *see* GIULIO ROMANO (GIULIO PIPPI)
- ROMNEY, GEORGE (British painter, 1734–1802), Bacchanalia/Orgy
- ROPS, FÉLICIEN JOSEPH VICTOR (Belgian painter, printmaker, 1833–1898), Hanging, Nightmare, Peasantry, Temptation
- ROSA, SALVATOR (Italian painter, printmaker, 1615–1673), Abandonment, Baptism, Crucifixion, Dreams/Visions, Envy, Fortune, Hanging, Laughter, Masks/Personae, Melancholy, Money, Pointing/Indicating, Sacrifice, Self-Portraits I, Sin/Sinning, Sublime, Vanity/Vanitas, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- ROSENDAEL, NICOLAS (Dutch painter, 1634/35–1686), Calumny
- ROSLIN, ALEXANDRE (Swedish painter, 1718–1793), Whiteness
- ROSSELLI, MATTEO (Italian painter, 1578–1650), Journey/Flight
- ROSSELLINO, ANTONIO (Italian sculptor, 1427–1479), Honor/Honoring, Sacrifice
- ROSSELLINO, BERNARDO (Italian sculptor, architect, 1409–1464), Honor/Honoring
- ROSSETTI, DANTE GABRIEL (British painter, poet, 1820–1882), Adultery, Annunciation, Artists/Art, Beheading/Decapitation, Damned Souls, Death, Dreams/Visions, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Gaze, Hair/Haircutting, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Kiss/Kissing, Martyrdom, Mirror/Reflection, Penitence/Repentance, Reading, Sacrifice, Toilet Scenes
- ROSSI, PROPERZIA DE' (Italian sculptor, before 1491–1530), Adultery, Betrayal
- RÖSSLIN, EUCHARIUS (16th century), Pregnancy
- ROSSO FIORENTINO (GIOVANNI BATTOSTA DI JACOPO) (Italian painter, 1494–1540), Apotheosis/Deification, Ascent/Descent, Comic, Fame, Love and Death, Pregnancy
- ROTA, MARTINO (Italian printmaker, circa 1520–1583), Comic
- ROTHKO, MARK (American painter, 1903–1978), Funeral/Burial, Order/Chaos
- ROUAULT, GEORGES (French painter, printmaker, 1871–1958), Crucifixion, Justice, Night
- ROUBAUD, FRANÇOIS-FELIX (French sculptor, 1825–1876), Serpent's Bite
- ROUGE, NICOLAS LE (French printmaker, 17th? century), Music
- ROUSSEAU, HENRI (LE DOUANIER) (French painter, 1844–1910), Apocalypse, Dreams/Visions, Imagination/Creativity, Night, Self-Portraits I, Sleep/Sleeping
- ROUSSEL, KER XAVIER (French painter, 1867–1944), Abduction/Rape
- ROVERE, GIOVANNI MAURO DELLA (FIAMMENGHINO) (Italian painter, 1575–1640), Penitence/Repentance
- ROWLANDSON, THOMAS (British painter, illustrator, caricaturist, 1756–1827), Caricature/Cartoon, Comic, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Death, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Money, Naked/Nude, Physiognomy
- ROYMERSWAELE, MARINUS VAN *see* REYMERSWAELE, MARINUS VAN
- RUBENS, PETER PAUL (Flemish painter, draftsman, collector, writer, 1577–1640), Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Annunciation, Apocalypse, Apotheosis/Deification, Artists/Art, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Bath/Bathing, Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Calumny, Choice/Choosing, Communion, Crucifixion, Damned Souls, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Envy, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Grieving/Lamentation, Hair/Haircutting, Harvesting, Honor/Honoring, Humors, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Judgment, Laughter, Light II, Love and Death, Madness, Marriage/Betrothal, Misfortune, Naked/Nude, Path/Road/Crossroads, Patronage, Penitence/Repentance, Plague/Pestilence, Pregnancy, Reading, Sacrifice, Self-Portraits I, Self-Portraits II, Serpent's Bite, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Shipwreck, Sin/Sinning, Temptation, Toilet Scenes, Upside Down, Virgin/Virginity, Visiting/Visitation, Voyeurism, Widowhood
- RUEFF, JACOB (German artist, 16th century), Pregnancy
- RUISDAEL, JACOB VAN (Dutch painter, circa 1628–1632), Light II, Night, Sublime
- RUIZ, ANTONIO (Mexican painter, born 1897), Dreams/Visions
- RUNGE, PHILIP OTTO (German painter, 1777–1810), Dawn/Dawning, Journey/Flight, Marriage/Betrothal, Night
- RUSSELL, CHARLES MARION (American painter, sculptor, 1864–1926), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
- RUSSOLO, LUIGI (Italian painter, printmaker, musician, 1885–1947), Madness
- RYCKAERT, DAVID III (Flemish painter, 1587–1631), Witchcraft/Sorcery
- RYDER, ALBERT PICKHAM (American painter, 1747–1917), Apocalypse, Death, Night, Shipwreck

- RYFF, WALTHER HERMANN *see* RIVIVUS, GUALTHER HERMENIUS
- RYSBRACK, JOHN MICHAEL (Flemish sculptor in Great Britain, 1694–1770), Abandonment
- SABATINI, LORENZO (Italian painter, 1530–1576), Abduction/Rape
- SACCHI, ANDREA (Italian painter, 1599–1661), Annunciation, Honor/Honoring, Music, Sacrifice, Virtue/Virtues
- SADELER, JEAN I (Flemish designer, printmaker, 1550–1600), Serpent's Bite
- SADLER, WALTER DENDY (British painter, 1854–1923), Marriage/Betrothal
- SAENREDAM, JAN PIETERSZ. (Dutch printmaker, 1565–1607), Pregnancy, Seasons
- SAINT-GAUDENS, AUGUSTUS (American sculptor, 1848–1907), Imagination/Creativity
- SAINT-PHALLE, NIKI (French sculptor, born 1930), Birth/Childbirth
- SALIMBENI DA SAN SEVERINO, LORENZO (Italian painter, circa 1374–1420), Birth/Childbirth
- “SALOME” (Performance artist, 20th century), Hermaphrodite/Androgyne
- SALOMON, BERNARD (French painter, printmaker, 1506/10–circa 1561), Adultery
- SALVIATI, FRANCESCO (FRANCESCO DE' ROSSI) (Italian artist, 1510–1563), Adultery, Artists/Art, Excess, Fame, Justice, Mirror/Reflection, Virtue/Virtues
- SANDYS, FREDERICK (British painter, illustrator, 1829–1904), Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- SANGALLO, BASTIANO DA (ARTISTOTILE) (Italian painter, architect, sceneographer, 1481–1551), Bath/Bathing
- SANSOVINO, ANDREA (Italian architect, sculptor, circa 1460–1529), Bacchanalia/Orgy, Melancholy, Peace
- SANTACROCE, GIROLAMO DA (Italian painter, active 1503–1556), Melancholy
- SANT'ELIAS, ANTONIO (Italian artist, architect, 1888–1916), Dreams/Visions
- SANTI DI TITO (Italian painter, 1536–1603), Bath/Bathing, Hair/Haircutting, Madness
- SANTVOORT, DIRCK DIRCKSZ. (Dutch painter, 1610/11–1680), Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- SARACENI, CARLO (Italian painter, circa 1579–1620), Abandonment
- SARGENT, JOHN SINGER (American painter, 1856–1925), Choice/Choosing, Judgment, Night
- SASSETTA (STEFANO DI GIOVANNI DI CONSOLO) (Italian painter, designer, 1392–1450), Abandonment, Journey/Flight, Virgin/Virginity
- SAUL, PETER (American painter, born 1934), Comic
- SAUVAGE, PIAT JOSEPH (Flemish painter, 1744–1818), Seasons
- SAVERY, PIETER *see* XAVERY, PIETER
- SCHADOW, JOHANN GOTTFRIED (German sculptor, 1864–1850), Sleep/Sleeping
- SCHAFFNER, MARTIN (German painter, printmaker, medalist, 1478/79–1546), Pointing/Indicating
- SCHALCKEN, GODFRIED (Dutch painter, printmaker, 1643–1706), Masks/Personae, Pregnancy
- SCHEFFER, ARY (Dutch painter, printmaker, sculptor in France, 1795–1858), Abduction/Rape, Love and Death, Serpent's Bite
- SCHIAVONE, ANDREA (Italian painter, printmaker, draftsman, circa 1500–1563), Abduction/Rape, Destruction of City, Judgment, Marriage/Betrothal
- SCHICK, CHRISTIAN GOTTLIEB (German painter, printmaker, 1776–1812), Sacrifice
- SCHIDONE, BARTOLOMEO (Italian painter, circa 1570–1616), Betrayal
- SCHIELE, EGON (German painter, draftsman, 1890–1918), Naked/Nude
- SCHINKEL, KARL FRIEDRICH (German architect, painter, printmaker, 1781–1841), Dawn/Dawning, Light II
- SCHLEMMER, OSKAR (German painter, sculptor, 1888–1943), Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- SCHMIDT-ROTTLUFF (German painter, sculptor, printmaker, 1884–1976), Dawn/Dawning, Devotion/Piety, Kiss/Kissing
- SCHNEEMANN, CAROLEE (American artist, born 1939), Self-Portraits II
- SCHNORR VON CAROLSFELD, JULIUS (German painter, 1794–1872), Death, Devotion/Piety, Madness, Pointing/Indicating
- SCHOEN, ERHARD (German painter, printmaker, circa 1491–1542), Peasantry
- SCHOLTEN, HENDRIK JACOBUS (Dutch painter, 1824–1907), Imagination/Creativity
- SCHÖN, ERHARD (German painter, printmaker, circa 1491–1542), Caricature/Cartoon
- SCHÖNFELDT, JOHANN HEINRICH (German painter, 1609–1682), Abduction/Rape, Judgment
- SCHONGAUER, MARTIN (German painter, printmaker, circa 1450–1491), Betrayal, Journey/Flight, Nightmare, Temptation
- SCHOUBROECK, PIETER (Netherlandish painter, circa 1570–1607), Destruction of City
- SCHUPPEN, JACQUES VAN (French painter in Austria, 1670–1751), Self-Portraits I
- SCHWIND, MORITZ VON (Austrian painter, printmaker, draftsman, 1804–1871), Devotion/Piety
- SCHWITTERS, KURT (German painter, draftsman, author, 1887–1948), Order/Chaos
- SCIPIONE, GINO BONICCHI (Italian artist, 1904–1933), Judgment
- SCOREL, JAN VAN (Netherlandish painter, 1495–1562), Betrayal, Serpent's Bite
- SCOTT, WILLIAM BELL (British painter, author, 1811–1890), Labor/Trades/Occupations
- SEBASTIANO DEL PIOMBO (SEBASTIANO LUCIANI) (Italian painter, 1485–1547), Love and Death, Martyrdom
- SEGAL, GEORGE (American sculptor, born 1924), Hanging, Judaism, Mirror/Reflection, Patronage
- SEGANTINI, GIOVANNI (Italian painter, 1858–1899), Dawn/Dawning, Peasantry
- SEITZ, GUSTAV (German sculptor, 1906–1969), Choice/Choosing, Judgment

- SELLAIO, JACOPO DEL (Italian painter, 1441/42–1493),
Journey/Flight, Music
- SÉON, ALEXANDRE (French painter, printmaker,
1855–1917), Love and Death
- SERMIDI, SERGIO (performance artist, 20th century),
Hermaphrodite/Androgyne
- SERRANO, ANDRES (American artist, photographer, born
1953), Crucifixion
- SERRUR, HENRI-AUGUSTE-CALIXTE-CESAR (French
artist, 1794–1865), Arms Raised
- SERVAES, ALBERT (Belgian painter, 1883–1966), Peasantry
- SÉRUSIER, PAUL (Swiss painter, 1864–1927),
Devotion/Piety, Melancholy
- SEURAT, GEORGES-PIERRE (French painter, 1859–1891),
Bath/Bathing, Comic, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Female
Beauty and Adornment, Light II, Naked/Nude
- SEVERINI, GINO (Italian painter, 1883–1966),
Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- SHAHN, BEN (American painter, printmaker, photographer,
1898–1969), Funeral/Burial, Judaism,
Labor/Trades/Occupations, Martyrdom, Sport
- SHARPLES, ROLINDA (British artist, 1794–1838), Self-
Portraits II
- SHEELER, CHARLES (American painter, photographer,
1883–1965), Dreams/Visions
- SHERMAN, CINDY (American photographer, born 1954),
Comic, Self-Portraits II
- SHRAMCHENKO, MYKOLA (Jewish artist, active circa
1962), Order/Chaos
- SICIOLANTE, GIROLAMO (GIROLAMO DA
SERMONETA) (Italian painter, circa 1514–1575),
Annunciation
- SICKERT, WALTER RICHARD (British painter,
1860–1942), Naked/Nude
- SIDDAL, ELIZABETH ELEANOR (British artist,
1834–1862), Artists/Art, Death, Dreams/Visions,
Hair/Haircutting, Mirror/Reflection
- SIENESE SCHOOL, Choice/Choosing, Temptation
- SIGNORELLI, LUCA (Italian painter, 1445/50–1523),
Damned Souls, Journey/Flight, Judgment, Music
- SIGNORINI, TELEMACO (Italian painter, printmaker,
1835–1901), Madness
- SILVANI, P. S. (Italian metalworker), Communion
- SIMONE MARTINI (Italian painter, circa 1284–1344),
Devotion/Piety, Dreams/Visions, Path/Road/Crossroads,
Reading
- SIQUIEROS, DAVID ALFARO (Mexican painter,
1896–1974), Grieving/Lamentation
- SIRANI, ELIZABETTA (Italian painter, printmaker,
1638–1665), Baptism, Beheading/Decapitation, Fatal
Woman/Femme Fatale, Penitence/Repentance
- SITTOW, MICHEL (Early Netherlandish painter,
1468–1525/26), Virgin/Virginity
- SJÖÖ, MONICA (American artist, active late twentieth
century), Birth/Childbirth
- SKOPAS (Greek sculptor, 4th century B.C.), Ecstasy,
Naked/Nude
- ŠKRÉTA, KAREL (Bohemian painter, 1610–1674),
Plague/Pestilence
- SLEIGH, SYLVIA (British painter in the United States,
20th century), Naked/Nude
- SLEVOGT, MAX (German painter, printmaker, 1868–1932),
Madness, Penitence/Repentance
- SLOAN, JOHN (American painter, 1871–1951),
Bath/Bathing, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Hair/Haircutting,
Night
- SLUIJTERS, JOHANNES CAROLUS BERNARDUS
(Dutch painter, printmaker, draftsman, 1881–1957),
Kiss/Kissing
- SLUTER, CLAUS (Netherlandish sculptor, active
1379–1405/06), Funeral/Burial, Judaism, Patronage
- SLUYTERS, JAN *see* SLUIJTERS, JOHANNES CAROLUS
BERNARDUS
- SMITH, ANDRÉ (American painter, etcher, architect,
teacher, and writer, born 1880), Hanging
- SMITH, DAVID (American sculptor, 1906–1965),
Abduction/Rape
- SMITH, W. EUGENE (American photographer, 1918–1978),
Grieving/Lamentation
- SNYDERS, FRANS (Flemish painter, 1579–1657),
Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Misfortune
- SODOMA, IL (GIOVANNI ANTONIO BAZZO) (Italian
painter, 1477–1549), Envy, Journey/Flight, Laughter,
Marriage/Betrothal
- SOLIMENA, FRANCESCO (Italian painter, 1657–1747),
Abduction/Rape, Beheading/Decapitation,
Plague/Pestilence
- SOLOMON, SIMEON (British painter, 1840–1905),
Hermaphrodite/Androgyne
- SONNETTE, GEORGES DE LA (French sculptor, active
circa 1450), Funeral/Burial
- SOSTOS OF PERGAMON (Greek mosaicist, 2nd century
B.C.), Comic
- SPADA, LIONELLO (Italian painter, 1576–1622), Envy
- SPADARO, MICCO *see* GARGUILO, DOMENICO
(MICCO SPADARO)
- SPENCER, LILLY MARTIN (American painter, 1822–1902),
Vanity/Vanitas
- SPENCER, STANLEY (British painter, 1891–1959),
Artists/Art, Bath/Bathing, Betrayal, Crucifixion,
Harvesting, Judgment, Labor/Trades/Occupations,
Naked/Nude
- SPERLING, HIERONYMUS (German printmaker,
1695–1777), Labyrinth/Maze
- SPIEGEL, ANDRIAN (artist, 17th century), Pregnancy
- SPIEGELMAN, ART (American cartoonist, 20th century),
Judaism
- SPINELLO ARETINO (Italian painter, circa 1346–1410),
Crucifixion
- SPRANGER, BARTHOLOMAEUS (Flemish painter,
draftsman, printmaker, 1546–1611), Abandonment,
Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Honor/Honoring, Judgment,
Music
- STAINBURGER VON SPRINZENSTI, J. (miniaturist),
Masks/Personae
- STALEY, EARL (American painter, born 1938), Love and
Death, Metamorphosis
- STALLAERT, JOSEPH (Belgian painter, 1825–1903), Love
and Death

- STANHOPE, JOHN RODDAM SPENCER (British painter, 1829–1908), Hair/Haircutting
- STANZIONE, MASSIMO (Italian painter, 1585–1656), Bacchanalia/Orgy
- STEEN, JAN (Dutch painter, 1626–1679), Betrayal, Comic, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Female Beauty and Adornment, Gaze, Journey/Flight, Laughter, Marriage/Betrothal, Masks/Personae, Melancholy, Money, Music, Self-Portraits I, Sacrifice, Sleep/Sleeping, Toilet Scenes, Vanity/Vanitas, Visiting/Visitation
- STEENWYCK, HARMEN (Dutch painter, 1612–circa 1656), Vanity/Vanitas
- STEICHEN, EDWARD JEAN (American, born in Luxembourg, photographer, artist, 1879–1973), Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- STEINBERG, SAUL (American cartoonist, born 1914), Ascent/Descent, Caricature/Cartoon
- STEINLEN, THÉOPHILE ALEXANDRE (Swiss painter, printmaker, 1859–1923), Peasantry
- STELLA, FRANK (American painter, born 1936), Patronage
- STELLA, JACQUES (French painter, printmaker, 1596–1657), Judgment
- STELLA, JOSEPH (American painter, 1877–1947), Laughter
- STERNBERG, JOSEF VON (filmmaker), Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale
- STEVENS, ALFRED EMILE LEOPOLD JOSEPH VICTOR (Belgian painter, 1823–1908), Seasons
- STIEGLITZ, ALFRED (American photographer, 1864–1946), Ecstasy
- STIFTER, ADELBERT (Austrian painter, poet, 1805–1868), Dawn/Dawning
- STIMMER, TOBIAS (Swiss painter, printmaker, 1539–1584), Money
- STOLKER, JAN (Dutch painter, draftsman, 1724–1785), Imagination/Creativity
- STONE, FRANK (British painter, 1800–1853), Visiting/Visitation
- STOREY, GEORGE ADOLPHUS (British painter, 1834–1919), Abandonment
- STORY, WILLIAM WETMORE (American sculptor, 1819–1895), Sacrifice
- STRADANUS, GIOVANNI or JOHANNES *see* STRAET, JAN VAN DER
- STRAET, JAN VAN DER (JOHANNES STRADANUS; GIOVANNI STRADANO) (Netherlandish painter, draftsman, printmaker, 1523–1605), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Luxury, Metamorphosis, Music
- STRANG, WILLIAM (British painter, printmaker, 1812–1872), Expulsion
- STROZZI, BERNARDO (Italian painter, 1581–1664), Bath/Bathing, Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Fame, Female Beauty and Adornment, Pointing/Indicating
- STUART, GILBERT (American painter, 1755–1828), Melancholy
- STUBBS, GEORGE (British painter, 1824–1806), Harvesting, Reading
- STUCK, FRANZ VON (German painter, sculptor, designer, 1863–1928), Abduction/Rape, Ascent/Descent, Beheading/Decapitation, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Judgment
- STUDIUS (Roman painter, 1st century B.C.), Comic
- STURGIS, PRESTON (American film director, 20th century), Money
- SUBLEYRAS, PIERRE-HUBERT (French painter, 1699–1749), Damned Souls, Dreams/Visions, Self-Portraits I
- SULLY, THOMAS (American painter, 1783–1872), Whiteness
- SUSTRIS, FRIEDRICH (Netherlandish painter, draftsman, architect, circa 1540–1599), Path/Road/Crossroads, Serpent's Bite
- SUSTRIS, LAMBERT (Netherlandish painter in Italy, circa 1515–circa 1584), Destruction of City
- SUTHERLAND, GRAHAM VIVIAN (British painter, printmaker, 1903–1980), Ascent/Descent, Crucifixion, Laughter
- SWANENBURGH, ISAAC VAN (North Netherlandish painter and draftsman, circa 1538–1614), Automata
- SWANENBURGH, JACAB ISAACSZ. VAN (Dutch painter, circa 1571–1638), Damned Souls
- SWART VAN GRONINGEN, JAN (Early Netherlandish painter, printmaker, circa 1500–after 1562), Adultery
- SWEERTS, MICHAEL (Flemish painter, printmaker, 1618–1664), Female Beauty and Adornment
- SYLEUS PAINTER (Greek vase painter, circa 500–475 B.C.), Abandonment
- TADDEO DI BARTOLO (Italian painter, illuminator, circa 1367–1422), Annunciation
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- TAMECHIKA, RAIZEI (Japanese scroll painter, 1823–1864), Seasons
- TANGUY, YVES (French painter, 1900–1955), Dreams/Visions, Imagination/Creativity
- TANNER, HENRY OSSAWA (American painter, 1859–1937), Annunciation
- TANSEY, MARK (American painter, born 1949), Order/Chaos
- TAO-CHI (Chinese painter, 1814–1865), Drunkenness/Intoxication
- TARDIEU, NICOLAS-HENRI (French printmaker, 1674–1749), Seasons
- TASSI, AGOSTINO (Italian painter, circa 1579–1664), Betrayal, Calumny, Expulsion
- TAUNAY, NICOLAS-ANTOINE (French painter, 1755–1830), Path/Road/Crossroads
- TEMPEL, ABRAHAM LAMBERTSZ. VAN DEN (Dutch painter, 1622/23–1672), Music
- TEMPESTA, ANTONIO (Italian painter, printmaker, 1555–1638), Birth/Childbirth, Envy, Plague/Pestilence
- TENERANI, PIETRO (Italian sculptor, 1789–1869), Abandonment
- TENIERS, DAVID (II), THE YOUNGER (Flemish painter, 1610–1690), Abduction/Rape, Laughter, Nightmare, Peasantry, Metamorphosis, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- TENNIEL, JOHN (British painter, illustrator, 1820–1914), Margins/Outsiders

- TERBORCH, GERARD (Dutch painter, 1617–1681), Female Beauty and Adornment, Marriage/Betrothal
- TERBRUGGHEN, HENDRICK (Dutch painter, 1588–1629), Comic, Crucifixion, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Laughter, Martyrdom, Melancholy, Money, Music, Reading
- TESTA, GIOVANNI CESARE (Italian printmaker, active circa 1630/40–1655), Envy
- TESTA, PIETRO (IL LUCCHESINO) (Italian painter, printmaker, 1612–1650), Envy, Journey/Flight
- TEUNISSEN, CORNELIS *see* ANTHONISZ. CORNELIS
- THANATOS PAINTER (Greek vase painter, circa 450–420 B.C.), Sleep/Sleeping
- THEODOROS OF SAMOS (Greek architect and sculptor, active circa 560 B.C.), Artists/Art
- THIRY, LEONARD (Flemish painter, draftsman, died circa 1550), Witchcraft/Sorcery
- THOMA, HANS (German painter, printmaker, 1839–1924), Devotion/Piety, Fortune, Self-Portraits I
- THORNHILL, JAMES (British painter, 1675–1734), Dawn/Dawning
- THORWALDSEN, BERTEL (Danish sculptor, 1770–1844), Abduction/Rape
- THULDEN, THEODOR VAN (Dutch painter, printmaker, 1606–1669), Music, Pointing/Indicating
- THURBER, JAMES (American cartoonist, 1894–1961), Caricature/Cartoon
- TIBALDI, PELLEGRINO (Italian painter, sculptor, architect, 1527–1596), Virgin/Virginity
- TIEPOLO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA (Italian painter, printmaker, 1696–1770), Abduction/Rape, Annunciation, Apotheosis/Deification, Honor/Honoring, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Journey/Flight, Judgment, Love and Death, Martyrdom, Metamorphosis, Plague/Pestilence, Sacrifice
- TIEPOLO, GIOVANNI DOMENICO (Italian painter, 1727–1804), Adultery, Grieving/Lamentation, Hanging, Journey/Flight, Masks/Personae, Upside Down
- TINO DI CAMAINO (Italian sculptor, circa 1285–1337), Virtue/Virtues
- TINTORETTO, JACOPO (JACOPO ROBUSTI) (Italian painter, 1518–1594), Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Annunciation, Ascent/Descent, Baptism, Bath/Bathing, Birth/Childbirth, Calumny, Communion, Crucifixion, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Expulsion, Funeral/Burial, Grieving/Lamentation, Hair/Haircutting, Humors, Judgment, Labyrinth/Maze, Light II, Love and Death, Martyrdom, Mirror/Reflection, Order/Chaos, Penitence/Repentance, Sacrifice, Sin/Sinning, Temptation, Toilet Scenes, Upside Down, Visiting/Visitation
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- TISSOT, JAMES JACQUES JOSEPH (French painter, printmaker in Britain, 1836–1902), Journey/Flight, Seasons
- TITIAN (TIZIANO VECELLIO) (Italian painter, 1488/90–1576), Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Apotheosis/Deification, Artists/Art, Ascent/Descent, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Bath/Bathing, Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Crucifixion, Damned Souls, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Excess, Expulsion, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Female Beauty and Adornment, Fortune, Funeral/Burial, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Imagination/Creativity, Journey/Flight, Love and Death, Martyrdom, Metamorphosis, Mirror/Reflection, Misfortune, Money, Music, Naked/Nude, Penitence/Repentance, Pregnancy, Reading, Sacrifice, Seasons, Self-Portraits I, Serpent's Bite, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Sleep/Sleeping, Sublime, Temptation, Toilet Scenes, Virtue/Virtues
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- TOBEY, MARK (American painter, 1890–1976), Night
- TOEPUT, LODEWIJK (POZZOSERRATO) (Flemish painter, printmaker, draftsman, poet in Italy, circa 1550–1603/35), Labyrinth/Maze
- TOMKINS, PELTRO WILLIAM (British artist, 1759/60–1840), Seasons
- TOMLIN, BRADLEY WALKER (American painter, 1899–1953), Night
- TOOKER, GEORGE (American painter, born 1930), Bath/Bathing
- TOOROP, CHARLEY (ANNIE CAROLINE PONTIFEX) (Dutch painter, 1891–1955), Beheading/Decapitation
- TÖPFFER, RODOPHE (Swiss author, draftsman, 1799–1846), Caricature/Cartoon
- TOPHAM, FRANK WILLIAM WARWICK (British painter, 1838–1924), Plague/Pestilence
- TORRENTIUS, JAN SYMOONISZ. (JOHANNES SYMOONISZ. VAN DER BEECK) (Dutch painter, 1599–1644), Virtue/Virtues
- TORY, GEOFFROY (French painter, printmaker, publisher, orthographer, circa 1485–1553/54), Path/Road/Crossroads
- TOULOUSE-LAUTREC, HENRI DE (French painter, printmaker, 1864–1901), Abduction/Rape, Artists/Art, Caricature/Cartoon, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Masks/Personae, Naked/Nude
- TOSA, MITSUOKI (Japanese screen painter, 1617–1691), Seasons
- TOYOKUMI III (UTAGAWA KUNISADA) (Japanese printmaker, 1786–1864), Seasons
- TOYOKUNI, UTAGAWA (Japanese painter, printmaker, 1769–1825), Bath/Bathing
- TRAINI, FRANCESCO (Italian painter, active 1321–1368), Choice/Choosing, Death, Damned Souls, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
- TRIBOLO, NICCOLÒ (Italian sculptor, architect, 1500–1550), Abduction/Rape
- TRINQUESSE, LOUIS-ROLLAND (French painter, 1746–1800), Whiteness
- TRIPP, JAN PETER (German painter, printmaker, born 1945), Madness
- TROGER, PAUL (Austrian painter, printmaker, 1690–1762), Dawn/Dawning
- TROUVAIN, ANTOINE (French printmaker, 1656–1708), Months
- TROVA, ERNST TINO (American sculptor, painter, born 1927), Arms Raised

- TROY, JEAN-FRANÇOIS DE (French painter in Italy, 1679–1752), Abduction/Rape, Bath/Bathing, Female Beauty and Adornment, Whiteness
- TRUMBULL, JOHN (American painter, 1751–1843), Adultery
- TUBY, JEAN-BAPTISTE (French sculptor, 1635–1700), Humors
- TURA, COSIMO (Italian painter, illuminator, circa 1430–1495), Death, Excess, Journey/Flight, Sleep/Sleeping, Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues
- TURCHI, ALESSANDRO (ORBETTO) (Italian painter, 1578–1649), Madness
- TURNER, JOSEPH MALLORD WILLIAM (British painter, 1775–1851), Abduction/Rape, Artists/Art, Ascent/Descent, Choice/Choosing, Dawn/Dawning, Destruction of City, Journey/Flight, Light II, Misfortune, Patronage, Peace, Shipwreck, Sublime, Temptation
- UCCELLO, PAOLO (PAOLO DI DONO) (Italian painter, 1397–1475), Artists/Art, Betrayal, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Hanging, Honor/Honoring, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Journey/Flight, Sacrifice
- UHDE, FRITZ KARL HERMANN VON (German painter, 1848–1911), Devotion/Piety
- UNDERWORLD PAINTER (Apulian vase painter, circa 330–320 B.C.), Witchcraft/Sorcery
- UPPER RHENISH MASTER (German painter), Birth/Childbirth
- UTAMARO, KITAGAWA (Japanese printmaker, 1753–1806), Bath/Bathing, Dawn/Dawning, Kiss/Kissing, Seasons
- VAITH, GREGORIOUS (German silversmith, active circa 1707), Communion
- VALADON, SUZANNE (French painter, printmaker, artists' model, 1865–1938), Self-Portraits II
- VALCKENBORCH, FREDERICK VAN (Flemish painter, circa 1570–1623), Serpent's Bite
- VALCKENBORCH, LUCAS VAN (Netherlandish painter, 1530/35–1597), Path/Road/Crossroads
- VALDÉS LEAL, JUAN DE (Spanish painter, printmaker, sculptor, architect, 1622–1690), Money
- VALDESTEIN, MARIANA (MARCHESA DE SANTA CRUZ) *see* WALDSTEIN, MARIE ANNE, MARQUESA DE SANTA CRUZ
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- VALERIANI, GIUSEPPE (Italian ecclesiastic, architect, painter, 1542–1596), Pointing/Indicating
- VALLERAN, BONNART (French printmaker), Months
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- VALLOTTON, FÉLIX EDOUARD (Swiss artist, 1865–1925), Abandonment, Abduction/Rape, Adultery
- VANDERLYN, JOHN (American painter, 1776–1852), Abandonment, Sublime
- VANLOO, CARLE (French painter, printmaker, 1705–1765), Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Journey/Flight
- VANNI, FRANCESCO (Italian painter, printmaker, 1563–1610), Communion
- VANNI, PIETRO (Italian artist, 1845–1905), Misfortune
- VARO, REMEDIOS (Spanish painter in Mexico, 1908–1963), Ascent/Descent, Journey/Flight, Metamorphosis
- VAROTARI, ALESSANDRO *see* PADONANINO (ALESSANDRO VAROTARI)
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- VAUCANSON, JACQUES DE (French maker of automata, 1709–1782), Automata
- VAUTIER, BENJAMIN, THE YOUNGER (Swiss painter born 1895), Devotion/Piety
- VEDDER, ELIHU (American painter, 1836–1923), Choice/Choosing, Hair/Haircutting, Plague/Pestilence, Madness
- VEEN, OTTO VAN (Flemish painter, 1556–1629), Penitence/Repentance, Seasons, Serpent's Bite
- VELA, VINCENZO (Italian sculptor, 1820–1891), Labor/Trades/Occupations
- VELÁZQUEZ, DIEGO (Spanish painter, 1599–1660), Artists/Art, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Betrayal, Comic, Communion, Crucifixion, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Excess, Fools/Folly, Gaze, Imagination/Creativity, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Laughter, Naked/Nude, Physiognomy, Self-Portraits I, Sport, Toilet Scenes, Virgin/Virginity
- VELDE, ESAIAS I VAN DE (Dutch painter, printmaker, 1587–1630), Bath/Bathing
- VELDE, JAN II VAN DE (Dutch printmaker, circa 1593–1641), Harvesting, Months, Seasons
- VELDE, WILLEM VAN DE, THE YOUNGER (Dutch painter, 1633–1707), Journey/Flight
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- VERBEEK, PIETER (Dutch painter, active 1664–1674), Witchcraft/Sorcery
- VERESHCHAGIN, VASSILI VASILIEVITCH (Russian painter, 1842–1904), Destruction of City
- VERHOUT, CONSTANTIJN (Dutch painter, active 1663–1667), Sleep/Sleeping
- VERMEER, JAN (Dutch painter, 1632–1675), Artists/Art, Bath/Bathing, Female Beauty and Adornment, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Laughter, Melancholy, Mirror/Reflection, Money, Music, Order/Chaos, Pregnancy, Protestantism, Reading, Sin/Sinning, Sleep/Sleeping, Temptation
- VERNET, CLAUDE-JOSEPH (French painter, 1714–1789), Offering, Shipwreck
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- VERONESE (PAOLO CALIARI) (Italian painter, 1528–1588), Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Ascent/Descent, Beheading/Decapitation, Calumny, Choice/Choosing, Dreams/Visions, Envy, Excess, Hair/Haircutting, Honor/Honoring, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Imagination/Creativity, Kiss/Kissing, Love and Death, Marriage/Betrothal, Martyrdom, Metamorphosis, Music, Sacrifice, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Sin/Sinning, Toilet Scenes, Visiting/Visitation
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- VICTORS, JAN (Dutch painter, 1619–1676), Sacrifice
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- VIGÉE-LEBRUN, MARIE-LOUISE-ÉLISABETH (French painter, 1755–1842), Artists/Art, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Calumny, Honor/Honoring, Patronage, Peace, Self-Portraits II, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Whiteness
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- VINNE, VINCENT VAN DER (French painter, active circa 1600), Vanity/Vanitas
- VIOLA, BILL (American video artist, born 1951), Upside Down
- VISCHER, PETER, THE YOUNGER (German sculptor, printmaker, 1487–1528), Fortune, Music
- VIVARINI, ANTONIO (Italian painter, circa 1415–1476/84), Adultery, Journey/Flight
- VLAMINCK, MAURICE DE (French painter, 1876–1958), Bath/Bathing
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- WARREN, CORNELIA (American landscapist, active late 19th century), Labyrinth/Maze
- WASER, ANNA (Swiss artist, 1648–1711), Self-Portraits II
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- WATTEAU, JEAN-ANTOINE (French painter, 1684–1725), Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Death, Female Beauty and Adornment, Hanging, Journey/Flight, Judgment, Marriage/Betrothal, Masks/Personae, Music, Naked/Nude, Seasons
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Labor/Trades/Occupations, Witchcraft/Sorcery

APPROPRIATION, Abundance, Order/Chaos, Voyeurism

APRON(S), Naked/Nude, Pregnancy, Sin/Sinning, Temptation, Whiteness

AQUARIUS (zodiacal constellation), Zodiac

AQUATIC MAZE *see* LABYRINTH/MAZE

ARAB(S), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress

ARC (river), Bath/Bathing

ARCADIA, Shepherds/Shepherdesses

ARCH/ARCHWAY, Baptism, Damned Souls, Dawn/Dawning, Honor/Honoring, Journey/Flight, Light I, Logos/Word, Martyrdom, Path/Road/Crossroads, Pregnancy, Sanctuary, Seasons, Visiting/Visitation, Zodiac

ARCHER(S)/ARCHERY *see* BOW (AND ARROW[S])

ARCHETYPE(S), Witchcraft/Sorcery

ARCHITECT(S)/ARCHITECTURE, Abandonment, Annunciation, Apocalypse, Artists/Art, Birth/Childbirth, Fame, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Logos/Word, Order/Chaos, Patronage, Pregnancy, Sanctuary, Sublime, Temptation, Voyeurism

ARCTIC, Shipwreck

ARCTOPHALAX *see* ARCTURUS

ARCTURUS (star), Pregnancy

ARGENTI, FILIPPO, Damned Souls

ARIES (zodiacal constellation), Zodiac

ARISTOCRAT(S)/ARISTOCRACY, Automata, Fortune, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Kiss/Kissing, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Labyrinth/Maze, Laughter, Margins/Outsiders, Marriage/Betrothal, Months, Patronage, Peasantry, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Sin/Sinning, Sport, Voyeurism, Whiteness

ARLECHCCINO *see* HARLEQUIN

ARMBAND(S), Widowhood

ARMS/ARMOR, Expulsion, Fortune, Honor/Honoring, Journey/Flight, Luxury, Madness, Months, Naked/Nude, Night, Path/Road/Crossroads, Peace, Peasantry, Pointing/Indicating, Sacrifice, Sanctuary, Sin/Sinning, Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues

ARMS RAISED, Abandonment, Arms Raised, Baptism, Beheading/Decapitation, Birth/Childbirth, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Female Beauty and Adornment, Fortune, Gaze, Honor/Honoring, Justice, Light II, Metamorphosis, Naked/Nude, Penitence/Repentance, Sacrifice, Sleep/Sleeping, Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues, Witchcraft/Sorcery, Zodiac

ARNO, Abundance

ARROW(S) *see* BOW (AND ARROW[S])

ARS SACRA, Plague/Pestilence

ART *see* ARTISTS/ART

ART BRUT, Margins/Outsiders

ART COLLECTING/COLLECTIONS, Abandonment, Artists/Art, Imagination/Creativity, Madness, Money, Path/Road/Crossroads, Patronage, Self-Portraits I

ART CRITIC(S), Fools/Folly, Self-Portraits I

ART DEALER(S), Patronage, Temptation

ART DECO, Peasantry

ARTES LIBERALES *see* LIBERAL ARTS

ART GUILD(S), Artists/Art, Self-Portraits I, Self-Portraits II

ARTIFICE/ARTIFICIAL, Automata, Marriage/Betrothal, Masks/Personae, Mirror/Reflection, Seasons, Self-Portraits II, Shepherds/Shepherdesses

- ARTISTS/ART**, Abandonment, Artists/Art, Automata, Death, Fame, Female Beauty and Adornment, Fortune, Hair/Haircutting, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Honor/Honoring, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Imagination/Creativity, Kiss/Kissing, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Labyrinth/Maze, Laughter, Light II, Love and Death, Luxury, Madness, Margins/Outsiders, Marriage/Betrothal, Martyrdom, Masks/Personae, Melancholy, Metamorphosis, Mirror/Reflection, Money, Naked/Nude, Order/Chaos, Path/Road/Crossroads, Patronage, Peasantry, Physiognomy, Plague/Pestilence, Pointing/Indicating, Pregnancy, Protestantism, Reading, Seasons, Self-Portraits I, Self-Portraits II, Serpent's Bite, Temptation, Vanity/Vanitas, Virtue/Virtues, Visiting/Visitation, Voyeurism, Zodiac
- ART MARKET**, Artists/Art, Mirror/Reflection, Patronage, Peasantry, Physiognomy
- ART THEORY**, Imagination/Creativity, Naked/Nude, Self-Portraits I, Sublime
- ART-UNION**, Harvesting
- ASCENT/DESCENT**, Annunciation, Apotheosis/Deification, Ascent/Descent, Damned Souls, Dreams/Visions, Fortune, Gaze, Light I, Metamorphosis, Order/Chaos, Path/Road/Crossroads, Plague/Pestilence, Sacrifice, Sanctuary, Seasons, Sleep/Sleeping, Upside Down, Virtue/Virtues, Whiteness
- ASCETIC/ASCETICISM**, Naked/Nude, Penitence/Repentance, Virgin/Virginity
- ASH(ES)**, Vanity/Vanitas
- ASH CAN SCHOOL**, Bath/Bathing, Night
- ASS(ES)**, Caricature/Cartoon, Fools/Folly, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Judgment, Laughter, Light II, Madness, Peasantry
- ASSASSINATION**, Sacrifice, Sanctuary
- ASSES' EARS**, Bacchanalia/Orgy
- ASSES' JAW-BONE**, Envy
- ASSOCIATION(S)**, Honor/Honoring, Imagination/Creativity, Nightmare, Patronage, Shipwreck, Sin/Sinning, Sleep/Sleeping, Sublime, Vanity/Vanitas, Virtue/Virtues, Whiteness
- ASTROLOGER(S)/ASTROLOGY**, Melancholy, Music, Physiognomy, Vices/Deadly Sins, Witchcraft/Sorcery, Zodiac
- ASTRONOMER(S)/ASTRONOMY**, Dawn/Dawning, Excess, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Months, Protestantism, Sanctuary, Seasons, Zodiac
- ASYLUM** *see* MADHOUSE; SANCTUARY
- ATHÉNIENNE**, Whiteness
- ATHLETE(S)/ATHLETIC GAMES**, Gaze, Hair/Haircutting, Martyrdom, Naked/Nude, Pregnancy, Sacrifice, Sport, Zodiac
- ATLANTA**, Georgia, Destruction of City
- ATLAS**, Charles, Comic
- ATOM(S)**, Order/Chaos
- ATONEMENT**, Judgment, Martyrdom, Penitence/Repentance, Plague/Pestilence, Protestantism, Sacrifice, Sin/Sinning, Vices/Deadly Sins
- ATTRIBUTES**, Abundance, Female Beauty and Adornment, Fame, Fortune, Gaze, Honor/Honoring, Imagination/Creativity, Madness, Margins/Outsiders, Masks/Personae, Melancholy, Misfortune, Months, Path/Road/Crossroads, Peace, Penitence/Repentance, Seasons, Self-Portraits I, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Vanity/Vanitas, Virtue/Virtues, Widowhood
- ATTRITION**, Penitence/Repentance
- AUDIENCE** *see* SPECTATOR(S)
- AUGSBURG**, Protestantism
- AUGURY** *see* DIVINATION
- AUREOLE/HALO**, Abandonment, Apotheosis/Deification, Ascent/Descent, Communion, Light I, Light II, Margins/Outsiders, Martyrdom, Mirror/Reflection, Sacrifice, Self-Portraits I, Shipwreck, Sin/Sinning
- AUSTERITY**, Devotion/Piety, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne
- AUTOBIOGRAPHY**, Artists/Art, Masks/Personae, Peace
- AUTOMATA**, Automata, Dreams/Visions
- AUTOMATIC WRITING**, Imagination/Creativity
- AUTOMOBILE(S)**, Marriage/Betrothal
- AUTUMN** *see* SEASONS
- AVALANCHE(S)**, Sublime
- AVANT-GARDE**, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Patronage
- AVARICE**, Ascent/Descent, Avarice, Caricature/Cartoon, Comic, Envy, Excess, Fools/Folly, Fortune, Madness, Masks/Personae, Melancholy, Mirror/Reflection, Money, Sin/Sinning, Temptation, Vices/Deadly Sins, Virtue/Virtues, Widowhood
- AVIATION**, Labor/Trades/Occupations
- AVIGNON**, Widowhood
- AVRIL**, Jane, Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- AWAKEN/AWAKENING**, Ecstasy, Shipwreck, Sleep/Sleeping
- AWE**, Night, Sublime, Visiting/Visitation
- AX/AXE/AXES**, Death, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Labyrinth/Maze
- AXIS**, Ascent/Descent, Dawn/Dawning, Sanctuary, Zodiac
- AXIS MUNDI**, Ascent/Descent
- BABOON(S)**, Vices/Deadly Sins
- BABY/BABIES** *see* INFANT(S)/INFANCY/INFANTALISM
- BACCHANALIA/ORGY**, Abandonment, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Honor/Honoring, Imagination/Creativity, Love and Death, Music, Plague/Pestilence, Sin/Sinning, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- BACK-PACK**, Path/Road/Crossroads
- BACKWARD**, Upside Down, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- BAD/BADNESS** *see* EVIL
- BADGER(S)**, Vices/Deadly Sins
- BAD GOVERNMENT** *see* GOOD AND BAD GOVERNMENT
- BAGPIPE(S)/BAGPIPER(S)**, Caricature/Cartoon, Marriage/Betrothal, Music, Peasantry, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- BAHAMAS**, Shipwreck
- BAILLE**, Baptistin, Bath/Bathing
- BAIT/BAITING**, Sport
- BAKER(S)/BAKING/BAKERY**, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Luxury, Pregnancy
- BALANCE(S)** *see* SCALE(S)
- BALANCHINE**, George, Dance/Dancers/Dancing

- BALD/BALDNESS, Evil Eye, Fools/Folly, Fortune, Humors,
 Naked/Nude
 BALDRICK(S), Zodiac
 BALL(S), Evil Eye, Fools/Folly, Fortune, Sport,
 Virtue/Virtues
 BALLET, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Mirror/Reflection,
 Music, Seasons
 BALLOON(S), Journey/Flight
 BALUSTRade(S), Misfortune, Temptation
 BAMBOO, Seasons
 BANDEROLE(S), Protestantism
 BAND, Zodiac
 BANDIT(S)/*BANDITTI*, Sublime
 BANISHMENT, Adultery, Betrayal, Pregnancy
 BANK(S)/BANKER(S), Money, Patronage, Vanity/Vanitas
 BANKRUPTCY, Self-Portraits I
 BANNER(S), Communion, Hanging, Honor/Honoring,
 Journey/Flight, Marriage/Betrothal, Martyrdom,
 Plague/Pestilence
 BANNS, Marriage/Betrothal
 BANQUET *see* FEAST
 BAPTISM, Baptism, Birth/Childbirth, Ecstasy,
 Journey/Flight, Plague/Pestilence, Protestantism,
 Sin/Sinning, Witchcraft/Sorcery
 BARA, Theda, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale
 BARBARIAN(S), Excess, Luxury, Order/Chaos
 BARBER(S), Labor/Trades/Occupations, Mirror/Reflection
 BARBERINI, Maffeo, Self-Portraits I
 BARDI, Leonora, Marriage/Betrothal
 BAREFOOT, Fortune, Madness, Misfortune, Peasantry,
 Penitence/Repentance, Sin/Sinning
 BARLEY, Marriage/Betrothal
 BARN(S)/BARNYARD(S), Harvesting, Peasantry,
 Shepherds/Shepherdesses
 BARONCELLI, Barnardo di Bandino, Hanging
 BAROQUE, Devotion/Piety, Ecstasy, Gaze,
 Imagination/Creativity, Judgment, Martyrdom,
 Naked/Nude, Plague/Pestilence, Sacrifice, Sublime,
 Vices/Deadly Sins
 BARQUE *see* SHIP
 BARREL(S), Abundance, Judgment, Money, Order/Chaos
 BARREN/BARRENNess, Abduction/Rape, Fatal
 Woman/Femme Fatale, Protestantism, Sacrifice, Seasons,
 Visiting/Visitation, Widowhood
 BARRIER(S)/BARRICADE(S) *see* MARGINS/OUTSIDER
 BARTHOLOMEW MASSACRE, Protestantism
 BAS-DE-PAGE IMAGES *see* MARGINS/OUTSIDERS
 BASILICA(S), Light I, Sanctuary
 BASIN(S) *see* BOWL(S)
 BASKET(S), Abandonment, Abundance,
 Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Honor/Honoring, Light I,
 Months, Peasantry, Virtue/Virtues
 BAT(S), Death, Dreams/Visions, Fame, Melancholy,
 Nightmare
 BATH/BATHING (*see also* WASH/WASHING),
 Bath/Bathing, Birth/Childbirth, Calumny, Comic,
 Expulsion, Female Beauty and Adornment, Gaze,
 Humors, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Logos/Word, Luxury,
 Marriage/Betrothal, Melancholy, Metamorphosis,
 Naked/Nude, Offering, Peasantry, Pregnancy, Seasons,
 Toilet Scenes, Virgin/Virginity, Voyeurism
 BATH HOUSES, Bath/Bathing, Sin/Sinning
 BATHING SUIT, Months
 BATHTUB, Voyeurism
 BATON(S), Fortune, Peace
 BATTLE(S) *see* COMBAT(S)
 BATTLE OF THE SEXES, Sin/Sinning
 BAUBLE(S), Fools/Folly
 BAUHAUS, Upside Down
 BAWDINESS, Masks/Personae
 BEAD(S), Evil Eye
 BEAN(S), Laughter
 BEAR(S) (*see also* POLAR BEARS), Expulsion,
 Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Light I, Madness,
 Order/Chaos, Pregnancy, Sport, Zodiac
 BEARD(S), Crucifixion, Drunkenness/Intoxication,
 Hair/Haircutting, Honor/Honoring, Humors,
 Masks/Personae, Mirror/Reflection, Misfortune,
 Order/Chaos, Sacrifice, Self-Portraits I
 BEAST(S) *see* ANIMAL(S)
 BEAUTY/BEAUTIFUL, Abandonment, Abundance,
 Choice/Choosing, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Envy,
 Female Beauty and Adornment, Gaze, Hair/Haircutting,
 Hanging, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Honor/Honoring,
 Judgment, Light II, Love and Death, Masks/Personae,
 Months, Naked/Nude, Night, Offering, Order/Chaos,
 Path/Road/Crossroads, Patronage, Peasantry,
 Penitence/Repentance, Physiognomy, Pregnancy, Sacrifice,
 Seasons, Sport, Sublime, Temptation, Toilet Scenes,
 Virtue/Virtues, Visiting/Visitation, Whiteness
 BED/BED CHAMBER, Adultery, Annunciation,
 Birth/Childbirth, Death, Dreams/Visions, Excess, Female
 Beauty and Adornment, Gaze, Love and Death, Luxury,
 Madness, Marriage/Betrothal, Nightmare, Order/Chaos,
 Pregnancy, Sleep/Sleeping, Vanity/Vanitas, Vices/Deadly
 Sins, Virgin/Virginity
 BEE(S)/BEEKEEPING, Drunkenness/Intoxication,
 Labor/Trades/Occupations, Serpent's Bite
 BEER, Self-Portraits I
 BEETLE(S), Caricature/Cartoon
 BEG/BEGGAR(S)/BEGGING, Damned Souls, Fools/Folly,
 Fortune, Margins/Outsiders, Masks/Personae, Money,
 Protestantism, Virtue/Virtues
 BEHEADING/DECAPITATION, Automata,
 Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Drunkenness/Intoxication,
 Ecstasy, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Hair/Haircutting,
 Honor/Honoring, Judgment, Justice, Martyrdom,
 Metamorphosis, Nightmare, Sanctuary, Self-Portraits I,
 Virtue/Virtues
 BELIEF *see* FAITH/FAITHFUL
 BELL(S), Automata, Fools/Folly, Margins/Outsiders,
 Melancholy, Music
 BELLY *see* STOMACH
 BELT(S), Journey/Flight, Marriage/Betrothal
 BEREND-CORINTH, Charlotte, Pregnancy
 BERGERIE STYLE, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
 BERLIN, Order/Chaos
 BESTIALITY, Excess, Music
 BET(S)/BETTING *see* GAMBLER(S)/GAMBLING

- BETHLEM (BEDLAM), Madness
BETRAYAL, Betrayal, Hair/Haircutting, Kiss/Kissing,
 Path/Road/Crossroads, Penitence/Repentance,
 Witchcraft/Sorcery
BETROTHAL *see* MARRIAGE/BETROTHAL
BEWITCH(ED) *see* WITCHCRAFT/SORCERY
BIAGGIO DA CESENA, Judgment
BIAS, Physiognomy
BIBLE(S)/BIBLICAL (frequently used term; not indexed)
BICYCLE(S), Comic
BIER *see* FUNERAL/BURIAL
BILE, Humors, Melancholy, Sin/Sinning
BILL(S), Widowhood
BILLBOARD(S) *see* ADVERTISING
BILLIARDS, Sport
BINDING (*see also* BONDAGE), Toilet Scenes
BIRD(S), Apocalypse, Caricature/Cartoon,
 Communion, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Ecstasy,
 Evil Eye, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Fortune,
 Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Journey/Flight, Judaism,
 Light I, Masks/Personae, Melancholy, Metamorphosis,
 Mirror/Reflection, Order/Chaos, Pregnancy,
 Protestantism, Sanctuary, Seasons, Witchcraft/Sorcery
BIRD CAGE, Annunciation
BIRTH/CHILDBIRTH, Baptism, Birth/Childbirth,
 Dawn/Dawning, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Death,
 Expulsion, Fame, Gaze, Journey/Flight, Judgment,
 Justice, Laughter, Naked/Nude, Offering, Order/Chaos,
 Peace, Pregnancy, Sacrifice, Sanctuary, Sin/Sinning,
 Sleep/Sleeping, Vanity/Vanitas, Virgin/Virginity,
 Virtue/Virtues, Visiting/Visitation, Zodiac
BIRTH CANAL, Birth/Childbirth, Pregnancy
BIRTH CONTROL/POPULATION CONTROL, Pregnancy,
 Sacrifice
BIRTHDAY(S), Beheading/Decapitation,
 Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Ecstasy, Fame, Fortune,
 Honor/Honoring, Virtue/Virtues, Zodiac
BIRTHING CHAIR, Birth/Childbirth, Pregnancy
BIRTH PLATTER (*Desco da parto*), Birth/Childbirth
BIRTHRIGHT, Betrayal, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress
BIRTHSTOOL, Birth/Childbirth
BITE(S)/BITING, Caricature/Cartoon, Crucifixion,
 Fools/Folly, Love and Death, Melancholy, Offering,
 Order/Chaos, Pregnancy, Serpent's Bite
BITTERSWEET, Love and Death
BLACK/BLACKNESS/DARK/DARKNESS, Apocalypse,
 Communion, Crucifixion, Death, Fame, Fortune, Gaze,
 Hanging, Judaism, Laughter, Light I, Light II, Luxury,
 Madness, Margins/Outsiders, Masks/Personae,
 Melancholy, Misfortune, Night, Nightmare,
 Order/Chaos, Pregnancy, Sanctuary, Self-Portraits I,
 Shipwreck, Sin/Sinning, Sleep/Sleeping, Sublime,
 Temptation, Upside Down, Visiting/Visitation, Whiteness,
 Widowhood, Witchcraft/Sorcery, Zodiac
BLACKBIRD(S), Zodiac
BLACK DEATH *see* PLAGUE/PESTILENCE
BLACK MAN/MEN *see* NEGRO(S)
BLACK MASS, Witchcraft/Sorcery
BLACKSMITH *see* SMITH(S)
BLADDER, Fools/Folly
BLAME, Expulsion, Fame, Humors, Pointing/Indicating,
 Temptation, Vices/Deadly Sins
BLANCHE OF CASTILE, Patronage
BLASPHEMER(S)/BLASPHEMY, Misfortune, Peasantry,
 Plague/Pestilence, Sin/Sinning
BLEEDING *see* BLOOD/BLEEDING
BLESS/BLESSING (*see also* GRACE [DIVINE]), Apocalypse,
 Apotheosis/Deification, Arms Raised, Baptism,
 Bath/Bathing, Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Communion,
 Dawn/Dawning, Honor/Honoring, Light I, Order/Chaos,
 Plague/Pestilence, Protestantism, Virtue/Virtues
BLIND/BLINDNESS, Avarice, Dreams/Visions, Fatal
 Woman/Femme Fatale, Fortune, Hair/Haircutting,
 Journey/Flight, Judaism, Judgment, Light I,
 Margins/Outsiders, Masks/Personae, Reading,
 Sin/Sinning, Virtue/Virtues
BLINDFOLD(ED), Fortune, Justice, Sin/Sinning,
 Virtue/Virtues
BLISS, Expulsion, Love and Death
BLOCK(S), Fortune
BLOOD/BLEEDING, Abundance, Bath/Bathing,
 Communion, Damned Souls, Death, Destruction of City,
 Dreams/Visions, Excess, Gaze, Hair/Haircutting,
 Honor/Honoring, Humors, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress,
 Labor/Trades/Occupations, Love and Death, Martyrdom,
 Melancholy, Metamorphosis, Mirror/Reflection, Peace,
 Protestantism, Sacrifice, Sanctuary, Shipwreck,
 Sin/Sinning, Sport, Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues,
 Whiteness, Witchcraft/Sorcery, Zodiac
BLOOM(S)/BLOOMING *see* FLOWER(S)/FLOWERING
BLOSSOM(S)/BLOSSOMING *see*
 FLOWER(S)/FLOWERING
BLOUNT, Theresa, Whiteness
BLUE (color), Journey/Flight, Light II, Night, Order/Chaos,
 Shipwreck, Temptation, Zodiac
BOAR(S), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Love and Death,
 Metamorphosis, Virtue/Virtues, Zodiac
BOAT(S) *see* SHIP(S)
BODY/BODIES/FLESH (*see also* CORPSE/CORPSES),
 Abundance, Adultery, Annunciation, Artists/Art,
 Ascent/Descent, Baptism, Beheading/Decapitation,
 Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Caricature/Cartoon,
 Choice/Choosing, Comic, Communion, Crucifixion,
 Damned Souls, Death, Dreams/Visions,
 Drunkenness/Intoxication, Ecstasy, Fatal Woman/Femme
 Fatale, Female Beauty and Adornment, Fools/Folly,
 Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Humors, Judaism,
 Kiss/Kissing, Laughter, Logos/Word, Love and Death,
 Luxury, Masks/Personae, Melancholy, Metamorphosis,
 Mirror/Reflection, Music, Naked/Nude, Order/Chaos,
 Physiognomy, Pregnancy, Sacrifice, Serpent's Bite,
 Sin/Sinning, Sleep/Sleeping, Sport, Sublime, Temptation,
 Toilet Scenes, Upside Down, Vanity/Vanitas, Vices/Deadly
 Sins, Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues, Visiting/Visitation,
 Voyeurism, Whiteness, Witchcraft/Sorcery
BODY LANGUAGE (*see also*
 POSE[S]/POSTURE/STANCE), Arms Raised, Love
 and Death, Order/Chaos, Penitence/Repentance,
 Physiognomy, Pointing/Indicating
BOHEMIAN(S), Artists/Art, Masks/Personae, Melancholy

- BOILING OIL, Judgment, Virtue/Virtues
 BOLLANDISTS, Martyrdom
 BOMBING, Apocalypse, Death
 BONDAGE (*see also* BINDING), Masks/Personae, Misfortune, Naked/Nude
 BONE(S) *see* ASSES' JAW BONE; CROSS BONES; SKULL; SKELETON
 BONFIRE(S), Luxury
 BONNET *see* HAT(S)
 BOOK(S), Apocalypse, Fools/Folly, Fortune, Honor/Honoring, Judgment, Justice, Light I, Logos/Word, Melancholy, Music, Peasantry, Penitence/Repentance, Pregnancy, Protestantism, Reading, Sleep/Sleeping, Toilet Scenes, Vanity/Vanitas, Vices/Deadly Sins, Virtue/Virtues, Witchcraft/Sorcery, Zodiac
 BOOKKEEPER(S), Virtue/Virtues
 BOOKMAKER(S), Margins/Outsiders
 BOONE, Daniel, Path/Road/Crossroads
 BOOT(S) (*see also* SHOE[S]), Order/Chaos, Seasons
 BORAGE (herb), Melancholy
 BORDELLO *see* BROTHEL(S)
 BORDER(S)/BORDERLINE(S) *see* MARGINS/OUTSIDERS
 BORGIA, Lucretia, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale
 BOTTLE(S)/BOTTLE RACK, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Excess, Order/Chaos, Toilet Scenes, Vices/Deadly Sins, Virgin/Virginity
 BOUDOIR, Adultery, Female Beauty and Adornment, Toilet Scenes, Vanity/Vanitas
 BOULDER *see* STONE(S)
 BOUNDARY/BOUNDARIES *see* MARGINS/OUTSIDERS
 BOURGEOIS/BURGER(S), Female Beauty and Adornment, Masks/Personae, Money, Self-Portraits I, Sin/Sinning, Sport, Whiteness
 BOURGOGNE, House of, Fools/Folly
 BOVINE *see* COW(S)/CALF/CALVES/CATTLE/CATTLE RAISING
 BOW/BOWING (gesture), Visiting/Visitation
 BOW (AND ARROW[S])/ARCHER(S)/ARCHERY, Adultery, Apocalypse, Ecstasy, Fortune, Honor/Honoring, Humors, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Martyrdom, Metamorphosis, Plague/Pestilence, Pregnancy, Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues, Zodiac
 BOWL(S)/BASIN(S), Birth/Childbirth, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Money, Offering, Pregnancy, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Temptation, Virtue/Virtues
 BOWLING, Death, Sport
 BOXER(S)/BOXING, Death, Naked/Nude
 BOY(S) *see* YOUTH(S)
 BRACELET, Female Beauty and Adornment
 BRAHE, Tycho, Protestantism
 BRAIN(S), Beheading/Decapitation
 BRAUDREUIL, Guy de, Peace
 BRAVERY *see* COURAGE/FORTITUDE/BRAVERY
 BRAZIER, Seasons
 BREAD, Betrayal, Communion, Fools/Folly, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Luxury, Path/Road/Crossroads, Plague/Pestilence, Pointing/Indicating, Protestantism, Temptation
 BREAST(S), Betrayal, Birth/Childbirth, Death, Destruction of City, Evil Eye, Expulsion, Fame, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Female Beauty and Adornment, Fortune, Gaze, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Love and Death, Martyrdom, Misfortune, Naked/Nude, Order/Chaos, Plague/Pestilence, Pregnancy, Sacrifice, Sin/Sinning, Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues, Widowhood, Witchcraft/Sorcery, Zodiac
 BREATH/BREATHING, Kiss/Kissing, Nightmare, Order/Chaos
 BREEZE(S), Love and Death
 BRIBE(S), Sin/Sinning
 BRICK(S)/BRICKLAYING, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Path/Road/Crossroads, Sanctuary
 BRIDAL DRESS, Laughter
 BRIDE(S), Abandonment, Abduction/Rape, Bath/Bathing, Death, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Love and Death, Marriage/Betrothal, Mirror/Reflection, Peasantry, Penitence/Repentance, Sacrifice, Sin/Sinning, Toilet Scenes, Virgin/Virginity, Widowhood
 BRIDEGROOM, Abduction/Rape, Bath/Bathing, Communion, Marriage/Betrothal, Martyrdom
 BRIDE-PRICE, Marriage/Betrothal
 BRIDGE, Choice/Choosing, Hanging, Judgment, Night, Path/Road/Crossroads, Vices/Deadly Sins
 BRIDLE(S), Fortune, Justice, Virtue/Virtues
 BRIER(S), Misfortune
 BRIGAND(S), Path/Road/Crossroads
 BROKEN/CRACKED/SHATTERED/DAMAGED, Abundance, Damned Souls, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Fortune, Honor/Honoring, Judaism, Martyrdom, Mirror/Reflection, Misfortune, Months, Music, Order/Chaos, Sacrifice, Shipwreck, Sublime, Virtue/Virtues
 BROKENHEARTED, Reading
 BRONZE AGE *see* AGES OF THE WORLD
 BROOCH(ES), Birth/Childbirth, Hair/Haircutting, Widowhood
 BROOMSTICK(S), Witchcraft/Sorcery
 BROTHEL(S), Female Beauty and Adornment, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Martyrdom, Music, Naked/Nude, Sin/Sinning, Temptation
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LADY LUCK, Fortune

LADY WORLD, Female Beauty and Adornment

LAISSEZ-FAIRE, Money

LAMB(S) (*see also* SHEEP), Crucifixion, Light I, Judgment, Martyrdom, Melancholy, Music, Order/Chaos, Peace, Pointing/Indicating, Sacrifice, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Zodiac

LAMENESS, Laughter, Margins/Outsiders

LAMENTATION *see* GRIEVING/LAMENTATION

LAMP(S), Journey/Flight, Light I, Light II, Logos/Word, Luxury, Night, Sanctuary, Vanity/Vanitas

LANCE, Apocalypse, Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Judaism, Love and Death, Martyrdom

LANCHALS, PETER, Judgment

LANDLORD(S), Peasantry

LANDSCAPE(S), Abandonment, Adultery, Apocalypse, Death, Dreams/Visions, Ecstasy, Female Beauty and Adornment, Harvesting, Honor/Honoring, Journey/Flight, Justice, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Laughter, Logos/Word, Love and Death, Mirror/Reflection, Months, Naked/Nude, Night, Offering, Path/Road/Crossroads, Peasantry, Penitence/Repentance, Pregnancy, Protestantism, Seasons, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Sin/Sinning, Sleep/Sleeping, Sublime, Temptation, Upside Down, Vices/Deadly Sins, Visiting/Visitation, Witchcraft/Sorcery

LANGE, Mademoiselle, Money

LANGUAGE(S) (*see also* BODY LANGUAGE), Annunciation, Arms Raised, Artists/Art, Ascent/Descent, Automata, Caricature/Cartoon, Dreams/Visions, Female Beauty and Adornment, Light I, Madness, Margins/Outsiders, Masks/Personae, Offering, Order/Chaos

LANTERN(S), Penitence/Repentance, Shipwreck

LARKSPUR, Metamorphosis

LASCIVIOUSNESS, Beheading/Decapitation, Female Beauty and Adornment, Voyeurism, Witchcraft/Sorcery

LAST RITES, Death, Plague/Pestilence

LATIN (language), Peasantry, Vanity/Vanitas

LAUDANUM, Dreams/Visions, Gaze

LAUGHTER, Adultery, Annunciation, Automata, Comic, Evil Eye, Fools/Folly, Imagination/Creativity, Laughter, Madness, Masks/Personae, Melancholy, Peasantry, Self-Portraits I, Sleep/Sleeping, Voyeurism

LAUNDRESS(ES)/LAUNDERING,

Labor/Trades/Occupations, Margins/Outsiders

LAUREL, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Envy, Fame, Fortune, Honor/Honoring, Humors, Imagination/Creativity, Martyrdom, Metamorphosis, Misfortune, Path/Road/Crossroads, Peace, Virtue/Virtues

LAW(S), Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Ascent/Descent, Birth/Childbirth, Excess, Gaze, Hanging, Judaism, Judgment, Justice, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Light I, Marriage/Betrothal, Night, Order/Chaos, Path/Road/Crossroads, Penitence/Repentance, Protestantism, Sanctuary, Sin/Sinning, Vanity/Vanitas, Virtue/Virtues, Whiteness, Widowhood

LAWYER(S), Caricature/Cartoon, Fools/Folly, Sacrifice, Shipwreck

LAZY/LAZINESS, Ascent/Descent, Dreams/Visions, Melancholy, Peasantry, Sleep/Sleeping, Vices/Deadly Sins

LEAD (element), Melancholy, Mirror/Reflection, Whiteness

LEATHER, Evil Eye, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Sanctuary

LEAVE-TAKING *see* DEPARTURE

LECHERY, Adultery, Excess, Voyeurism

LECTURE(S), Light II

LEEK(S), Damned Souls, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress

LEGEND(S) *see* FOLKLORE/FOLKTALES/FOLK TRADITIONS/LEGENDS

LEISURE, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Peasantry, Sport, Toilet Scenes, Visiting/Visitation

LEITMOTIF(S), Virgin/Virginity

LEMON(S), Offering

LENTILS, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress

LEO (zodiacal constellation), Zodiac

LEOPARD(S), Drunkenness/Intoxication, Evil Eye, Judgment, Light I, Logos/Word, Music, Order/Chaos

LEPROSY, Bath/Bathing, Margins/Outsiders, Witchcraft/Sorcery

LESBIAN(S), Naked/Nude

LESIONS *see* SORES

LETHARGY, Melancholy, Sleep/Sleeping

LETTER(S) (*see also* MESSAGE[S]), Fortune, Laughter, Marriage/Betrothal, Mirror/Reflection, Naked/Nude, Night, Path/Road/Crossroads, Peace, Physiognomy, Pregnancy, Reading, Temptation, Virgin/Virginity

LETTER(S)/LETTERING, Caricature/Cartoon, Communion, Hanging, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Labyrinth/Maze, Logos/Word, Order/Chaos, Path/Road/Crossroads, Reading, Temptation, Upside Down, Witchcraft/Sorcery

LEVITATION, Upside Down

LIBATION(S), Abundance

LIBERAL ARTS, Artists/Art, Ascent/Descent,

Honor/Honoring, Music, Self-Portraits I, Virtue/Virtues

LIBERTY, Caricature/Cartoon, Destruction of City, Justice, Order/Chaos, Path/Road/Crossroads, Reading

LIBIDO, Widowhood

LIBRA (zodiacal constellation), Virtue/Virtues, Zodiac

- LIBRARY/LIBRARIES, Patronage
 LICENSE PLATE(S), Path/Road/Crossroads
 LICTORS/LICTORS' RODS, Abundance, Justice
 LIDICE, Czechoslovakia, Destruction of City
 LIFE (frequently used term; not indexed)
 LIFE AFTER DEATH *see* AFTERLIFE
 LIFEBOAT(S), Misfortune, Shipwreck
 LIFE FORCE, Beheading/Decapitation, Toilet Scenes
 LIFE-SPAN, Physiognomy, Whiteness
 LIGHT, Adultery, Annunciation, Apocalypse,
 Ascent/Descent, Baptism, Birth/Childbirth, Communion,
 Crucifixion, Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Dawn/Dawning,
 Dreams/Visions, Ecstasy, Female Beauty and Adornment,
 Gaze, Journey/Flight, Judaism, Light I, Light II,
 Masks/Personae, Metamorphosis, Night,
 Order/Chaos, Protestantism, Reading, Sanctuary,
 Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Sin/Sinning, Sublime,
 Temptation, Upside Down, Vanity/Vanitas,
 Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues, Whiteness, Zodiac
 LIGHTNING, Betrayal, Fame, Honor/Honoring, Judaism,
 Peace, Peasantry, Sublime, Witchcraft/Sorcery
 LILY/LILIES, Annunciation, Ecstasy, Fortune, Justice,
 Reading, Virtue/Virtues, Whiteness
 LIMIT(S) *see* MARGINS/OUTSIDERS
 LIMP/LIMPING *see* LAMENESS
 LINCOLN, Abraham, Dreams/Visions, Martyrdom,
 Sacrifice
 LINEN(S), Death, Marriage/Betrothal, Virtue/Virtues
 LION(S), Abandonment, Apocalypse, Ascent/Descent,
 Caricature/Comic, Evil Eye, Fatal Woman/Femme
 Fatale, Honor/Honoring, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress,
 Imagination/Creativity, Judaism, Justice, Light I,
 Logos/Word, Love and Death, Martyrdom,
 Masks/Personae, Metamorphosis, Order/Chaos,
 Penitence/Repentance, Pregnancy, Reading, Vices/Deadly
 Sins, Virtue/Virtues, Witchcraft/Sorcery, Zodiac
 LIP(S), Death, Female Beauty and Adornment,
 Masks/Personae, Physiognomy, Reading, Sin/Sinning,
 Voyeurism
 LIQUID(S) *see* FLUID(S)
 LISTEN/LISTENING, Arms Raised, Death,
 Imagination/Creativity, Judgment, Penitence/Repentance
 LITTERA PYTHAGORAE, Path/Road/Crossroads
 LITTER BEARERS, Plague/Pestilence
 LIVER(S), Fortune, Melancholy, Mirror/Reflection,
 Misfortune, Sin/Sinning
 LIZARD(S), Evil Eye, Order/Chaos, Vices/Deadly Sins,
 Witchcraft/Sorcery
 LOBSTER(S), Comic, Zodiac
 LOGOS/WORD, Light I, Logos/Word, Temptation,
 Virtue/Virtues
 LOINCLOTH, Death, Judaism, Martyrdom, Naked/Nude
 LONDON, Abandonment, Destruction of City,
 Visiting/Visitation
 LONGANIMITY, Virtue/Virtues
 LOOK/LOOKING *see* GAZE
 LOOM(S), Marriage/Betrothal, Mirror/Reflection
 LORD OF THE MANOR, Marriage/Betrothal
 LOREN, Sophia, Comic
 LOSING/LOSS, Gaze, Journey/Flight, Pregnancy,
 Widowhood
 LOTTERY/LOTTERIES, Luxury
 LOTUS, Annunciation, Seasons
 LOUIS IX, King of France, Light II, Patronage,
 Plague/Pestilence
 LOUIS XIV, King of France, Honor/Honoring, Luxury,
 Path/Road/Crossroads, Seasons
 LOUIS XV, King of France, Female Beauty and Adornment
 LOUIS NAPOLEON, Comic
 LOUIS PHILIPPE, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Caricature/Comic
 LOVAGE (herb), Melancholy
 LOVE/LOVERS, Adultery, Bath/Bathing, Betrayal,
 Choice/Choosing, Communion, Death, Devotion/Piety,
 Drunkenness/Intoxication, Ecstasy, Envy, Fame,
 Female Beauty and Adornment, Fortune, Gaze,
 Hair/Haircutting, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne,
 Honor/Honoring, Humors, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress,
 Journey/Flight, Judgment, Kiss/Kissing, Light I,
 Logos/Word, Love and Death, Madness,
 Marriage/Betrothal, Masks/Personae, Metamorphosis,
 Mirror/Reflection, Money, Months, Music, Naked/Nude,
 Offering, Order/Chaos, Path/Road/Crossroads,
 Patronage, Peace, Penitence/Repentance,
 Plague/Pestilence, Pregnancy, Protestantism,
 Reading, Seasons, Self-Portraits I, Serpent's Bite,
 Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Sleep/Sleeping, Temptation,
 Toilet Scenes, Vanity/Vanitas, Vices/Deadly Sins,
 Virtue/Virtues, Voyeurism, Whiteness, Widowhood,
 Witchcraft/Sorcery, Zodiac
 LOVE AND DEATH, Love and Death, Naked/Nude,
 Nightmare, Sleep/Sleeping
 LOVE POTION, Abduction/Rape, Adultery, Pregnancy
 LOVE-SICK *see* UNREQUITED LOVE
 LOWER CLASS *see* CLASS
 LOYALTY, Betrayal, Zodiac
 LOZENGE(S), Masks/Personae
 LUCK, Abundance, Fortune, Laughter, Mirror/Reflection,
 Misfortune, Virtue/Virtues
 LUDOMIRSKI, Prinz Heinrich, Honor/Honoring
 LUMINISTS, Light II
 LUNATIC(S)/LUNACY *see* MADNESS
 LUNG(S), Melancholy, Sin/Sinning
 LUST, Bath/Bathing, Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal,
 Comic, Drunkenness/Intoxication, Excess, Fatal
 Woman/Femme Fatale, Female Beauty and Adornment,
 Fools/Folly, Judgment, Justice, Mirror/Reflection, Music,
 Naked/Nude, Path/Road/Crossroads, Peasantry,
 Sin/Sinning, Temptation, Toilet Scenes, Vices/Deadly Sins,
 Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues, Witchcraft/Sorcery
 LUTE, Comic, Drunkenness/Intoxication,
 Marriage/Betrothal, Self-Portraits I, Sin/Sinning,
 Temptation
 LUXURIA *see* LUXURY
 LUXURY, Adultery, Death, Excess, Fatal Woman/Femme
 Fatale, Fools/Folly, Luxury, Money, Music, Patronage,
 Seasons, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Witchcraft/Sorcery
 LYNCHING, Hanging
 LYRE(S), Honor/Honoring, Light I, Love and Death, Music,
 Zodiac

- MACABRE, Night, Witchcraft/Sorcery
 MACHINE/MACHINERY/MECHANICAL, Automata,
 Comic, Dreams/Visions, Hanging, Harvesting,
 Labor/Trades/Occupations, Peasantry, Sin/Sinning,
 Zodiac
 MACROCOSM/MACROCOSMOS, Zodiac
 MACRAMÉ, Pregnancy
 MADHOUSE(S), Madness, Margins/Outsiders
 MADNESS, Artists/Art, Death, Fools/Folly,
 Imagination/Creativity, Madness, Margins/Outsiders,
 Melancholy, Order/Chaos, Physiognomy,
 Pointing/Indicating
 MADONNA (pop star), Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale
 MAELSTROM, Ecstasy
 MAGAZINE(S), Toilet Scenes, Whiteness
 MAGIC/MAGICIAN(S), Abduction/Rape, Abundance,
 Bath/Bathing, Birth/Childbirth, Dance/Dancers/Dancing,
 Death, Dreams/Visions, Fatal Woman/Femme
 Fatale, Fortune, Gaze, Hanging, Harvesting,
 Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Journey/Flight, Laughter,
 Masks/Personae, Melancholy, Metamorphosis,
 Mirror/Reflection, Music, Physiognomy, Self-Portraits I,
 Sleep/Sleeping, Toilet Scenes, Vices/Deadly Sins,
 Witchcraft/Sorcery
 MAGNITUDE, Sublime
 MAHLSTICK(S) *see* MAULSTICK(S)
 MAID *see* SERVANT
 MAIDEN/MAIDENHOOD *see* VIRGIN/VIRGINITY
 MAIDEN IN DISTRESS, Beheading/Decapitation
 MAKEUP *see* COSMETICS
 MALAISE *see* ENNUI
 MALATESTA, Giovanni, Kiss/Kissing
 MALATESTA, Paolo, Kiss/Kissing, Reading
 MALEBOLGE, Damned Souls
 MALEFACTOR/MALEFICENCE/MALEVOLENCE,
 Betrayal, Vices/Deadly Sins, Virtue/Virtues, Voyeurism,
 Witchcraft/Sorcery
 MALICE, Fortune
 MALTA, Shipwreck
 MANDALA, Upside Down
 MANDOLIN(S), Female Beauty and Adornment
 MANDORLA, Birth/Childbirth, Light I, Margins/Outsiders,
 Music, Order/Chaos, Pregnancy, Zodiac
 MANGER(S), Birth/Childbirth
 MANHATTAN, Night
 MANIA, Madness, Melancholy
 MANICLE(S) *see* CHAIN(S)
 MANNEQUIN, Automata
 MANNERISM/MANNERIST/MANIERA, Apocalypse,
 Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Fortune,
 Imagination/Creativity, Love and Death, Naked/Nude,
 Path/Road/Crossroads, Peace, Self-Portraits I,
 Temptation
 MANTLE *see* CLOAK/MANTLE/ROBE
 MANTUA, Honor/Honoring
 MAO, Chairman, Fame
 MAP(S), Female Beauty and Adornment
 MAQUILLAGE *see* COSMETICS
 MARAT, Jean Paul, Bath/Bathing, Death
 MARE(S) *see* HORSE(S)
 MARGARET, Princess of Britain, Zodiac
 MARGARITA, Infanta, of Spain, Self-Portraits I
 MARGINS/OUTSIDERS, Adultery, Artists/Art,
 Birth/Childbirth, Caricature/Cartoon, Comic, Excess,
 Fortune, Harvesting, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress,
 Labor/Trades/Occupations, Margins/Outsiders,
 Melancholy, Months, Music, Peasantry, Sanctuary, Self-
 Portraits II, Sport, Upside Down, Virgin/Virginity,
 Widowhood
 MARIE ANTOINETTE, Queen of France, Artists/Art,
 Patronage, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
 MARINER(S) *see* SAILOR(S)
 MARKET/MARKETPLACE (*see also* ART MARKET),
 Peasantry
 MARRIAGE/BETROTHAL, Abduction/Rape, Adultery,
 Ascent/Descent, Bacchanalia/Orgy, Beheading/Decapitation,
 Comic, Death, Dreams/Visions, Evil Eye, Excess, Fame,
 Female Beauty and Adornment, Harvesting,
 Honor/Honoring, Imagination/Creativity, Judaism,
 Justice, Kiss/Kissing, Logos/Word, Love and Death,
 Marriage/Betrothal, Masks/Personae, Metamorphosis,
 Mirror/Reflection, Order/Chaos, Peasantry,
 Penitence/Repentance, Protestantism, Seasons, Self-
 Portraits I, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Temptation, Toilet
 Scenes, Vanity/Vanitas, Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues,
 Visiting/Visitation, Whiteness, Widowhood
 MARRIAGE ACT OF 1753, Marriage/Betrothal
 MARS (planet), Vices/Deadly Sins, Zodiac
 MARSEILLES, Misfortune, Plague/Pestilence
 MARSUPPINI, Carlo, Honor/Honoring
 MARTYRDOM, Abundance, Artists/Art,
 Beheading/Decapitation, Betrayal, Damned Souls, Death,
 Devotion/Piety, Dreams/Visions, Gaze, Hanging,
 Honor/Honoring, Journey/Flight, Kiss/Kissing, Madness,
 Martyrdom, Masks/Personae, Naked/Nude,
 Order/Chaos, Path/Road/Crossroads,
 Penitence/Repentance, Plague/Pestilence, Pregnancy,
 Protestantism, Sacrifice, Serpent's Bite, Sleep/Sleeping,
 Virgin/Virginity, Virtue/Virtues
 MARTYRIUM/MARTYRIA, Martyrdom
 MARY II, Fortune
 MARY TUDOR, Martyrdom
 MASAI, Hair/Haircutting
 MASCULINE/MASCULINITY (*see also* GENDER), Death,
 Female Beauty and Adornment, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne,
 Kiss/Kissing, Mirror/Reflection, Naked/Nude, Sport,
 Temptation, Virgin/Virginity
 MASKS/PERSONAE, Automata, Bacchanalia/Orgy,
 Betrayal, Caricature/Cartoon, Choice/Choosing, Comic,
 Dance/Dancers/Dancing, Death, Evil Eye, Female Beauty
 and Adornment, Fools/Folly, Gaze, Hair/Haircutting,
 Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Honor/Honoring,
 Imagination/Creativity, Judgment, Laughter,
 Masks/Personae, Metamorphosis, Path/Road/Crossroads,
 Plague/Pestilence, Self-Portraits I, Sin/Sinning,
 Virtue/Virtues
 MASOCHISM, Widowhood
 MASON(S), Labor/Trades/Occupations
 MASONIC LODGE(S), Order/Chaos
 MASQUE(S), Seasons

- MAST/MASTHEAD, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Fools/Folly
- MATERIALISM *see* MATTER/MATERIALISM
- MATHEMATICS/MATHEMATICIAN(S), Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Labyrinth/Maze
- MATRIARCHY/MATRILINEAL, Birth/Childbirth, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Virgin/Virginity
- MATRICIDE, Hair/Haircutting
- MATRIMONY *see* MARRIAGE/BETROTHAL
- MATTER/MATERIALISM, Money, Pregnancy
- MATURITY, Path/Road/Crossroads
- MAULSTICK, Imagination/Creativity, Self-Portraits I
- MAXIMILIAN, Archduke, Death, Judgment
- MAXIMILIAN, Prince of Bavaria, Path/Road/Crossroads
- MAYPOLE, Dance/Dancers/Dancing
- MAZE *see* LABYRINTH/MAZE
- MEASURE, Music, Virtue/Virtues
- MEAT(S), Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Sin/Sinning
- MECCA, Saudi Arabia, Sanctuary
- MECHANICAL/MECHANISM *see* MACHINE
- MECHANICAL ARTS, Virtue/Virtues
- MEDICI, Alessandro de', Peace
- MEDICI, Catherine de', Widowhood
- MEDICI, Cosimo de', Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Serpent's Bite
- MEDICI, Ferdinando de', Honor/Honoring
- MEDICI, Giuliano de', Hanging, Night, Peace
- MEDICI, Leonara de', Visiting/Visitation
- MEDICI, Lorenzo de', Hanging, Masks/Personae, Music, Peace, Virtue/Virtues
- MEDICI, Marie de', Honor/Honoring, Marriage/Betrothal, Patronage, Widowhood
- MEDICI, Ottaviano de', Peace
- MEDICI FAMILY, Honor/Honoring
- MEDICINE, Dreams/Visions, Humors, Madness, Metamorphosis, Physiognomy, Plague/Pestilence, Serpent's Bite, Sin/Sinning, Sleep/Sleeping, Vices/Deadly Sins, Virtue/Virtues
- MEDITATION, Beheading/Decapitation, Death, Ecstasy, Gaze, Melancholy, Mirror/Reflection, Misfortune, Night, Path/Road/Crossroads, Pregnancy, Protestantism, Sanctuary, Shepherds/Shepherdesses, Sleep/Sleeping, Temptation, Toilet Scenes, Vanity/Vanitas, Virgin/Virginity
- MEDUSA (ship), Misfortune, Shipwreck
- MEEK/MEEKNESS, Order/Chaos
- MEGALITH(S), Light II
- MELANCHOLY, Envy, Fools/Folly, Fortune, Gaze, Humors, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Journey/Flight, Madness, Masks/Personae, Melancholy, Mirror/Reflection, Music, Night, Order/Chaos, Seasons, Sin/Sinning, Temptation, Widowhood, Zodiac
- MELODY, Music
- MEMENTO MORI, Death, Fortune, Plague/Pestilence, Self-Portraits I, Sin/Sinning, Vanity/Vanitas
- MEMORIAL(S), Artists/Art, Death, Destruction of City, Fame, Fortune, Gaze, Hair/Haircutting, Judaism, Kiss/Kissing, Light I, Music, Martyrdom, Night, Sanctuary
- MEMORY, Death, Ecstasy, Gaze, Hanging, Imagination/Creativity, Order/Chaos, Path/Road/Crossroads, Reading
- MENEDEMUS (new comedy character), Masks/Personae
- MENSTRUATION/MENSTRUAL BLOOD, Pregnancy, Toilet Scenes, Widowhood
- MENTAL ILLNESS *see* MADNESS
- MERCHANT(S)/MERCHANT PRINCE(S), Labor/Trades/Occupations, Marriage/Betrothal, Masks/Personae, Months, Shepherds/Shepherdesses
- MERCURY (planet), Vices/Deadly Sins, Zodiac
- MERCY/COMPASSION, Adultery, Death, Envy, Gaze, Justice, Kiss/Kissing, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Path/Road/Crossroads, Penitence/Repentance, Plague/Pestilence, Protestantism, Sacrifice, Sanctuary, Sin/Sinning, Virtue/Virtues
- MERMAID(S), Evil Eye, Naked/Nude, Nightmare
- MERRICK, David, Caricature/Cartoon
- MESMERISM, Artists/Art, Gaze
- MESSAGE/MESSENGER (*see also* LETTER[S]), Fame, Music, Peace, Penitence/Repentance, Plague/Pestilence, Pointing/Indicating, Temptation, Vanity/Vanitas, Virtue/Virtues, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- MESSIANIC, Music
- MESSINA, Misfortune
- METALSMITH(S), Labor/Trades/Occupations
- METAMORPHOSIS, Envy, Expulsion, Fatal Woman/Femme Fatale, Fortune, Hermaphrodite/Androgyne, Humors, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Kiss/Kissing, Margins/Outsiders, Masks/Personae, Metamorphosis, Order/Chaos, Pregnancy, Seasons, Sin/Sinning, Sublime, Temptation, Vanity/Vanitas, Vices/Deadly Sins, Virgin/Virginity, Voyeurism, Witchcraft/Sorcery
- METAPHOR(S), Automata, Beheading/Decapitation, Choice/Choosing, Excess, Expulsion, Fame, Female Beauty and Adornment, Hair/Haircutting, Harvesting, Hunting/Hunter/Huntress, Journey/Flight, Kiss/Kissing, Labor/Trades/Occupations, Labyrinth/Maze, Margins/Outsiders, Marriage/Betrothal, Masks/Personae, Mirror/Reflection, Money, Music, Path/Road/Crossroads, Plague/Pestilence, Pregnancy, Seasons, Self-Portraits II, Serpent's Bite, Sin/Sinning, Sleep/Sleeping, Sport, Vices/Deadly Sins, Virtue/Virtues, Zodiac
- METAPHYSICAL PAINTING, Automata
- METAPHYSICS, Virtue/Virtues
- METER(S), Sin/Sinning
- METOPOSCOPY, Physiognomy
- MEXICO CITY, Sanctuary
- MIASMA, Widowhood
- MICROCOSM/MICROCOSMOS, Hanging, Seasons, Zodiac
- MIDDLE CLASS *see* CLASS
- MIDLER, Bette, Comic
- MIDNIGHT, Night, Vanity/Vanitas
- MIDSUMMER DAY, Light II
- MIDWIFE/MIDWIVES/MIDWIFERY, Birth/Childbirth, Light II, Margins/Outsiders, Pregnancy, Virgin/Virginity
- MIGRANT WORKERS, Margins/Outsiders
- MIKVEH, Toilet Scenes
- MILAN, Martyrdom, Misfortune, Plague/Pestilence